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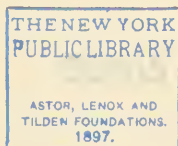
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History

HISTORY
OF
WORCESTER,
MASSACHUSETTS.



[REPRINTED FROM THE HISTORY OF WORCESTER COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.]

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WORCESTER.

THE following history of the town and city of Worcester was prepared under the supervision of a committee, which consisted of Samuel Swett Green, A.M., librarian of the Free Public Library, Worcester; Charles Augustus Chase, A.M., treasurer of the Worcester County Institution for Savings; and Mr. Nathaniel Paine, cashier of the City National Bank, Worcester. This committee selected the writers of the different chapters, and secured their services; it also made suggestions to them regarding the performance of their work, and has read the chapters in manuscript and rendered aid as occasion required. The gentlemen who form the committee are well known to have an extensive knowledge of local history, and are, all of them, members of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society. Special thanks are due to the chairman of the committee for the fertility of resource, energy, courtesy and executive ability which he has shown, and to all its members for the good judgment and aptness for the work undertaken by them, which they have displayed, and for the readiness with which they have given counsel, and out of their large stores of information have offered aid to writers and publishers. The editor and publishers wish to state emphatically that the services of the committee have been in the highest degree valuable.—EDITOR.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

BY P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D.

§1. An outline of the history of Worcester, from the earliest attempts at settlement to the close of the Revolutionary War, is all that will be undertaken in this initial chapter; a fuller narrative of the events of that period will be given by other writers, to whom that duty has been assigned. The origin of New England towns has occupied the attention of many students of our early institutions, and much has been written and published on the subject within the last few years. These writings disclose a very considerable divergence in the views held by different writers as to the true origin of towns, and the formative influences by which their development has been controlled.

As this chapter is devoted to an account of the origin and early annals of Worcester, it has seemed to the writer that some discussion of the general subject of the origin and growth of towns in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies would not be out of place in this connection.

The origin of these towns was not the same in all cases. The mode of acquiring title to the soil and the means of effecting settlements were not the same in all towns. But, although the methods of acquiring title to land might vary in different cases, yet the

primary sources from which all land titles in these colonies were derived were the same. At the time of the discovery and settlement of this country it had become a fixed principle of international law, among the European nations, that prior discovery by any of them gave to them the prior and better title, and grants from them passed an absolute title to the grantee, subject to the Indian occupancy. And it became a rule of law, also, in all English colonies that the Crown had the sole and absolute right to acquire or extinguish the Indian title. This statement does not agree with the very common opinion as to what was the real nature of the Indian's title to the land over which they roamed, but upon which they could hardly be said to dwell, or of the manner in which that title or right could be acquired, and yet the statement is strictly true. Chief Justice Marshall, in giving the opinion of the United States Supreme Court, in a case in which the question arose, says, "The power now possessed by the government of the United States to grant lands resided, while we were colonies, in the Crown or its grantees. The validity of the titles given by either has never been questioned in our courts. It has been exercised uniformly over territories in the possession of the Indians.

"The existence of this power must negative the existence of any right which may conflict with and control it. An absolute title to lands cannot exist

the same time in different persons, or in different governments. An absolute, must be an exclusive title, or at least a title which excludes all others not compatible with it. All our institutions recognize the absolute title of the Crown, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and recognize the absolute title of the crown to extinguish the right."¹ It would not be difficult to demonstrate, if this were the proper place to do so, that what is called the absolute right of the Crown was, in reality, the right of the people of England, which, by their free choice, they had vested in the Crown.²

The Crown, in the exercise of that sovereign right, granted certain lands, lying within defined limits, to the Massachusetts Colony; subsequently the colony, through its constituted authorities, granted specific parcels of these lands to companies or proprietors, and the latter, sooner or later, became the founders of towns; and these proprietors, either before or after their organization into townships, conveyed, in smaller parcels, the lands they held in common to individuals who held the same in severalty.

In this way Worcester had its origin, as will hereinafter be more fully set forth, with the conditions upon which the original grant was made and the struggles and hardships through which the early settlers passed before they finally succeeded in laying the foundations on which this goodly city of eighty thousand inhabitants now, after the lapse of more than two centuries, securely rests.

Worcester furnishes a good illustration of the manner in which many of the Massachusetts towns originated, and it will hardly be necessary to seek among the primitive Teutonic institutions on the continent or look to the Anglo-Saxon or Norman institutions in England for models on which these towns were built. "In that land," says De Tocqueville, speaking of America, "the great experiment was to be made by civilized man of the attempt to construct society upon a new basis; and it was there, for the first time, that theories hitherto unknown, or deemed impracticable, were to exhibit a spectacle for which the world had not been prepared by the history of the past."

It is true that local self-government, in a modified form, had been known both in Germany and England before the earliest colonization of America. But long before that colonization commenced the Crown had, by repeated encroachments, deprived the people of their ancient right of self-control, and that right or power had been vested in municipal councils or other local boards, and which were self-perpetuating bodies.³ But when removed from the presence of that dominating power of the few over the many, the colonists at once returned to what has been called the natural order of society in the establishment of government.

Writing upon "The American System," a writer already quoted says: "The village or township is the only association which is so perfectly natural that whenever a number of men are collected it seems to constitute itself. The tithing or town exists in all nations, whatever their laws and customs may be; it is man who makes monarchies and establishes republics, but the township seems to come directly from the hand of God."

This may be regarded as an ideal or speculative, rather than an historical statement of the origin of towns, yet it contains the announcement of a fundamental truth connected with the subject, and that is, when men come to live together in society, they find it necessary, when left to regulate their own affairs, to establish, within comparatively narrow territorial limits, some form of local self-government; and this they do, not because some more or less remote ancestors may have done the same thing, but rather in obedience to a necessary law of social existence.

And every generation or community of men, when left free to act, will establish such local institutions as will best subserve the necessities and wants growing out of their environments; and this they will do without any servile imitation of those who have gone before them. The late Professor Parker, of the Dane Law School, a learned writer on legal and historical subjects, said, in a paper on "The Origin, Organization and Influence of the Towns of New England," that "a careful examination of the history of New England towns will show that they were not founded or modeled on precedent; . . . they were not contrived in the closet, nor in the hall of a legislative assembly, and brought into existence, with the powers and duties which we find attached to them, by the enactment of a law for that purpose. They did not burst into mature life by any previous contrivance. But, like most other useful machinery, they had their origin in the wants of the time, and came into existence by a gradual progress from imperfect beginnings." The learned author of a memoir of Plymouth County declares that "the origin of town government in New England is involved in some obscurity. The system does not prevail in England. Nothing analogous to it is known in the Southern States; and, although the system of internal government in the Middle States bears a partial resemblance to that of New England, it is, in many respects, dissimilar."

In another part of the same memoir the author says: "To the independent churches we may trace the original notion of independent communities, which afterwards assumed the name of towns, and which, having passed through an ecclesiastical state, and after the proprietaries became extinct from the special appropriations of all the lands within the bounds of their charter, assumed the shape of political corporations, with municipal and in part legislative powers within their limits." This will hereafter

¹ 8 Wheaton's Rep., p. 588.

² J. Toulmin Smith on "Self-Government." Ch. on the Crown.

³ Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic," pp. 14-15.

be shown by the undisputed facts of history to be an imaginary and not the true genesis of towns.

Another late writer on this subject, and quoting the opinion of an earlier author, says, "New England towns are models after the plan of King Alfred's hundreds."

To show the fallacy of this theory of the origin of our towns, it may suffice to state that it is but a tradition that Alfred devised the arrangement into hundreds and tithings; and, besides, the tradition itself is inconsistent with the facts of authentic history.¹ And, moreover, the English hundred had very little in common with the New England townships or towns.²

In his "History of Charlestown" Mr. Frothingham affirms that "the nearest precedent for New England towns were those little independent nations, the free cities of the twelfth century, or the towns of the Anglo-Saxons, when every officer was elective." In another connection the same writer says, that "the German and Anglo-Saxon principle of local government was early asserted in all the colonies, and that whether the organization was called parish, borough, hundred, town or county, the principle was carried out that the inhabitants should manage their local affairs through officers legally elected. Municipality in New England was the simplest of all municipal forms, and the best adapted to develop the republican idea."

An inquiry respecting the origin and constitution of the free cities of mediæval Europe would show that they differ very widely from the towns of New England. Most of these cities had existed before the fall of the Roman Empire in the West; they had suffered from invasions and civil wars, and "upon the fall of the Empire had still been repressed by the feudal polity." Their inhabitants had been despoiled and their commerce and industry destroyed. "But the municipal traditions of Rome had survived, and were confirmed by the free customs of the Teutons. The towns gradually obtained from the crown, and from feudal superiors, charters of enfranchisement, which secured to them the rights of maintaining fortified walls, of raising troops and maintaining self-government."

In Italy and other parts of Europe some of the principal towns grew into sovereign municipal republics and formed alliances among themselves more or less permanent; hence arose the Hanseatic League and the other great confederation called the Rhenish League, and the confederation of towns and cantons in Switzerland. And, above all, the Roman law, the greatest monument of legislative wisdom the world has ever seen, survived the fall of the empire, and became the law of the nations that overran and destroyed the empire, and exerted a

controlling influence in the formation of all their institutions.

From these brief statements the great dissimilarity between the so-called free cities of the twelfth century and New England towns is apparent. The former had existed as component parts of pre-existing nationalities, and had been over-run by barbarians, and their liberty destroyed by feudalism, and after centuries of struggle they succeeded in throwing off the oppressions of feudalism, and regained, in a measure, their franchises as independent municipalities; whereas, the New England towns were original creations, on a virgin soil, and far removed from the scenes of older civilizations, and instead of being separate and independent municipalities, these towns were component parts of the State, forming together one body politic.

"In their origin our boroughs," says the author of the "History of the English People," "were utterly unlike those of the western world. The cities of Italy and Provence had preserved the municipal institutions of the Roman past; the German towns had been founded by Henry the Fowler with the purpose of sheltering industry from the feudal oppressions around them; the Communes of Northern France sprang into existence in revolt against feudal outrages within their walls. But in England the tradition of Rome passed utterly away, while feudal oppression was held fairly in check by the Crown. The English town, therefore, was in its beginning simply a piece of the general country, organized and governed precisely in the same manner as townships around it. Its existence witnessed, indeed, to the need which men felt in those early times of mutual help and protection. The borough was probably a more defensible place than the common village. But in itself it was simply a township, or group of townships, where men clustered, whether for trade or defense, more thickly than elsewhere.

"The towns were different in the circumstances of their rise. Some grew up in the fortified camps of the English invaders. Some dated from a later occupation of sacked and desolate Roman towns. Some were the direct result of trade. There was the same variety in the mode in which the various town communities were formed." This passage has been quoted partly for the purpose of testing the soundness of those theories which attempt to trace the beginning of New England towns to a definite German or Anglo-Saxon origin. Neither English towns nor towns on the continent of Europe had a common origin, and they differed essentially in the elements of their organization and powers. The historian Stubbs, who seems to have explored the beginning of English institutions more thoroughly than any of his predecessors, says: "The historical township is the body of allodial owners who have advanced beyond the stage of land community, retaining many vestiges of that organization; or the body of tenants of a lord who regulates them, or allows them to regulate themselves, on prin-

¹ Stubbs' "Constitutional History," 1 vol., ch. 5, p. 99.

² *Ibid.* pp. 96-105.

ciples derived from the same. In a further stage, the township appears in its ecclesiastical form as the parish, or portion of a parish, the district assigned to a parish." The same writer clearly shows that in different parts of England these primary divisions of territory or people assumed different forms, and passed under different names.

The description of an English town, by the distinguished historian of the Norman Conquest, exhibits a most marked contrast, rather than similarity, between an English and a New England town. "An English town," says that writer, "was a collection of every class of inhabitants, of every kind of authority, which could be found in the whole land, all brought close together. Lords with their *sac* and *soc*; churches with their property and privileges; guilds—that is, artificial families, with their property, their usages, their religious rites; thanes and churls in the language of one age, barons and villains in the language of another, merchants, churchmen, monks, all the elements of English society, were to be seen side by side in a small compass. The various classes thus brought together were united by neighborhood, by common interests, by common property and privileges."¹ There is very little in all this to remind one of the simple and homogeneous character of a New England town, either of the earliest or latest type. The statement of Maine, in his interesting work on "Village-Communities in the East and West," "that the earliest English emigrants to North America organized themselves at first in Village-Communities for purposes of cultivation," is too broad and unqualified for the facts upon which it is based. It is true the Pilgrims at Plymouth held and cultivated their lands in common for a short time, but they soon made a division of the common property and each person held his own in severalty. As early as 1625 every man at Plymouth planted for himself, and all the products of his labor were to be his own individual property. The fact that the Colonial Legislatures made grants of lands to companies, who undertook to establish towns, were made with no expectation or design that the members of the company should continue to hold the lands as tenants in common, but rather that they should make allotment of portions of the lands to the several members of the company, and convey the remaining portions to other persons whom they could induce to join them in the organization of a new town. One ingenious writer on the origin of our early political institutions declares "that here (in New England) the fathers laid deep and broad the foundations of American freedom, and that here was developed the township, with its local self-government, the basis and central element of our political system—upon the township was formed the county, composed of several towns similarly organized; the State, composed of several counties, and

finally the United States, composed of several States." But this remarkable genesis of town, county, State and nation is wholly imaginary, resting on no basis of fact. In any consideration of this subject an essential fact to be remembered is that both the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies were settled under charters, which incorporated the grantees and empowered them "to make, ordain and establish all manner of orders and laws for and concerning the government of the colonies and plantations which should be necessary and not contrary to the laws of England." So that in both colonies, before the organization of any towns, a government in fact, though not in name—equivalent to the State government—existed, with ample powers of legislation and administration in all matters, both civil and criminal. And the right to establish towns and the title to all lands within the territorial limits of the colony were to be derived from and through the colonial government. It is therefore manifest that so far from its being true that the State, by some imaginary process of evolution, is derived from the town, towns are in every instance dependent on the State government for their very existence. And the origin, organization and functions of towns can be shown in no better way than by the following statement which has been condensed from judicial decisions and legislative acts: *The towns of Massachusetts have been established by the Legislature for public purposes and the administration of local affairs*, and they embrace all persons living within their territorial limits. At the first settlement of the colony, towns consisted of clusters of inhabitants dwelling near each other, and by means of legislative acts designating them by name, and conferring upon them powers of managing their own prudential affairs, electing representatives and town officers, making by-laws and disposing—subject to the paramount control of the Legislature—of unoccupied land within their territory; they became, in effect, municipal or *quasi* corporations, without any formal act of incorporation. Indeed, it is not known that any formal act, similar to modern acts of incorporation of towns, was passed until near the close of the colonial government and the establishment of a new government under the Province charter. And not until after the adoption of the Constitution of this Commonwealth was it for the first time expressly enacted that "the inhabitants of every town within the government were declared to be a body politic and corporate."

In some cases the General Court granted land to proprietors, who maintained an organization separate from that of the town, having the same territorial limits, and divided the land among the settlers who participated in the grant, or sold them to others for the common profit of all the original grantees. The records of the proprietors were kept in books commonly called "proprietors' books," many of which are still in existence, and are often referred to for evidence in controversies in the courts respecting land-titles.

¹ Vol. v, Freeman's "Norman Conquest."

In other cases of the settlement of towns, there was no grant of land to a separate body of proprietors, but the town itself became the owner of all the land within its assigned limits. Sometimes the land granted was called a district or outlying portion of an existing town; again, in other cases, the grant was called a plantation, which in process of time became a town as population and wealth increased.

Grants were sometimes made to a considerable number of settlers, who were afterwards recognized as a plantation, settlement or town by a proper name, vested by general laws with certain powers, and had their bounds declared; or at a much later period, grants of a tract of land were made to a company of individuals named, with a view of constituting a town afterwards. In either case, their rights and powers, both of soil and jurisdiction, were derived from the existing government. And in all cases, and from the earliest period, the Legislature of the colony exercised the unquestioned authority of deciding what rights should be possessed by towns and what public duties they should perform.

The town of Groton, which dates its origin back to 1665, furnishes a good illustration of the manner in which many towns came into existence. A number of individuals who seemed to be in want of "fresh woods and pastures new," petitioned the General Court for a grant of land, and the answer to them was, "The Court judgeth it meet to grant the petitioners eight miles square in the place desired to make a comfortable plantation, which henceforth shall be called Groton." A certain number of persons named in the act were at the same time appointed by the court to act as selectmen for two years, at the end of which time other selectmen were chosen by the inhabitants of the town. It appears from the earliest records of the Massachusetts Colony that, before the arrival of Winthrop and a majority of the assistants with the charter of 1630, a great number of private grants of land had been made by Governor Endicott and his special council, and as these grantees would naturally desire to take their grants in proximity to each other for mutual defence, convenience and comfort, they formed themselves into settlements or villages; and the first step towards forming these settlements into corporations was to give them a name. But as they had no fixed limits or boundaries, and it became necessary to fix such limits, in order to ascertain what proprietors should be rated in any assessment, and who should be subject to the duties and entitled to the immunities of each village or settlement, these settlements, first named and then bounded, must have assessors to apportion and collect their taxes. They were also, by general acts of the Legislature, vested with authority to choose other necessary officers and to manage their own prudential affairs and thus they grew to be "*quasi* corporations;" and afterwards, either with or without formal acts of incorporation, these settlements

or villages became towns. It is true that many of the powers now possessed by towns in this State are the product of comparatively recent legislative grants; but in all its essential features as a corporation vested with the right of local self-government, the town has undergone no material change from the first settlement of the colony to the present time. These towns, as has been said, grew out of the wants, the dangers and necessities pressing upon the early settlers of the Pilgrim and Puritan Colonies, and they were from time to time clothed with such powers and privileges, as were best adapted to meet those wants and ward off those dangers. And as advancing civilization has created new local wants, the Legislature has granted corresponding municipal powers and privileges to provide for them.

The Pilgrim and the Puritan came to these shores for certain definite purposes—purposes which could never have been accomplished except through and by means of just such institutions as they founded. They were not living among the ruins of ancient empires, nor were they surrounded by hostile feudal barons, by whom they might at any unguarded moment be plundered. They were confronted only by the unbroken forest and the untamed savage, and they built their houses, organized their towns, adopted means of self-defense and common safety against the actual dangers by which they were surrounded; they cultivated their fields either in common or severally as they chose; they erected churches and school-houses, enacted laws and provided for the administration of justice, and in all things else acted with reference to the exact situation in which they found themselves. They built according to no archaic or mediæval patterns, but established institutions as original in their character, as their own situation was novel.

§ 2. Having presented these general considerations respecting the origin and organizations of towns, the remaining portion of this chapter will be occupied with the narration of some of the principal facts relating to the settlement of Worcester and an outline of its history for the first century of its existence.

May 6, 1657, a grant of three thousand and two hundred acres of land was made to Mr. Increase Nowell, of Charlestown. May 6, 1662, one thousand acres were conveyed to the church in Malden, to be forever appropriated to the use of the ministry. October 19, 1664, two hundred and fifty acres were given to Ensign Thomas Noyes, of Sudbury, who had served under Capt. Hugh Mason in the military service of the Colony. The above statement of a grant of land to Mr. Nowell, and which will be found in existing sketches of the "History of Worcester," is not entirely accurate, as will appear from the following entry in the Colony Records under date of October 14, 1656: "The court, being sensible of the true condition of the late honored Mr. Nowell's family, and remembering his long service to this Commonwealth in the place not only of a magistrate, but also secrete-

tary, for which he had but little and slender recompense, and the county's debts being such as out of the country rate they cannot comfortably make such an honorable recompense to his family as otherwise they would judge meet, therefore do give and grant to Mrs. Nowell and his son Samuel two thousand acres of land, to be laid out by Mr. Thomas Danforth and Robert Hale." Under date of May 6, 1657, there is this additional entry:

"Mr. Thomas Danforth, of Cambridge, and Mr. Robert Hale, of Charlestown, are appointed as commissioners to lay out the land, being three thousand two hundred acres of land granted by the General Court, 22d 3d mo., 1650, to the executors of the last will of Mr. Isaac Johnson, to Mr. Increase Nowell's executors, according to the grant, provided the ten pounds due to the county from the executors of the said Mr. Nowell be first paid to the county's treasurer or security given for the same."

These extracts from the record are interesting as showing who Mr. Nowell was and why lands were granted, not to him, but to his family; and also as showing the extreme poverty of the country in everything but land, and that this grant of land was only made upon the express provision that the last pound of the indebtedness of Mr. Nowell's estate to the Colony should be paid into the public treasury.¹

The grant of 1,000 acres to the church in Malden was made upon the petition of that church, and was made to be forever appropriated to the use and benefit of the ministry of the place, and not to be aliened or otherwise disposed of, "and all this on condition that they cause it to be bounded out and put on improvement for the ends professed within three years next ensuing." The grant of the land to Ensign Noyes was accompanied with this recital: "Whereas, Ensign Thomas Noyes, of Sudbury, was chosen to be a lieutenant under Capt. Hugh Mason, for his Majesty's service, and he having expended some time and money about that design, there being a considerable sum due him upon that account, the court judgeth it meet to grant the said Lieut. Noyes two hundred and fifty acres of land, for and in consideration of the premises, and in answer to a former petition, he being willing to take it as full consideration for what is justly due to him." As these were the first grants of land within the present limits of Worcester, it has been deemed proper to show upon what considerations and conditions they were made.

John and Josiah Haynes, of Sudbury, Nathaniel Treadaway, of Watertown, and Thomas Noyes having purchased the Nowell grant, they became proprietors of a large tract of land, extending along the west shore of Quinsigamond, including two of its islands near the "outgoing of Nipnapp" (now Blackstone) "River;" they petitioned the Great and General Court for the appointment of a committee to view the

country. Upon this petition Capt. Daniel Gookin, Capt. Edward Johnson, Lieut. Joshua Fisher and Lieut. Thomas Noyes were appointed a committee, Oct. 11, 1665, to make survey to determine if there be a "meet place for a plantation, that it may be improved for that end, and not spoiled by granting of farms," and directed to report to the next Court of Elections. The death of Lieut. Noyes and the unsettled state of the country prevented the execution of the order to this committee.

The attention of the Legislature was again called to the subject of effecting a settlement in this locality, and May 15, 1667, Captain Daniel Gookin, Captain Edward Johnson, Mr. Samuel Andrews and Andrew Belcher were appointed a committee and directed "to take an exact view as soon as conveniently they can, to make true report whether the place be capable to make a village, and what number of families, they conceive, may be there accommodated. And if they find it fit for a plantation, then to offer some meet expedient how the same may be settled and improved for the public good." The first two and the last-named members of that committee performed the duty assigned them and made their report to the Legislature October 20, 1668, which is a document of sufficient importance and interest to be copied in full in this place. The committee in their report say: "We have, according to the Court's order, bearing date 15th May, 1667, viewed the place therein mentioned, and find it to be about twelve miles westward from Marlborough, near the road to Springfield, and that it contains a tract of very good chestnut tree land—a large quantity; but the meadow we find not so much, because a very considerable quantity of meadow and upland, about five thousand acres, is laid out unto particular persons, and confirmed by this Court, as we are informed, which falls within this tract of land; viz., to Ensign Noyes, deceased and his brethren three thousand two hundred acres; unto the Church of Malden one thousand acres; unto others, five hundred acres, bought of Ensign Noyes; but all this, notwithstanding, we conceive, there may be enough meadow for a small plantation or town of about thirty families; and if those farms be annexed to it, it may supply about sixty families

"Therefore, we conceive it expedient that the honored Court will be pleased to reserve it for a town, being conveniently situated, and well watered with ponds and brooks, and lying near midway between Boston and Springfield, about one day's journey from either; and for the settling thereof we do offer unto the court that which follows: viz., That there be a meet proportion of land granted and laid out for a town, in the best form the place will bear about the contents of eight miles square. That a prudent and able committee be appointed and empowered to lay it out; to admit inhabitants, and order the affairs of the place, in forming the town,

¹ Colony Records, vol. 4, pp. 7, 8, 205.

granting lots, and directing and ordering all matters of a prudential nature, until the place be settled with a sufficient number of inhabitants and persons of discretion, able to order the affairs thereof, in the judgment of the Court.

"That due care be taken by said committee that a good minister of God's word be placed there as soon as may be; that such people as may be there planted may not live like lambs in a *large* place; that there be two or three hundred acres of land, with a proportion of meadow, in some convenient place, at the discretion of the committee, reserved and laid out for the commonwealth; and the committee to have power and liberty to settle inhabitants thereupon for lives or times, upon a small rent to be paid after the first seven years."

This report was accepted by the Legislature and its recommendations adopted, and Captain Daniel Gookin, Captain Thomas Prentice, Mr. Daniel Hutchinson and Lieutenant Richard Beers were appointed a committee to carry them into execution.

The suggestion in this report that the eight miles square of territory, on which a thriving population of from 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants now dwell, in the enjoyment of all the necessities and many of the luxuries and elegancies of civilized life, might possibly support thirty or sixty families,—that is, from 150 to 300 persons,—was made without any anticipation or thought of that magnificent development of mechanical and manufacturing industries so characteristic of the present age.

The committee, in making their report, were only thinking of the capability of the territory for agricultural purposes. And when we contrast the toilsome journey of a whole day between Worcester and Boston with the fact that that journey can now be made in little more than an hour, and with a degree of comfort which our ancestors in their forest homes never dreamed of, we gain some just conception of the great changes in the conditions of human life that have been wrought here during the lapse of two centuries.

Notwithstanding the Legislature had, by its order of May 15, 1667, prohibited the laying out of lands within the new plantation, yet the committee, in the execution of their powers, were embarrassed by the selection of lots made by claimants under the earlier grants hereinbefore mentioned. And to relieve themselves from these difficulties they asked for the intervention of the Legislature in the following petition, May 27, 1669:

We, the committee of the General Court, being empowered to lay out, settle and manage a plantation, at or about Quinsigamond Pond, twelve miles beyond Marlborough, in the roadway to Springfield and Hadley, which place is very commodious for the situation of a town, the better to unite and strengthen the inland plantations, and in all probability will be advantageous for travelers, it falling near midway between Boston and Springfield, and about a day's journey from either; we having lately been upon the place to make an exact discovery and survey thereof, accompanied with sundry, honest and able persons that are willing forthwith to settle themselves there; but finding

some obstruction in the work, which, unless this Court please to remove, and, we conceive, they may justly do it, the proceeding will be utterly hindered; and, therefore, we shall humbly offer them unto the honored Court, desiring their help.

1. We find that, though the place contains a tract of good land, yet it is much straitened for meadow. We cannot find above three hundred acres of meadow belonging to it within several miles; but there are swamps and other moist lands that, in time, with labor and industry, may make meadow.

2. We find there is a grant of one thousand acres to the ministry of Malden, May 7, 1662, which grant is laid out in this place. This farm contains a choice tract of land, and swallows up about one hundred acres of the aforesaid meadow; but the condition of the grant, as the record will declare, is that it be improved, within three years after the grant, for the end whereof it was granted; but that being not done, for it is now about six years since, and no improvement made, we apprehend the grant is void; but yet, if the Court pleases to renew it in any other place, we speak not to oppose it, but if it be continued and confirmed in this place, it will utterly hinder the settling a plantation here.

3. There is another grant of land, unto Ensign Noyes, deceased, laid out in this place, containing two hundred and fifty acres of choice land, with a considerable quantity of meadow, lying in the heart of this place, and by him was sold to one Ephraim Carter, a young man living in Sudbury. We desire that the Court will please to make void this grant; being not laid out regularly for quantity or quality, as we conceive, and it will very much prejudice this town. The person concerned may have his land in another place, bordering upon this town, where there is sufficient to accommodate it, and also may have a lot in this town, if he desire it.

4. Whereas, the Court, in their grant of this town, hath reserved two or three hundred acres of land, with a proportion of meadow, to be laid out for the Commonwealth, if it please the Court, because of the straitsness for meadow, to abate that reservation, so far as concerns meadow, it will greatly encourage the work. If the honored Court please to remove these obstructions, we hope it will not be long before this place be settled in a good way, for the honor of God and the public good.

The Committee, in their journey, having discovered two other places beyond this to the westward, that will make two or three towns, the one called Panamisset, lying upon the head of Chaquabe River, the place called Squawkeag¹ upon Connecticut River, nearer to Boston than Hadley, we desire the Court will please to order that these places be reserved to make towns, the better to strengthen these inland parts, and the laying out of particular grants prohibited in the said places.

In response to this petition, the reservation to the public in the meadow was released; but the General Court did not undertake to recall or declare void the grants to Malden and to Noyes. At the first meeting of the committee, held July 6, 1669, in Cambridge, it was proposed "that the territory, including Worcester and which is now Holden, and a large part of Ward (now Auburn), should be first divided into ninety twenty-five-acre house-lots, and in the apportionment of these to the settlers, respect should be had to the quality, estate, usefulness and other considerations of the person and family to whom they were granted; that the most convenient place, nearest the middle of the town, should be set apart and improved for placing the meeting-house for the worship of God; a convenient lot of fifty acres for the first minister should be laid out as near to it as might be; another lot, in the next convenient place, not far from them, for the ministry that should succeed in all future times; that twenty acres should be reserved, near the centre, for a training-field, and to build a school-house upon; that a lot of twenty-five acres should be appropriated for the maintenance of a school

¹ Northfield.

and schoolmaster, to remain for that use forever, and that two hundred and fifty acres should be for the use of the country."

Provision was made for the equal apportionment of common charges upon the proprietors of lots, for erecting mills, opening and repairing ways, and for the equitable division of the remaining lands.

§ 3. The efforts of the committee to effect a permanent settlement proved unavailing for several years, but finally, in the year 1673, a company of thirty families were induced to commence the plantation, and in the spring of 1674 thirty house-lots were laid out and the settlers began to build houses and cultivate their lands. But the adverse claims of Mr. Curtis, who, it is believed, had taken possession of a tract of land near the centre of the town, continued to embarrass the committee to such an extent that the following petition for relief was presented to the Legislature by those who proposed to become inhabitants of the new town :

The humble petition of Daniel Gookin, Senior, Thomas Printice, Richard Beers and Daniel Heacaban, a committee, appointed and authorized by the General Court to order and manage a new plantation granted by this Court, lying and being on the road to Springfield, about twelve miles westward of Marlborough, together with divers other persons heretofore subscribed, who have lots granted and laid out there, humbly sheweth :

That, whereas, your petitioners have been at very considerable expense, both of time and estate, in order to settle a plantation there, which they conceive, when it is effected, will more conduce to the public good of the country than their particular advantage, and have so far advanced in that work as to lay out about thirty house lots and engage the people to settle them speedily ; also have begun to build, plant and cut hay there ; but now, meeting with an obstruction and hindrance, by a young man called Ephraim Curtis, of Sudbury, who does lay claim unto two tracts of land, containing about five hundred acres, lying in the centre of this plantation, especially one of the parcels, being about 250 acres, in which place the committee have laid out a minister's lot, a place for a meeting-house, a mill and ten other particular men's house-lots, so that if this place be taken from us, this town is not like to proceed, to the damage of the public and your petitioners ; now, although we cannot grant that the said Curtis hath any legal right to detain our proceeding, yet, for peace sake, we have offered him a double share in the plantation, viz.: two house-lots and accommodations to them, which will, in the end, amount to much more land than he pretends unto ; but all offers he declines :

Therefore, our humble request unto the Court is that you will be pleased to order that the said Curtis may be sent for, and that both him and your Committee may be examined either before some Committee of the Court, thereunto to report the matter, or by the whole Court ; for the substance of the case will, as we conceive, turn upon this hinge ; whether an order of the General Court, dated in May, 1667, prohibiting the laying out any particular grants in this place, in order to reserve it for a village, shall be of force and efficacy to nullify the acceptance of a particular grant laid out in this place, as is pretended, a year after : namely, at a Court held Anno 1668 ; the untying of this knot, which none can do but the General Court, will resolve the matter of controversy one way or other ; so that this town will proceed or cease, and that your committee, and others concerned, may not be wrapt up in trouble and contention about this matter, whose scope and aim is the public good, and that the good of many may be preferred before one, wherein we have no cause to doubt of this honored Court's favor and encouragement.

This petition was signed by the aforesaid committee and twenty-nine other persons. Having heard the parties upon this petition, the deputies adjudged, the magistrates consenting, that said Curtis "shall have fifty acres of the land that is already laid out to

him, where he hath built, so it be in one place, with all manner of accommodation appertaining thereto as other inhabitants have." And also that he shall have liberty to take up two hundred and fifty acres of land without the bounds of the town, but near and adjoining thereto.

This closed the controversy between Mr. Curtis and the other settlers, a controversy which ought not and could not have arisen if the Colonial Legislature had exercised more care in making grants of land. The grant which Curtis had acquired by purchase was to Noyes, of two hundred and fifty acres, with the right to locate upon any lands not already granted. This was earlier than the grant of the eight miles square for the Worcester plantation, and yet the latter grant was made without excepting the tract of land which had then been located under the grant to Noyes within the limits of the eight miles square. But it was not an infrequent occurrence in those early times, when land was of comparatively little value, for successive grants to overlap each other, and thus endless confusion in land titles ensued ; and even to this day it is well-nigh impossible to fix with any certainty the exact boundaries of some estates in this county, especially estates which have never been under cultivation or enclosed, and consisting of forest or swamp lands.

§ 4. Having adjusted their controversies with all other claimants and established rules for conducting the affairs of the settlement, the committee proceeded to obtain a release of title from the Indians to the lands embraced within the limits of their grant from the Legislature, and for the sum of twelve pounds in lawful money of New England, or the full value thereof in other specie, the Indians relinquished their title (whatever that was) by a deed, executed by several of their Sagamores with great formality, July 13, 1674. The receipt of part payment, viz., two coats and four yards of trucking cloth, valued at twenty-six shillings, as earnest in hand, was acknowledged. The conveyance was to the committee in fee, and to the rest of the people admitted, or to be admitted, to be inhabitants—a most indefinite designation of the grantees. Another peculiarity about this deed was the fact that the acknowledgment was taken by Gookin, one of the grantees. But in reality it mattered little what was the form of deed executed by these untutored and nomadic savages, for, according to the law as interpreted by the highest courts in this country and in England, the Indians had no fee in the land, but only a right of temporary occupation, and the Crown, only, had the power to extinguish that right. But, nevertheless, as a means of promoting friendly relations with their uncivilized neighbors, it was good policy for the settlers of the town to go through the form of purchasing their lands from them ; yet the worthlessness of the covenant contained in that deed, that the grantees, their heirs and assigns, should forever peacefully enjoy the granted

premises, was made painfully manifest not many months after the giving of the deed, when the Nipmucks and other neighboring tribes joined Philip in his war of attempted extermination of the English settlements throughout the colony. But Gookin and Eliot, who had the amplest means of knowledge on the subject, earnestly asserted that the praying Indians of the Nipmuck and other tribes remained faithful and true to the English.

We have now reached a stage in the history of the settlement of Worcester when, as appears from the foregoing brief narrative, a grant of a territory eight miles square had been made by the Colonial Legislature to a committee, representing in reality the future inhabitants of the place, and that committee had procured from the Indians whatever right or title they might have had in or to the territory. Provision had been made for the public worship of God and popular education; a training-field had been laid out, and a block-house or fort erected for purposes of defence in case of need; public highways had been provided for, and other appropriate measures adopted for establishing a civilized and Christian community.

And in the spring of 1674 as many as thirty house-lots were laid out and houses began to be erected. But "most of those who had expressed an intention to become planters, and who joined in the petition of the Committee in May, 1674, discouraged by difficulties or delay, had abandoned their purpose." Still, notwithstanding this desertion of many who had promised to give aid to the new enterprise, the work of settlement was pushed forward with vigor by those who were willing to encounter the inevitable hardship and dangers connected with the planting civilization in regions inhabited only by wild beasts and nomadic tribes of savage men. In the spring of 1675, and in the early summer of that year, the settlement had so far advanced that, in the language of an annalist of the period, the inhabitants "had built after the manner of a town." This was the hopeful state of affairs when, in midsummer of 1675, King Philip's War broke out in Plymouth Colony, and soon carried devastation and terror into every part of that and the Massachusetts Colony.

The commencement of hostilities in that desolating war, in what is now Worcester County, furnished an illustration of a trait in the Indian character which education and Christianity combined seem powerless to eradicate. Matoonus, a Christianized Indian, had a son who was executed in 1671 for the murder of an Englishman. Matoonus, described as a grave and sober Indian, and who had been specially befriended by Gookin, and appointed by him as one of the police officers of the neighborhood, still cherishing the vindictive spirit so characteristic of his race, visited Mendon, with others of his tribe, July 10, 1675, and there avenged, according to his notion of retributive justice, the death of his son by the murder of five of the unoffending inhabitants of that town.

"This," says Lincoln in his admirable "History of Worcester," "was the signal for the commencement of a desperate contest. Common dangers produced that efficient union of the Northern Colonies, cemented by the necessity of self-preservation. The war was not of long duration. Energetic and rapid excursions laid waste the resources of the hostile tribes; the allies enticed to their support, foreseeing their fate, grew cold towards ancient friendships; their supplies were destroyed; their wigwams were consumed, and Philip and his forces, hunted from post to post, deserted homes, and took refuge among the Nipmuck villages, where they received shelter and reinforcements. Unable to maintain open fight, they continued an unsparing predatory warfare upon the exposed homes and garrisons. Alarm prevailed throughout New England. None knew when to expect the visitation of the foe, lurking unseen in the solitude of the forest, until the blow fell, as sudden as the lightning, and left the effects traced with fire and blood. The husbandmen went forth to cultivate the field, armed as if for battle; the musket and the sword rested by the pillow, whose slumber was often broken, as the war-whoop rose on the watches of the night. The planters of Worcester, placed hard by the seat of the enemy, remote from friendly aid, with no dwelling of civilized man nearer than Marlborough on the east, Lancaster towards the north, and Quabaug (now Brookfield) westward, to afford assistance and support, were compelled to desert their possessions, and dispersed among the larger towns. The silence of desolation succeeded to the cheerful sounds of industry, and the village was abandoned to the wild beast and fiercer foe." And so ended the first act of the heroic struggle to plant a new town on this then perilous frontier.

§ 5. Before proceeding to any account of the second unsuccessful attempt to establish a permanent settlement here, it may be well to call the reader's attention to the absolutely original plan upon which the settlement was to be effected, and how every step in the progress of the enterprise was directed and controlled by the character of the planters and the peculiar circumstances under which they were compelled to act; to the original constitution of the committee; their petition to the colonial government for a grant of territory; the grant and its conditions; to the meetings of the committee and the measures devised by them; to the principles announced by them upon which they proposed to act and to the objects to be attained by the planting of a new town in this unsettled part of the colony; to their early and embarrassing controversies respecting the title to land within the limits of the territory assigned to them and to the constant dangers by which they were menaced from the surrounding tribes of hostile Indians; to their early and careful provision for popular education and to that supreme purpose of theirs, the establishment, in its purity, of the worship of

God; to their sublime faith in the unseen and eternal, which inspired them with a courage adequate for every temporary peril and with an invincible fortitude for every trial and disappointment. It was these peculiar qualities in the character of the founders, combined with their lofty and well-defined purposes and the wholly novel circumstances under which they were called to act, that distinguished the origin and organization of towns during the first decades of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies from those of any other municipalities of any other age or country.

And the writer has set forth in the foregoing pages, in more of detail than may seem necessary, the principles, resolutions and plans adopted by the first settlers of Worcester, for the purpose of showing how broad and deep and abiding were the foundations upon which they proposed to build. For although the first attempt and the second failed, yet the principles and objects of the subsequent and successful founders of the town remained the same as those of their predecessors. In this connection brief notices of the members of the committee, by whom the affairs of the plantation were managed during the first twenty-five or thirty years, may not be deemed inappropriate; especially as every great enterprise, like the founding of a new community, derives its characteristics from those who control it in its origin and early developments. The most distinguished and influential member of that committee was Daniel Gookin, sometimes spoken of in our annals as Captain and at other times as General Gookin, for he was promoted in the military service from the office of captain to that of major-general of the colony. He was also appointed by the General Court in 1656 as superintendent of all the Indians who submitted to the government of the colony. He was the associate and fellow-laborer with John Eliot in the work of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians; he was one of the best and firmest friends the Indians ever found among the colonists, and for more than twenty years preceding his death, in March, 1687, his devotion to the interests of the Worcester settlement was constant and unabated. He was a native of the county of Kent, England, and the son of Daniel Gookin, who became one of the patentees of Virginia, and in 1621 planted a colony at Newport News, in that colony. Major-General Gookin, then a youth of nine or ten years only, accompanied his father in this attempt to plant a colony, and after his father left the colony, as is supposed, young Gookin remained, and subsequently secured large grants of land in different parts of Virginia. In 1642 missionaries were sent from Massachusetts to Virginia to convert the people from the error of their Episcopalian ways. These missionaries were not well received, and the year following their advent the Assembly passed an act forbidding them from preaching or teaching in public or private, and they were finally expelled from the colony; but not

until Captain Gookin, as he was then called, had become one of the converts, and in 1644 he left Virginia and removed with his family to Massachusetts; by which removal Virginia lost and Massachusetts gained one of the noblest of men. A few days after his arrival in Boston he became a member of the First Church; was made a freeman of the colony; resided in successive years in Roxbury, Boston and Cambridge; he was a Representative in the General Court from Cambridge in 1648 and 1651 and Speaker of the House in 1651. In 1652 he was elected an assistant and re-elected thirty-four successive years. He revisited England in 1654, and while there was appointed by Cromwell a commissioner to induce New Englanders to emigrate to the island of Jamaica. On his return to this country he endeavored to promote Cromwell's colonization scheme, but without success, and in 1657 he resigned and asked to be relieved from any further duty under his commission, which request was granted. Gookin was at that time living in Cambridge, and was appointed one of the first two licensers of the printing-press at that place.

Upon the outbreak of King Philip's War the Indians who had been gathered into villages by Gookin and Eliot, and there taught some of the arts of civilized life, became objects of suspicion and dread to the people, notwithstanding Gookin and Eliot's assurances that they would remain faithful to their vows of friendship for the English. And so great did the excitement become among the people that Gookin, for the safety of his wards—the praying Indians—removed three thousand of them to Deer Island and provided for them there and in Cambridge until the close of the war, when they were sent back to their villages. By these acts of fidelity to the Indians Gookin became excessively unpopular, for a time, with the colonists, and his life was repeatedly threatened, but he continued the undaunted friend of the Indians, and never lost faith in their loyalty. Many of these Indians enlisted in the war against Philip, in many memorable instances rendering signal services as soldiers and spies. In 1674 Gookin published "Historical Collection of the Indians in New England; of the Several Nations, Customs and Manners, Religions and Government before the English planted there." He also wrote an account of the doings and sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in 1675, '76 and '77. His manuscript "History of New England," in eight volumes, was lost. In 1657 the General Court granted to him five hundred acres of land for services in behalf of the colony. His services to the colony were constant and of the highest value, both in the civil and military line of public duty. General Gookin descended from an ancient and honorable family in England, and his descendants in New England became distinguished in various departments of public service, and by intermarriage they became connected with several of the leading families of the colony. Captain Daniel Henchman,

another member of the committee, and second to General Gookin only in the value of his services to the early settlers of Worcester, made his first appearance in the colony as a teacher of a grammar school in Boston in 1666.

He was admitted freeman in 1672, a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1674, and appointed captain of Fifth Boston Company of Colonial Militia. In May, 1675, he was sent with his company of one hundred men to the assistance of Plymouth Colony against the Indians. In July of the same year, the day after the attack by the Indians on the whites at Swansea, he again marched with his company and was present and took part in the attack upon Philip and his men at Pocasset Swamp, when the conflict only ended with the darkness, which rendered its further continuance impossible. All the other troops having been withdrawn, Captain Henchman was left with his men to watch the movements of the wily Philip, whom, having made his escape, Henchman, with only a few of his men, pursued as far as Mendon and Brookfield, in this county. He continued in active military service during that fearful and final struggle of the ruthless savage to regain possession of New England. He was regarded as one of the bravest and most skillful Indian fighters. Captain Henchman was a cousin of Judge Samuel Sewall, and allied by family ties to the Hulls, Gookins, Quineys and Eliots.

At the close of Philip's War Captain Henchman again became active as a member of the committee having charge of the "Plantation at Quinsigamond." He erected a house here in 1683, which was the home of his family till his death, in 1685. Before his death, although he had shown himself for years as a staunch friend of the plantation, he had become very unpopular, in consequence of his action respecting a controversy between Captain Wing, a favorite of the people, and Mr. Danson, about the title to a small tract of land, which both of the contestants claimed; and although, as it subsequently appeared upon full inquiry, Capt. Henchman was entirely right in his view of the case. But this vindication of his conduct was not until after his death and burial, the latter of which was attended by the immediate members of his family, two servants (one white and one black), and one or two other friends, presenting a striking illustration of the fickleness of popular favor and of the gross injustice that may be committed by what is sometimes called public opinion.

Captain Richard Beeres, an original proprietor of Waterdown—admitted freeman March, 1637—was selectman more than thirty years, and represented his town many years in the General Court. He was also actively employed in the military service of the Colony. In 1675 he marched with his company to the relief of Brookfield, thence to Hadley, thence to Hatfield and Deerfield; in the months of August and September was present in several engagements with

the Indians, in which he exhibited the qualities of a brave and skillful leader. September 3, 1675, he started with only thirty-six men to bring off the men from the garrison at Northfield. The next day, while pushing on towards the fort with a part of his men, they fell into an ambuscade, and were driven back by the deadly fire of the Indians to a place called Beeres' Hill, and there the conflict was continued until the brave leader and most of his men were slain.

Captain Thomas Prentice, born in England 1620, came to this country 1649 and settled at first in Cambridge. He was a farmer. He became a member of the church in Cambridge and freeman in 1653. He was elected lieutenant of a company of troopers in 1656. In 1662 was captain, and represented Cambridge in the General Court in 1672, '73 and '74; was chairman of the Board of Selectmen of New Cambridge many years. He was an extensive landowner in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. He was noted for his courage, self-possession and keen sense of justice. He was a terror to the Indians in war and a firm and judicious friend of theirs in times of peace. He was ever ready to answer the call of the country and served with marked distinction during the war with King Philip. He commanded the troops sent to escort Sir Edmund Andros, who had escaped to Rhode Island, back to Boston. Upon the death of General Gookin, Captain Prentice was appointed superintendent of the Christian Indians as his successor upon the petition of the Indians. He was in command of the troops that escorted them to Deer Island by order of General Gookin in 1675. His death, at the age of eighty-nine, was caused by a fall from his horse, July 7, 1709.

Adam Winthrop, grandson of John Winthrop, born 1647 and graduated at Harvard in 1668; was made freeman in 1683; was one of the commissioners for the town of Boston 1684, 1685 and 1690; selectman, 1688-89; Representative in the General Court, 1689, 1691 and 1692. He was appointed a member of the Governor's Council under the provincial charter, but failed to be elected by the people in the following year (1693). At his death, in 1700, he left one son, graduate of Harvard 1694, and one daughter.

Captain John Wing, of Boston, acquired his title, it is believed, by his service as a mariner; was appointed constable in Boston in 1671-72. In 1676 was chosen to "look after too much drinking in private houses." This was probably done more to secure the excise duties on liquors than for the purpose of promoting moderate drinking. He was for many years the popular landlord of the Castle Tavern, which stood on the corner of Elm Street and Dock Square. He was elected a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery in 1694. He became interested in the plantation near "Quinsigamond Pond," and undertook, as early as 1684, to supply the town

with a grist-mill and saw-mill, two indispensable things for a new frontier town. In October, 1684, he was made a member of the committee for the plantation. He gave much of his time for the next six years after his appointment to the business of the committee. He was the first town clerk elected by the inhabitants. He died in Boston, February 22, 1703.

Captain William Bond, of Watertown, son of Thomas Bond, of Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk County, England, was a man of large and varied capacity for affairs, and filled many public offices, the duties of which he never failed to perform acceptably. He was successively selectman, town clerk, justice of the peace (not an unimportant office in his day), member of the Council of Safety, Representative and first speaker of the General Court, under the Provincial charter; and he was one of the committee for rebuilding the town of Lancaster, after its destruction by the Indians.

Captain Joseph Lynd, of Charlestown, was a wealthy merchant and large land-owner, Representative in the General Court, member of the Committee of Safety in 1689, and one of the Council under the new charter.

Peun Townsend, born in Boston, 1651, made freeman in 1674, and the same year was elected member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He was promoted in the military line until he reached the rank of colonel. In civil life he was, in succession, selectman, Representative, commissioner and judge.

Captain Ephraim Hunt, of Weymouth, was of English origin. He accompanied the expedition to Canada in 1690. This was the expedition devised by the congress of the Colonies which met in New York in May, 1690. The conquest of Canada was to be attempted by marching a land force by way of Lake Champlain against Montreal, while Massachusetts should, with a fleet, attack Quebec. It was the latter that Captain Hunt accompanied. He afterwards served as colonel on an expedition against the Indians at Groton, in 1706-7. He was a Representative and Councilor.

Deacon John Haynes, at one time a member of the committee, resided in Sudbury, and was a Representative of that town in the General Court, and was a person to whom his neighbors frequently resorted for the adjustment of their controversies. Such is a brief record of the men who were conspicuous actors in the settlement of Worcester; and any community may deem itself fortunate, which can find names of such men upon the roll of its founders.¹

§ 6. The war, which had desolated many parts of New England, ended with the death of Philip, its chief instigator; and upon the return of peace the committee renewed their efforts for a permanent settlement

of the town, for which they had so long and earnestly labored.

One of their first acts in this new attempt was to acquire any right Pannasumet, a Sagamore, who did not sign the first deed from the Indians, might have had in the territory upon which the town was to be built. This second deed, bearing date of December, 1677, was executed by the widow of Pannasumet and his heirs. It contains covenants that the grantors had "good and just title, and *natural* right and interest in the territory, and that they would warrant its enjoyment" by the grantees. The committee, in 1678, directed the planters to return before the year 1680; but this direction was disregarded—no one of all the former settlers returned.

At a meeting in Cambridge March 3, 1678, attended by Gookin, Henshman and Prentice of the committee and by sixteen other persons, it was agreed "that, God willing, they intend, if God spare life and peace continue, to endeavor, either in person or by other persons and means, to settle said plantation sometime next summer." They proposed to build a town according to a model furnished by "Major Gookin and Major Henshman."

The objects sought to be attained by this new endeavor show how firmly the planters adhered to their original purposes. They were, "1st, security from their enemies; 2d, for the better *convenity* of attending God's worship; 3d, for the better education of their children in society; 4th, for the better accommodation of trades people; 5th, for better helps to civility; 6th, for more convenient help in case of sickness, fire or calamity."

But these good resolutions were not then carried into execution; and no effectual measures had been adopted for a re-settlement when, in October, 1682, the General Court gave notice to the committee, that the grant to them would be considered forfeited unless some decisive measures were soon taken to form a plantation.

This led to renewed efforts on the part of the committee, and such arrangements were made as induced a small number (not exceeding five or seven) of the former settlers to return; and they, with other new associates, undertook to rebuild, on foundations that had once been laid and abandoned, a citadel as a refuge for all in times of alarm and danger. "Care was to be taken to provide a minister with all convenient speed, and a school master in due season." Until a minister could be provided, the people were to assemble on the Sabbath and conduct religious services as well as they could. The land was divided into lots of ten and twenty-five acres. The north part of the territory, called at one time North Worcester, but is now the town of Holden, was divided into two hundred lots.

On the 10th of September, 1684, according to Lincoln, the General Court passed an act, at the request of Gookin, Prentice and Henshman, that their planta-

¹ Many of the facts contained in these notices are derived from the historical notes published with the doings of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the naming of Worcester.

tion at Quinsigamond should be called Worcester. Honorable George F. Hoar, in his instructive and eloquent address on the occasion of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the naming of Worcester, says this act of the General Court granting the request of Gookin and his associates, was passed October 15, 1684. Captain Henchman, one of the most active and efficient members of the Committee, died in 1685 or '86—both dates are given by different writers. At that time the public affairs of the Colony were conducted by a President and Council appointed by the Crown, after the Crown had most unjustly procured the abrogation of the Colony charter.

Upon application to that President and Council—for there was then no other competent authority to appeal to by the proprietors of Worcester—General Gookin and Captain Prentice, of the old committee, were reappointed, and Mr. William Bond, of Watertown, Captain Joseph Lynde and Deacon John Haynes, of Sudbury, were appointed new members. This committee was entrusted with the general powers to order and regulate all matters relating to the settlement. From this date, 1686, till 1713 authentic information respecting the transactions and progress of the new settlement is meagre and fragmentary. The Proprietors' Book of Records contains no entries of transactions during that interval of twenty-seven years. It is known that appointments were made to fill vacancies in the committee as late as 1691, from which it is safe to infer that the number of settlers was too small, or that other reasons existed to render them unable to manage their own community affairs. It is also known that at this time an unfortunate controversy arose between Captain Wing, a man of great popularity among the planters, and Mr. Dawson, a Quaker and resident in Boston, respecting the title to a tract of land. This controversy, although a private one, seriously disturbed the harmony of the little settlement and retarded its growth.

Another cause which still further disturbed the peace and harmony of the settlement was the building, or attempting to build, a second citadel in the southerly part of the plantation, the first being in the northerly part; this was in 1692.

In consequence of the dissensions growing out of these causes, some of the planters were induced to remove to other and older towns in the colony, and some into the adjoining colony of Connecticut. In 1699 still another event occurred which depressed the fortunes of the struggling settlement. Application had been made to the Governor and Council for aid, but instead of granting the desired assistance, the General Court, on March 20, 1699, passed an act striking Worcester from the list of frontier towns, and left it to its own resources, without much hope of further aid from the government. After this the plantation ceased to flourish, and finally there was only one family remaining on the whole territory of eight miles square,

and that was the family of the brave Digby Serjent, who at last, while heroically defending his lonely dwelling on Sagatobscoot Hill, fell a victim to the ferocity of his savage foes, and his wife and five children were carried off into captivity. The wife and mother, however, being unable to endure the hardships of a hurried journey through the trackless forests, was slain by her captors, and the children alone held captive, from which some of them never returned, and, it is said, two of them having become enamored of the wild freedom of savage life, did not desire to return to the pleasures and restraints of civilized society. This final avenging blow fell upon the new settlement, according to differing accounts, in 1702, '03 or '04. And from that time silence and desolation reigned over the "Plantation at Quinsigamond," until the last attempt to give permanency to this plantation was made in 1713.

§7. In the year 1709 Joseph Sawyer and fifteen other persons presented a petition "To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Capt. General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and to the Honourable the Council and Representatives in General Court assembled," etc., saying they were willing to undertake the settlement of Worcester, if they could have a firm foundation of settlement laid and a fort built and needful protection. Upon this petition the Council ordered that Elisha Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall and Nathaniel Paine should be a committee to consider the expediency of granting the request and the course to be adopted. But the House of Deputies refused to concur, as the disturbed condition of the times rendered the enterprise too dangerous to be sustained by legislative approbation.

The dangers here adverted to were not those alone which the colonists had reason to apprehend from their Indian neighbors. During the thirty years from 1683 to 1713, many events, with which the Indians had no connection, occurred to disturb the public tranquillity and to hinder the peaceful settlement of country and seriously to retard its growth; such as the unjust, if not absolutely illegal, abrogation of the colony charter in the reign of Charles II.; the subsequent establishment of a new and arbitrary government here under Andros. The commission of James II. to Andros contained a suggestion that the King claimed title to all "lands, tenements and hereditaments" in the colony, and that they were to be granted to such persons and upon such conditions as the monarch might see fit to select and impose. And the charter having been annulled, the people were told that "their land was the King's, that the grants from the General Court had not been made under the seal of the colony," and were therefore worthless, and that all who would perfect their titles must take out new patents upon such terms as the King in his pleasure might be disposed to grant. This alone was sufficient to check, for a time, all attempts to estab-

lish new settlements. But, fortunately for the cause of human liberty and good government, the infatuated James was soon driven from the throne, and the tyrannical rule of his minion, Andros, over the colony was speedily brought to an end. But the unsettled state of public affairs during and following the Revolution of 1788, the struggle on the part of the colonists to regain their ancient charter, of which they had been most unjustly deprived, and the change from that to the less liberal provincial charter, produced a condition of things in the colony wholly unfavorable to the building up of new towns. And during the first years of the eighteenth century Massachusetts, with the other New England colonies, was almost continually exposed to the hostile incursions of the French from Canada and their Indian allies, and was only relieved from that menace at the close of the war between England and France, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713. It will be remembered that as long as Canada remained under the dominion of France, the colonies of necessity became involved in any general war between that country and England.

Six months after the last-named date, that is, on October 13, 1713, Colonel Adam Winthrop, Gershom Rice and Jonas Rice, of Marlborough, presented a petition to the General Court, on behalf of themselves and others, setting forth that they desired to enter upon a new settlement of the place from which they had been driven by the war. Their petition was received with favor, and Hon. William Taylor, Colonel Adam Winthrop, Hon. William Dudley, Lieutenant-Colonel John Ballantine and Captain Thomas Howe were appointed a committee "to direct in ordering the prudentials of the plantation till they come to a full settlement."

This committee made their first report June 14, 1714. They had allowed thirty-one rights of former inhabitants, and twenty-eight new settlers were allowed to take lands upon the payment of twelve pence per acre for their planting or building-lots only, and upon the further condition that they would build and dwell "on each right, whether acquired by purchase, grant or representation." Provision was made for the support of the ministry and schools. The report was accepted and approved by the proper authorities. The first of the former planters to return and begin the re-settlement was Jonas Rice; and the permanent settlement of Worcester takes its date from the day of his return, October 21, 1713. He, like the unfortunate Serjent, built on Sagatobscot Hill, and with his family he remained for eighteen months sole inhabitant of the place, till he was joined by his brother Gershom, in the spring of 1715. The daring and fortitude of the pioneer builders of these pleasant and now peaceful towns cannot be too much admired or too highly honored. Twice had the attempt been made to settle Worcester, and twice had the infant settlement been left in ruins

and every inhabitant driven from his possessions by a savage foe, as unreasoning as he was vindictive and relentless.

And now the third attempt is to be made in the midst of lurking dangers and well-known hardships, which would have daunted a less sturdy and heroic race of men. They made provision for guarding against the dangers by which they were surrounded by building garrison-houses and fortresses, and even their own dwellings were built for defence as well as for shelter. Mills were early constructed for the manufacture of lumber and the grinding of grain, roads were built, and soon a tavern—that species of a temporary home so much admired by Dr. Johnson and Shenstone—was opened by a Mr. Rice on the site of the present Walker building.

A building was erected on Green Street in which the people assembled for worship from Sabbath to Sabbath, until a meeting-house was erected in 1719, on the site recently occupied by the "Old South."

From evidence furnished by the proprietary records, and derived from other sources, it is probable that the inhabitants of Worcester had increased to two hundred in 1718-19. About that time a company of Scotch immigrants attempted to settle in Worcester; they were a portion of a larger emigration from the north of Ireland, where they had formed a plantation in the time of James I. They were Presbyterians, and although under William they were permitted to retain their form of worship, yet they were required to aid in the support of the Established Church. They, therefore, like the Pilgrim Fathers, not being satisfied with the new home, for which they had left their native country, again embarked for a country where they supposed they would be allowed to enjoy both religious and civil liberty. But they soon learned that the spirit of intolerance had crossed the ocean with those who came to these shores to escape the intolerance to which they were subjected in the land from which they came.

These "frugal, industrious and peaceful" people formed a religious society here, and began to erect a meeting-house in which to "worship God according to the dictates of their consciences," following the Presbyterian formularies. But while the building was in process of construction, a mob of citizens assembled at night and completely demolished the structure. These people were otherwise persecuted and annoyed to such an extent that many of them left the town and settled in the town of Pelham, in Hampshire County. And thus Worcester, by intolerance and bigotry, drove from her borders many who would have been among the most valuable of her early inhabitants. But this unjust treatment of Presbyterian emigrants was not peculiar to Worcester. Wherever they settled they were subject to outrage and persecution. It is said that this was, in part, at least, due to the fact that these people came from Ireland, and were represented as Irish, who, at that

time, were "generally, but undeservedly, obnoxious" to the English colonists.

This prejudice against both Irish and Presbyterians admits of a ready explanation, if this were the time and place for it, but it cannot be justified.

All of these emigrants from Scotland through Ireland did not leave Worcester, but some of them became permanently settled here, and their names are still borne by their descendants, who are among the more honored and respected citizens of Worcester of the present generation.

The population of the place had become so great by the year 1721 as to have outgrown the government and management of its affairs by a committee, and the freeholders and proprietors, therefore, petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation.

And on the 14th of June, 1722, the following resolve was passed:

Resolved, That the inhabitants of Worcester be vested with the powers and privileges of other towns within this Province, and that it be earnestly recommended to that Council only of the seven churches which did meet at Worcester in September, 1721, to whom the contending parties submitted their differences relating to the Rev. Mr. Andrew Gardner, that the said Council proceed and go to Worcester on or before the first Wednesday in September next, to finish what is further necessary to be done for the procuring and establishing of peace in said town, according to the submission of the parties; and that the Freeholders and inhabitants of Worcester be assembled on the last Wednesday in September next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, to choose all town officers as by law accustomed for towns to do at their annual meeting in March; and that, at the opening of the meeting, they first proceed to the choice of a moderator by written votes.

This is commonly cited as the charter or act incorporating Worcester as a town. It is in form a resolve, and not an act, and confers only such powers and privileges as were possessed by other towns in the province. And it was long after the date of this resolve—in fact, not until after the adoption of the State Constitution, in 1780, that the first act was passed (St. 1785 ch. 75) declaring towns within this government to be bodies politic and corporate. No town was formally incorporated in the colony, province or State until the passage of that act; but by that act all towns that had been previously erected by resolve or otherwise were made bodies corporate. It is true that "the earlier statutes of the colony and province concur with those under the present constitution investing towns with the power to agree upon and make rules, orders and by-laws for managing and ordering the prudential affairs of the town."¹ But they were not thereby made municipal corporations, as that term is now understood.

The same learned judge (Chief Justice Shaw), from whose opinion in the case cited the above quotation is made, says, in another part of the same opinion, that "townships were originally local divisions of the territory, made with a view to a settlement and disposition of the property in the soil.

But the proprietors or inhabitants of such territorial divisions were not at first invested with political or municipal rights and powers." It was in this way that Worcester originated, and it was nearly or quite fifty years after the first settlement before the plantation passed from the control of a committee, and the inhabitants and proprietors began to exercise municipal powers and rights in the choice of their own officers and the management of their own affairs.

The first town-meeting called under the foregoing resolve was held September 28, 1722. The necessary town officers were chosen, who entered at once upon the discharge of their duties; and Worcester then, released from its fifty years of pupillage and discipline, asserted its individuality as a corporate power, and has since performed no inconspicuous part in the history of the Commonwealth and nation in times both of peace and war.

§ 8. Having now briefly sketched the various stages through which Worcester passed, from the first heroic struggles of its founders till it assumed its equal place among the other organized communities of the Province, the main purpose of this chapter has been accomplished.

And as the writing of its military, ecclesiastical, educational and industrial history, during the sixty years that intervened between 1722 and the close of the Revolutionary War, has been assigned to other hands, a few only of the more strictly municipal events of that period will be touched upon in the remaining pages of this chapter. Although the town had become firmly established, and was no longer menaced by hostile tribes of Indians in its immediate vicinity, yet for many years its growth and prosperity were retarded by the actual or apprehended hostility of what was called the Eastern Indians, then inhabiting portions of what is now the State of Maine and the adjoining Provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia. This state of insecurity made it necessary that considerable numbers of the able-bodied men of the town should be employed to guard the outposts and to give warning of approaching danger. And it may with historic truth be affirmed, that the inhabitants of Worcester and other frontier towns were never permitted to dwell in safety and free from the apprehension of hostile invasion from the French or Indians, or both together, until after the crowning victory of Wolfe at Quebec and the treaty of 1763, by which France lost her North American possessions forever, and the Indians, left without civilized allies, became less formidable and obstructive to the planters of frontier settlements.

In 1731 an event occurred which produced a beneficial and lasting influence on the fortunes of Worcester.

At the date of the resolve conferring municipal powers upon Worcester, the town formed a part of Middlesex County, and was situated on the western

border of that county. On April 2, 1731, an act was passed by the Provincial Legislature establishing the county of Worcester, and Worcester was made the shire-town of the new county, not because of its relative importance so much as by reason of its central location.

There was a proposition, says Mr. Lincoln in his history, "to make Lancaster and Worcester half-shires, having the sessions of Court held alternately in each, and it would have prevailed, except for the opposition of Joseph Willard, Esq., who remonstrated against the administration of justice in Lancaster, lest the morals of the people should be corrupted."

There can be no reason to doubt the correctness of the historian's statements that such a proposition was made and that Mr. Willard opposed it; but the assignment of the reason for his opposition can hardly be accepted without material qualifications. The real reason influencing the careful Mr. Willard may probably be found in another passage from the same historian, in which he records the fact that "the terms of Court were the great holidays of the county, and its population assembled in Worcester, as a general exchange, for the transaction of business, or pursuit of amusement in the rude sports of the period. The judicial proceedings, now forsaken, except by parties, witnesses and officers, were generally attended by a multitude that thronged the streets. Wrestling, fighting and horse-racing were common exercises, and frequent exhibitions of discipline in the stocks and pillory and at the whipping-post attracted crowds of spectators."

Horse-racing in Main Street during the terms of courts was at length forbidden under a penalty of twenty shillings lawful money. This was in 1745. But the prohibition was, by the terms of the vote, to continue for the space of three years only. This was a very common method of legislation during the Colonial period and even later. And the statutes whose duration was fixed by definite limitation were called "temporary laws" in contradistinction from other laws which were termed "perpetual." The establishment of the courts in Worcester at that early period was an event far more important to its prosperity as a municipality than any similar transaction would be at the present day, when our great mechanical and manufacturing industries, extensive trade and unsurpassed railroad facilities render the presence of the courts here relatively an insignificant factor, in the aggregate of influences, which are carrying Worcester forward in its marvelous career of increasing population and wealth. It is indeed true now, as it always has been, that the existence of the courts here makes Worcester the residence of a large proportion of the members of the county bar, who constitute a very influential body of citizens, and whose influence in the main is beneficial to, and confers honor and strength upon, the place of their residence.

In 1722 the owners and tenants in common of the two hundred lots forming the north part of the township held a meeting duly convened for the purpose, and organized a distinct proprietary, called North Worcester, which, however, continued to be a part of Worcester until 1740. In 1730 the planters in the north part were exempted from town rates in the south part for seven years, on condition of making and maintaining their own highways. In 1740 the town voted to consent to the incorporation of North Worcester as a separate town, "if it be the pleasure of the Great and General Court, in consideration of the great distance from the place of public worship." And on the 9th of January, 1740, an act was passed whereby the northerly part of Worcester was set off and "erected into a distinct and separate township, by the name of Holden." The date of this act is given in Lincoln's "History of Worcester" as November 2, 1740—upon what authority does not appear. The above date of January 9, 1740, is taken from vol. ii., pp. 1043-1044 of the "Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," recently printed by authority of the Legislature.

The new town was called Holden in honor of Mr. Samuel Holden, who died in London the same year the town was incorporated. He was a man of wealth and a leader among the Dissenters in England. He was a friend and benefactor of the Province, and was distinguished for his general benevolence and many charities.

After his death his heirs, to whom he left an ample fortune for those times, followed his worthy example in deeds of charity, and it was to them and the widow of Mr. Holden that Harvard University is indebted for Holden Chapel.

In 1733 the proprietors of the township of Worcester passed the following vote, viz.: "Voted, that 100 acres of the poorest land on Mill Stone hill be left common for the use of the town for building stones." This vote, nearly one hundred years after its passage, became the cause of an interesting lawsuit, in which the inhabitants of Worcester were the plaintiffs and William E. Green the defendant. They claimed that the vote conveyed to them the one hundred acres in fee simple; the defendant, who derived his title from the same proprietors by mesne conveyances, claimed that the fee was his; and the Supreme Judicial Court so held, saying, "It was no doubt the intention of the proprietors to secure to the town or its inhabitants a valuable and perpetual interest in the land described in the grant, but that the land itself did not pass." This suit was in 1824.¹

Again, in 1851, the owner of the fee brought suit against an inhabitant of the town who had entered upon the one hundred acres, and taken stones from the quarry thereon for building purposes. In this case the court decided that the terms of the grant by

¹ 2 Pick., 425.

the aforesaid vote included the right to get stone for the use of the inhabitants, not merely for buildings, in the narrow and restricted sense of that word, but for all those structures and purposes for which such material, in the progress of time and the arts, may be made useful. In this sense it would not be a violation of the right to appropriate the stone to the building of fences, bridges, arches, culverts, drains, curb-stones, monuments in cemeteries, and to the various ornamental uses to which it is usually applied. The erection of public buildings by the town in its corporate capacity, or of houses and stores by persons not resident in Worcester, to be occupied and improved by the inhabitants, would be for the use of the inhabitants, and so within the fair intent of the grant. But the use of the stone for building purposes, without the limits of Worcester, by inhabitants of other towns, is clearly a violation of the right. The court adds, that the grant of the right to the stone carries with it, as a necessary incident, the right to enter and work the quarry, and to do all that is necessary and usual for the full enjoyment of the right, such as hewing the stone and preparing it for use.¹

The right secured by that vote, passed more than one hundred and fifty years ago, was of comparatively little value for many years, but the extraordinary growth of Worcester in population and wealth, and the consequent increase in the demand for building material, has rendered the quarries on Mill Stone Hill a mine of wealth to the city and its inhabitants.

From 1740 the town increased slowly but steadily in population and wealth until 1763. But few events, however, occurred during that period, the record of which comes properly within the scope of this chapter.

Worcester, in common with other New England towns, was more or less involved in and affected by the wars between England and other European countries, as has already been stated, and especially in and by those which prevailed, with intervals of peace that were little more than truces, between England and France, from the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, to that of Paris, in 1763, a period of fifty years. During what was known in this country as the French and Indian War, extending from 1754 to 1763, Worcester furnished soldiers every year for the English armies of defence or conquest, and in all four hundred and fifty-three men, besides those who enlisted in the regular army.

In 1754 the voters of the town were called upon to vote on a question relating to the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors: not, indeed, upon the question whether licenses for selling such liquors should or should not be granted, but whether the consumers of liquors, sold by unlicensed sellers, should pay the duty thereon.

A bill was passed by the General Court requiring every householder, when called on by a collector, to render an account, under oath, of the quantity of such liquors used in his family, not purchased of a licensed person, and to pay the duty thereon. Governor Shirley refused to give his assent to the bill; but instead of vetoing it outright, he had it printed and submitted to the consideration of the people. The voters of Worcester gave a unanimous vote against the bill "relating to the excise on the private consumption of spirituous liquors being passed into a law," and instructed their Representative, John Chandler, "to use his utmost endeavor to prevent the same." To understand this peculiar transaction, it should be remembered that the Provincial Legislature used, from time to time, to pass "acts for granting unto His Majesty an excise upon spirits distilled, wines," etc., the act providing that the excise should be paid by taverners and other persons licensed to sell the same. Such an act, for instance, was passed December 19, 1754, and the money collected under the act was to be used in lessening the debt of the province and for no other purpose. One section of the act provided that every person consuming or using in his or her house, family, apartment or business any distilled spirits or wine, "except they purchased the same of a taverner, inn-holder or retailer in this province and in a less quantity than thirty gallons, shall pay the duties" prescribed by the act. As the negative vote of Worcester above referred to was given September 2, 1754, and this act was passed December following, it is evident the voice of Worcester did not prevail to prevent the passage of the act. There is another fact connected with that vote of the town worthy of notice, as showing the custom of the people, at that early day, of giving their Representative instruction as to his legislative duties. The last section of the act above referred to would hardly be adopted at the present day as a part of a prohibitory or license law. It was as follows: "That none of the clauses in this act, respecting persons being obliged to render an account of the spirituous liquors aforesaid, shall extend, or be deemed or construed to extend, to his excellency, the governor, lieutenant-governor, president, fellows, professors, tutors and students of Harvard College, settled ministers and grammar school masters in this province."

In the fall of 1755 eleven persons came to Worcester, or rather were sent here, to be provided for by the town authorities. They were strangers, and spoke a foreign language. Some were old and some young—they were of both sexes. They were apparently an inoffensive folk, willing and able to work for their own support, except one aged pair, who were past labor, and were taken care of by a young girl of seventeen.

These eleven persons were a small detachment of many thousand involuntary exiles from their native land. They were, in short, a small part of the thou-

¹8 Cushing, pp. 28, 29.

sand Acadian exiles who had been forced by the military power of England to leave their pleasant homes "on the shores of the Basin of Minas," and had recently been landed in Boston, and distributed thence among the several towns of the Province by a committee appointed for that purpose. Why this forcible removal of the inhabitants from Acadia, by direct command of the British Government, should be characterized, as it is, by one of our local historians, as the darkest blot on *our* history is not very clear, unless he means that this Province, being then a part of the British Dominions, was a participant in the guilt of an act of cruelty which it had no power to prevent. It is true that the forces employed to drive these unoffending people from the homes they had built, and which they passionately loved, were commanded by Gen. John Winslow, a relative of Gov. Winslow, of Plymouth; but he was an officer in the British army, and acted upon orders emanating from the head of that army, and not upon any orders from the Provincial Government. It is also true that in the army commanded on that occasion by General Winslow there were many soldiers from Massachusetts, and among them were seventeen from Worcester. But all these things combined are not sufficient to render Massachusetts or New England responsible for an act which admits of no justification; for it was an act quite beyond their control. And while we may agree with the historian, as he declares that "I know not if the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia, or have our sympathies deepened and intensified for the sufferers in reading the enchanting lines of Longfellow's 'Evangeline,' yet there are explanations which can be made that would, perhaps, mitigate the severity of the judgment which the reader, without the explanations, is ready to pronounce upon the actors in a transaction which drove a whole people into exile, and from which they were never permitted to return." But all that remains that is pertinent to be said in this connection is that the small number of these exiles who were sent to Worcester were treated by the inhabitants with great kindness, and that they, while dwelling here, continued to pursue "their industrious and frugal habits and mild and simple manners." And some of the oldest among them having died, as it is said, broken-hearted, the remnant, after the lapse of twelve years from their first coming to Worcester, returned to their countrymen in Canada."

During the years 1764, '65 and '66 several attempts were made in the Legislature for the formation of a new county from the northern part of Worcester County and the western part of Middlesex. These projects were vigorously and successfully opposed by Worcester and other towns in both counties. At the same time a petition from Lancaster was presented to the Legislature asking to have that town

made a half-shire; but this attempt, like those for a new county, failed. In relation to the removal of some terms of the court to Lancaster, the people of Worcester again exercised the right of instructing their Representative and directed him "to use his utmost endeavor to prevent the removal;" also to procure another term of the Superior Court in Worcester. The courts were not removed, nor was any additional term established in Worcester at that time.

§ 9. A brief sketch of the history of Worcester from 1763 to 1783, a period of twenty years, will complete this chapter. It will be recollected that the last war between France and England, ending with the treaty of Paris in 1763, left England mistress of all the northern and Atlantic portions of North America; and the colonies were relieved from that state of almost incessant hostility by which they had been harassed so long as the French remained in possession of Canada. To the ordinary observer of coming events, this condition of affairs would seem to promise a long period of peace and prosperity. But, on the contrary, the colonies were engaged in actual war, or in preparation for it, most of the time during the twenty eventful years from 1763 to 1783. And there was a signal fulfillment of the prediction of the sagacious French statesman, who, when he heard of the entire cession of Canada to England, said: "England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence." The then late war in which England had been engaged doubled her national debt, and upon the return of peace, Parliament entered upon a series of unjust measures for taxing the colonies, which were at once met on the part of the colonies with vigorous resistance, and which finally issued in the war of independence. Worcester, although having within its borders a large and influential body of loyalists, was yet one of the earliest and most persistent of all the towns in the colony in its opposition to the oppressive acts of Parliament, and in the prosecution of the war when the appeal was taken from the discussion of principles to the arbitrament of the sword.

The instruction of the town to its Representative in the General Court in May, 1767, are significant of the state of feeling among the citizens at that time, and of their clever apprehension of the rights of man in general, and of their own particular rights.

In addressing these instructions to their Representative, they say:

1. That you use your influence to maintain and continue that harmony and good will between Great Britain and this province which may be most conducive to the prosperity of each by a steady and firm attachment to English liberty and the charter rights of this province, and that you willingly suffer no in-

vasions, either through pretext of precedency or any other way whatever; and if you find any encroachments on our charter rights, that you use your utmost ability to obtain constitutional redress.

2. That you use your influence to obtain a law to put an end to that unchristian and impolitic practice of making slaves of the human species in this province, and that you give your vote for none to serve in his majesty's council who, you may have reason to think, will use their influence against such a law, or that sustain any office incompatible with such, and in such choice prefer such gentlemen, and such only, who have distinguished themselves in the defence of our liberty.

The fourth instruction is upon quite a different subject and yet it had reference to the means of preserving liberty—it reads as follows: That you use your endeavor to relieve the people of this province from the great burden of supporting so many Latin grammar schools, whereby they are prevented from attaining such a degree of *English learning as is necessary* to retain the freedom of any State.

6. Take care of the liberty of the press.

The town records furnish plenary evidence that Worcester, during the ten or twelve years preceding the commencement of hostilities, in 1775, constantly and resolutely resisted the enforcement of all acts of Parliament passed in violation of the great principle for which the Colonies so steadily contended, that there should be no taxation without representation.

In the spring of 1774 an event occurred which exhibited in a striking manner the strength of popular feeling against any and all measures which the people believed tended to destroy or impair the safeguards of their rights. Parliament had passed an act the object of which was to make the judges of the Superior Court (the highest court in the Colony) dependent on the crown and independent of the Colonial Legislature. Whereupon, after ineffectual negotiations with Governor Hutchinson, the Legislature resolved "that any of the judges who, while they held their offices during pleasure, shall accept support from the crown independent of the grants of the General Court, will discover that he is an enemy to the Constitution, and has it in his heart to promote the establishment of arbitrary government." Chief Justice Oliver, of that court, was the only one of the judges who chose to defy popular sentiment by declaring that he had accepted His Majesty's bounty, and could not refuse it without royal permission. After this declaration was made public, it was reported that the chief justice would be present and hold the April term of the Superior Court in Worcester (1774); whereupon the grand jurors summoned for that term, with Joshua Bigelow, of Worcester, at their head, addressed a communication to the justices of the court, in which they say: "We, the subscribers, being returned by our respective towns to serve as jurors of inquest for this court, beg leave humbly to inform

your honors that it is agreeable to the sense of those we represent, that we should not empanel, or be sworn into this important office, provided Peter Oliver, Esqr., sits as chief justice of this court; and we would further add, that our own sentiments coincide perfectly with those of our constituents respecting this matter; so to whatever inconvenience we expose ourselves, we are firmly resolved not to empanel, we are first assured that the above gentleman will not sit as a judge in this court." They then give the reasons for their conduct, all having relation to the unfitness of the chief justice to sit as a judge in consequence of his disloyalty to the Colony and his subserviency to the crown. The result was the jurors were not impaneled until they received assurances that the obnoxious judge would not preside over them.

This action by the grand jurors was taken under the advice of the American Political Society, as it was called, and which during the two years of its existence from December, 1773, exercised a controlling influence in the town and county. It was, in fact, a self-constituted vigilance committee. At the annual March meeting, 1774, a committee, appointed to take into consideration the acts of the British Parliament for raising revenues from the Colonies, presented a report, which was adopted by the town. That report, which is quite too long to be copied here, goes over the whole ground of controversy between the Colony and the mother country, and points out the measures that should be adopted to preserve the rights of the Colonies against the encroachments of Parliament and the crown.

The royalists of the town, with Colonel Putnam as their leader, opposed the adoption of the report and accompanying resolutions, and being defeated, forty-three of their number presented a petition for another meeting to be held on the 20th of June following, hoping to rally their associates in sufficient numbers to rescind the patriotic resolutions of the March meeting. But they were again defeated, and the very able report which had been prepared by the distinguished and eloquent counselor, Colonel Putnam, was rejected or refused all consideration. But the Tory town clerk nevertheless entered the report on the town records, and which he was shortly thereafter compelled by a vote of the town to expunge so effectually that the blackened pages of the record are to this day illegible.

The signers of the petition for the June meeting were glad of an opportunity to express their penitence for having signed a petition so at variance with the popular will. Timothy Paine, of Worcester, and Colonel Murray, of Rutland, were compelled by the demands of the people to resign what were known as the mandamus commissions which they had accepted from the crown. The courts acting under royal authority were suspended in Worcester in September, 1774, in obedience to popular sentiment, and

were opened again in 1776, under the new government which had taken the place of the old.

A convention of all the Committees of Correspondence was held in Worcester September 21, 1774; it assumed legislative powers, and during the interregnum between the suspension of the royal authority and the establishment of constitutional government the orders of that convention were obeyed as laws. In a convention of the blacksmiths of the county, held in Worcester November 8, 1774, among other resolutions one was adopted which would be quite appropriate to a convention of modern boycotters, "and in particular," say the patriotic blacksmiths, "we will do no work for *Tim. Ruggles*, of Hardwick, *John Murray*, of Rutland, and *James Putnam*, of Worcester, Esqrs.; nor for any person cultivating, tilling, improving, dressing, hiring or occupying any of their lands or tenements."

But, notwithstanding the bold and apparently uncompromising spirit of the people, yet it is perfectly apparent, upon a careful study of their whole course of conduct, that they acted entirely on the defensive until the actual commencement of hostilities by the British troops, sent here to overawe the people, and finding that that could not be done, resort was had to the force of arms.

In March, 1775, a company of minute-men was formed in Worcester, and were trained under that veteran soldier, Captain Bigelow, so that when the call "To arms to arms! the war is begun!" was heard in the streets of Worcester on the 19th of April, this company was in "a short time paraded on the green, under Capt. Timothy Bigelow; and after fervent prayer by Rev. Mr. Macarty they took up their line of march" to the seat of war. The history of Worcester during the eight years from 1775 to 1783 is largely of a military character, and does not fall within the purview of this chapter.

Soon after April 19, 1775, some of the royalists of Worcester left their homes here and took refuge in Boston. Those who remained were summoned before the Revolutionary tribunal and made to give assurances that they would not leave the town without the consent of the selectmen. Some having violated their parole, two were arrested and sent, under guard, to the Congress at Watertown; the remaining royalists were disarmed, having refused to vindicate the sincerity of their pledges by joining the American troops.

The Declaration of Independence was received in Worcester July 14, 1776, and was read by Isaiah Thomas, the patriotic editor of the *Spy* of that day, from the porch of the Old South meeting-house, to an enthusiastic assembly of his fellow-citizens. The first anniversary of the Declaration was celebrated in Worcester July 8, 1777, by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannons and illuminations at night.

On the proposition to ratify the Constitution, which was reported by a committee of the General Court,

the vote of Worcester was largely in the negative. Great distress prevailed among the people in 1779-80 in consequence of the depreciation of the currency and the high prices of all the necessaries of life. At a town-meeting in August, 1779, resolutions were passed severely denouncing "regraters in the public markets, forestallers and engrossers of the produce of the country." One of the resolutions declared "that whoever refuses to sell the surplus of the produce of his farm, and retains the same to procure a higher price by means of an artificial scarcity, is very criminally accessory to the calamities of the country, and ought to be subjected to those penalties and disabilities which are due to an inveterate enemy." Is not that doctrine equally applicable to the heartless speculators, "regraters, forestallers and engrossers" of the necessaries of life in our own times? In May, 1780, the Constitution prepared by a convention of the people was submitted to them for ratification and was accepted. Worcester disapproved of the third article of the Bill of Rights relating to the support of religious worship, on the ground that it would interfere with the rights of conscience. It is singular that the same people at the same time should object to the twentieth article, conferring upon the Legislature only the power of suspending the execution of the laws, and this objection was placed on the ground that the article placed too great a restriction on the executive department.

Upon the question as to the manner in which royalist refugees should be treated, the judgment of Worcester was emphatic and stern. It was "voted" May 19, 1783, "That, in the opinion of this town, it would be extremely dangerous to the peace, happiness, liberty and safety of these States to suffer persons of the above description (refugees) to become the subjects of and reside in this government; that it would be not only dangerous, but inconsistent with justice, policy, our past laws, the public faith and the principles of a free and independent State, to admit them ourselves or have them forced upon us without our consent."

But not withstanding this severe condemnation of the forgiveness of enemies, some of the refugees, who had been banished for life and threatened with death if they returned, were allowed to come back and live in peace in their former homes during the first generation after the close of the war.

And long since the healing influences of time have done their perfect work, and the descendants of loyalists and patriots are living in the towns of their ancestors, side by side, on terms of amity and perfect equality.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

CIVIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY.

BY FRANCIS A. GASKILL, A.B.

From the Close of the Revolution to the Present Time.

WORCESTER AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

—In 1783 the town of Worcester had a population of about 2000, devoted mainly to agriculture and slightly to trade. Its municipal expenses were almost solely for the repair of its roads and the maintenance of its schools. The appropriation in the following year for the former purpose was £200, and for the latter, £100. Its means of communication with the seaboard were restricted, although in that very year, on the 20th of October, the first regular stage from Boston arrived in Worcester, and thus began an enlargement of facilities for travel. There was no necessity to divide the town into precincts to accommodate the voters, for the total vote cast in that year for Governor was only 57, of which John Hancock had 49 and James Bowdoin 8. The right of way in its streets was contested by pedestrians, cattle and swine; the only restriction on the swine being embodied in a vote of the town in that year that they "being yoked and ringed shall go at large."

The mornings and evenings were not melodious with the cry of the newsboy.

But one newspaper was published here, the *Massachusetts Spy*, and its issue was weekly. Flax was upon the spinning-wheel at almost every home. Wood was the only material used in building. The open fire-place was the only medium of warmth, and wood alone was burned. Stoves were unknown inventions and coal an unknown agent. Fires were lighted with the spark from the flint, and not with the then unimagined match.

The floors were in most instances carpeted with the bright sand, and not with warmer materials.

County conventions were not accommodated in any public hall, but were held at some house, that in 1784 being called at "the house of Sam Brown."

The town illustrated from time to time its paternal character, as in the case of Cato Walker, in 1784, to whom it voted an anvil, "he being unable to buy one,"—a wiser method, perhaps, of dealing with its poor than later years have developed, though the gift of a stock in trade to every pauper would be attended with rather grave embarrassments.

But the capacity of the people for self-government, and their ability to deal with questions of State and federal policy, had been attained by years of practice and thought. The Representative to the General Court was in fact, as well as in theory, their

servant, and his entrance upon his labors was through the passport of their instructions.

A stern sense of duty seems to have dominated them and made the expression of their views, solemnly recorded in their records, a joy and a delight. No more instructive revelation of the customs then prevalent can be had than is contained in some of the reasons adopted January 25, 1782, why the town disapproved of a late act of the Legislature laying an excise on wine, rum, wheel carriages, &c.:

3d. That if it is necessary to lay duties for the support of Government and suppression of luxury and extravagance, said duties ought to be laid on such articles only as are merely luxuries, and not on some of those mentioned in said act, spirituous liquors being absolutely necessary for our seafaring brethren coasting along our shores in Boats and Lighters at all seasons of the year to supply the market with wood, Lumber and Fish; also for the Farmer, whose Fatigue is almost insupportable in hay time and harvest and other seasons of the year, and for the New Beginners in bringing forward new Townships when they have nothing to drink but water, and perhaps are exposed to more Hardships than any other persons; nor on Bohea Tea, which, in populous places, and in many places in the country is substituted by many Poor People for their support and sustenance in the Room of milk, which is not to be had, and they find it to be a Cheap Diet.

5th. That all Consumers of Spirituous Liquors at Taverns will pay about eight times as much as the Duties amount to, for it is well known that the Tavern-keeper sells his mixt Liquors for two pence more in a mug than before the Excise was laid, when, in fact, the duties on each mug does not amount to more than a farthing, and so in proportion on other Liquors.

6th. That all Persons living upon the Borders of this Government will purchase Liquors for their own consumption of the neighboring Governments, and thereby avoid paying any of said Duties.

7th. The act exempts all persons from paying Duty who buys at one time 50 lbs. of bohea or 25 of other India Tea, which appears to be calculated to lay a Tax upon the Poor and exempt the Rich.

Delightful surprises, such as this, often appear in the records of the town, and the page is luminous with the light of forgotten views of life, or aflame with controversies long since buried. We get clearer notions of the shrewdness of our fathers and the plain honesty with which they announce their views. We see, too, at times specious reasoning applied to vexing problems, but also grave, earnest, scholarly and powerful presentation of thoughts which the experience of later generations has proved to be profound.

The history of Worcester since the close of the Revolution seems appropriately to be divided into four periods, each having a distinctive feature and each illustrated by a progress peculiarly its own.

First. Covering the time to the opening of the Blackstone Canal in 1828, being the preparatory and formative period.

Second. From the beginning of traffic over the canal and covering the vast accession of trade incident to the opening of railroad communication with Boston, Springfield, Providence and Nashua, to its incorporation as a city—being the transition period.

Third. From the organization under its charter as a city to the introduction of water and the building of sewers and covering the great material advance occasioned by the variety of its industries and the

opportunity for their development through the demands caused by the war.

Fourth. To the present time, including the introduction of multiplied agencies for growth, comfort, elegance and education, being the period of its assured and vigorous manhood.

Within the limits of this article it is not proposed to give with any exhaustive fullness the details of the yearly progress or growth or to cover in any degree the history of the city's industries or deal with its military events, but to confine the treatment to civic matters and important political occurrences.

FIRST PERIOD.

The rejoicing over the final and assured separation from the mother country had hardly ceased, the veterans of the Continental army had scarcely changed the privations of war for the more peaceful scenes and employments of home, than new anxieties and new privations awaited them. The blessings of liberty seemed less prized when liberty apparently had resulted in poverty and almost in starvation.

As soon as the war closed English agents and factors came in large numbers to this country and gradually controlled trade. Importations of foreign goods became frequent and numerous. The coin of the country was exported in payment, and thus money became scarce. English creditors, too, pressed with urgency their claims, and suits were brought with alarming frequency.

Massachusetts suffered in an exceptional degree from these and other causes. It had no tobacco and no rice to export; its fisheries had decreased to an alarming degree; it had nothing with which to pay for its imported articles, except coin, and that was speedily exhausted. The private debts in the State amounted, it is estimated, to £1,300,000. In addition to this £250,000 were due its soldiers, besides £1,500,000 as the State's proportion of the Federal debt. One-third of the latter was required to be raised on the ratable polls, numbering less than 90,000. Taxes at least must be paid in coin; so must debts, when the creditor insists. Without commerce, without manufactured articles, without exportable products and without money, the people of Massachusetts were largely forced to the rude expedient of barter and exchange; but that, indeed, afforded no relief; the coveted money was not obtained by such methods. Hence creditors did insist, collection was enforced by suit and satisfaction by levy and sale. Property and homes were sacrificed, discontent became general and relief was vainly sought. Courts were crowded with actions and suitors; lawyers alone were prosperous.

Such was the condition of Massachusetts in 1786, when the General Court met. The alluring remedies proposed in that body were to make real and personal estate legal tender; to emit paper money which should be irredeemable, and to permit free trade, so far as lawyers were concerned, admitting any person

of good character to practice in the courts, but regulating the fees. These measures failed at that time.

Redress must be sought in other ways, therefore. Conventions were called in which to discuss grievances and formulate remedies.

In May, 1786, the town of Sutton invited the towns to send delegates to a general meeting.

WORCESTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SHAYS' REBELLION.—It would be a source of greater satisfaction for every citizen of Worcester if the part which that town took in the only serious revolt against the supremacy of law in Massachusetts had been one of absolute and uninterrupted vindication of the rights of the Government. But, considering the force of opinion in almost every town in the county, the easy acquiescence with which most of the towns sent delegates to the County Convention of 1786, the corporate action of the town of Worcester, in the main, deserves our approbation and compels our admiration.

The contest came solely upon the question of sending delegates to the convention of 1786. In and of itself the mere approval of a convention to consider grievances and suggest legitimate remedies would not at any time merit censure. But when armed revolt against the peace of the Commonwealth was a possible issue, or later when it was an established fact, true patriotism was best shown by a determined refusal to have any part or lot in bodies or measures whose tendency was even remotely towards revolution. Worcester showed a sturdy and persistent opposition for many months, and even though a small majority was obtained once or twice in favor of participating in the convention, the results were disapproved.

The only petition to the General Court which Worcester adopted was in 1784, before public passion was excited. It recited as the grievances which should be remedied:

1st. "The giving into the hand of the honorable the Continental Congress the Impost to be under their sole controule," and that the act to that effect ought to be repealed, "not but that we are free and willing that an Impost on all Imported Articles ought and should immediately take place, but the Revenue thereof ought to be paid into our State Treasury, and in a Constitutional way drawn out by a warrant from the Governor, and, if appropriated to Congress, it ought to be set to our credit, so that we may receive the benefit of the same, which we conceive no State in the Union have any just right to."

2d. "Wee conceive that the expence of Days of Publick Rejoicing ought not to be paid out of the Public Treasury."

3d. "Making large grants to officers of the Continental Army, &c."

4th. "That the people of this State are greatly oppressed and distressed for the want of a ballance of a Circulating Medium, and that the credit of the State greatly suffers from no other motive than the necessity of the people and by reason of the State's holding the property of Individuals binds one part of the people so that the other part makes necessity their opportunity, which much grieves the good people of this State, and we pray that ways and measures may be found out for Relief."

The foregoing, adopted two years before Shays' Rebellion, was the only petition on the subject of grievances sent or adopted by Worcester.

At a town-meeting, held June 8, 1782, the list of grievances, which the town supposed it had, was for-

mulated for the information of its Representative to the General Court as follows :

"We instruct you Relative to some *maters of grevance* which we think we labour under :

1st. "That the Receiver-General of this extensive Commonwealth should be a Justice of the peace in the County of Middlesex, by which he is rendered unable to attend his office as Treasurer of the Commonwealth during the Time he attends the Courts in said County, by which many persons have been, and others no doubt will be, put to considerable Expence, besides loss of time and Disappointment, who have business with him as Treasurer."

2d. "As there is a Recommendation of Congress that such officers as have been Deranged and out in actual service have half pay during life, if said recommendation has or should take Place, we look upon it as a great grievance."

3d. "That the Members of the General Court, when acting as Committees of the same, have large wages over and above their pay as Representatives, is a grievance which we think we justly complain of."

4th. "That Representatives having nine shillings per day, Considering the scarcity of money and the difficulty of obtaining thereof, being almost double what they formerly had when money was much plentier and easier to be had, we think a grievance."

5th. "It is a great grievance that there has not been a general Settlement with the Treasurer of this Commonwealth, and with all others who have been entrusted with the expenditure of publick monies and have not accounted for the same."

6th. "That the State of the Treasury is not known to the Inhabitants," &c.

7th. "As the Sitting of the General Court in the Town of Boston is attended with many inconveniences, we think said Courts sitting in said Town a grievance."

8th. "That the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace at the same time much interfere with each other, by which means the County is put to the cost of paying many Justices many days, when much less time would answer the purpose as well."

9th. Large grants of land to "Alexander Shepherd and others laying in the old Province of main," &c.

Thus in 1782, by instructions to its Representative in the General Court, and in 1784 by petition to the Senate and House of Representatives, Worcester announced its grievances. No undue popular excitement existed at either of these times; but in 1786 the case was different. The supposed grievances had not been remedied by legislation or by changed conditions. Many of the people believed their burdens insupportable and saw no relief by constitutional means. Excitement ran high; demagogues caught the public eye; unprincipled men sought to lead, and danger began to threaten. In such condition of things, Worcester sought to allay the impending storm.

In May, 1786, Sutton sent an invitation to the towns of the county to send delegates to a convention. It was not considered by Worcester.

The convention, with delegates from a portion of the towns, met at Leicester, but adjourned to August 15th, and another attempt was made to obtain the presence of delegates from the remaining towns. A letter from the convention was received by Worcester, asking that it and Douglass and Northbridge might send delegates "to take under their consideration such matters as shall appear to them to be grievances, and for the towns to instruct their delegates concerning a circulating medium or such means of redress as they shall think proper."

A town-meeting was held in Worcester, August 10, 1786, to consider the invitation. Upon the proposi-

tion to send delegates, the record states that "it was passed in the negative."

Thus far through the increasing excitement Worcester had remained firm against becoming identified with the growing opposition to the government. But the movement, gaining force from the presence of delegates from nearly every town in the county and from the armed resistance at Worcester on September 5th, when the Court of Common Pleas was compelled to adjourn without transacting business, became too strong for successful opposition by the town of Worcester.

A petition for another town-meeting was presented, and in accordance with its prayer a meeting was held on September 25, 1786, at which, by a vote of 47 to 29, it was decided to send two delegates to the convention at its adjourned meeting at Paxton on the last Tuesday of September; but the town still retained the power to disapprove the action of the convention, for it voted that its delegates should report their doings at a later meeting.

The convention adopted a petition to the General Court. It was presented at a meeting of the inhabitants of Worcester, held October 2, 1786, and was read, paragraph by paragraph, and it was voted not to adopt it. But another trial of strength was demanded by the defeated party, and a petition, signed by Dr. Dix and others, was presented for another town-meeting. October 16, 1786, it was voted, by 62 affirmative to 53 negative, to choose a delegate to "meet in Convention at the house of Nathan Patch on the 2^d Tuesday of November next." Again, however, the town proposed to be careful of its good name, and it voted that the "Delegate lay the doings of the Convention before the town for their approbation or disapprobation at the next town-meeting after the meeting of the Convention." At the same meeting it chose a committee, consisting of Dr. Dix and others, to prepare instructions for its Representative to the General Court.

Town-meetings were frequent in those days. At the next one, held October 23d, the party of order were in the majority, and the instructions prepared by Dr. Dix and others were refused adoption by a vote of 59 in favor of adoption to 67 against. Other instructions were then adopted, but it is a pleasure to read that a proposition to instruct the Representative to use his endeavor to have the law repealed which obliged each town to keep a grammar school was voted down.

Thus far the town, whenever it came to pass upon the acts of the convention, was uniformly found to disapprove. Its last action relative thereto was taken at the meeting held January 15, 1787, when the report of the delegates was made, and it was voted to dismiss the delegates.

On the very next day, January 16, 1787, the town voted to pay a bounty of twelve shillings and forty shillings per month compensation to each man who

should enlist for the support of the government. It also chose a committee to give security to the soldiers for their wages.

The Rebellion was soon to be overcome. General Lincoln, with his troops, arrived in Worcester on the 22d of January, where he was joined by the soldiers from this county, including many from Worcester, and by the 3d of February the opposition to the established order had vanished. Only two or three from this town were included among the soldiers of the insurgent forces.

It has not been our purpose to treat of the military events which happened in Worcester in connection with and as a part of Shays' Rebellion, but simply in a brief way to cover the corporate action of the town with reference to it.

The temper of such a loyal and law-abiding citizen as Isaiah Thomas, with reference to the Excise Act in its operation upon him, may be judged by an entry made by him in an old receipt-book, following the copy of a receipt, dated December 16, 1785, of three pounds from him in full for duty on advertisements, from the 1st of August to November 24th. It is as follows:

"N. B.—This is the first duty I ever paid Government for Liberty of Printing a news-paper—the first shackle laid on the Press since Independence, and laid on by the Legislature of Massachusetts only !!!"

The original of the above is now in the possession of Charles A. Chase, Esq., treasurer of the Worcester County Institution for Savings. In consequence of the determination of Mr. Thomas not to be subject to an act so painfully suggestive to him of the Stamp Act, the publication of the *Spy* was suspended for the years 1787–88.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.—At the outset of the trips of the regular stage from Boston, through Worcester to Hartford, in 1783, one left Boston on Monday morning at six, remained in Northborough at night, reaching Worcester on Tuesday and arriving at Hartford on Thursday. Another left Hartford at the same hour on Monday and arrived in Boston in four days. Beginning in January, 1786, coaches left Boston in winter every Monday and Thursday mornings at five o'clock, arrived at Worcester the same day, and reached New York in five days more. The summer arrangement provided for coaches three times a week, in which the journey from Boston to New York was made in four days, which was claimed to be the most expeditious way of traveling that could be had in America. In July, 1788, the carriages were hung upon springs, and the trips made with greater comfort. Increasing speed was constantly made, till the running time from Boston to Worcester was reduced to six hours at the close of this period. Increasing trips were made till stages run daily to Boston, Hartford and New York, and five different lines, three times a week to Boston. There were also lines to Oxford, to Providence, to Northampton, to Keene, to Southbridge, to Dudley,

to Athol, and to many other places. New roads and new turnpikes began to be built, connecting Worcester with other places by shorter routes and better roads.

By chapter 67, of the Acts of 1806, Aaron Davis and others were incorporated under the name of the Worcester Turnpike Corporation, to make, lay out and keep in repair a turnpike road from Roxbury to Worcester, "passing over Shrewsbury Pond, and to the north of Bladder Pond, to the street in Worcester near the Court House," and with authority to establish four toll-gates. The turnpike crossed Lake Quinsigamond upon a floating bridge, which, on September 19, 1817, sank, but was soon after replaced by a more substantial structure. Other turnpike corporations were established, intended to afford Worcester more ample means of travel and traffic.

POPULATION AND LOCAL CONDITIONS.—The population of Worcester increased at a slow rate from decade to decade during this period. By the first census in 1790 it had 2,095; in 1800, 2,411; in 1810, 2,577; in 1820, 2,962; in 1825, 3,650.

Its ratable polls were for the several years as follows: 1790, about 450; 1800, 530; 1805, 540; 1810, 518; 1815, 641; 1820, 626; 1825, 881.

The vote for Representative to the First Congress under the Constitution, in 1788, was as follows:

Timothy Paine.....	46
Joas Grout.....	25
Abel Wilson.....	3
A. Ward.....	1
Total	75

It is exceedingly interesting, in connection with the subsequent history of the towns of the county, to compare their condition so far as polls are concerned, in 1786. They follow in order:

Brookfield.....	666	Douglas	231
Sutton.....	640	Oxford.....	228
Shrewsbury.....	421	Grafton.....	225
Charlton.....	392	Westboro'.....	222
Barre.....	373	Dudley.....	220
Leominster.....	359	Bolton.....	216
Worcester.....	357	Pitchburg.....	207
Petersham.....	349	New Braintree	203
Sturbridge.....	347	Princeton.....	198
Hardwick.....	340	Ashburnham.....	197
Sterling.....	339	Royalston.....	196
Mendon.....	310	Milford.....	195
Spencer.....	308	Athol.....	193
Harvard.....	306	Weston.....	192
Lancaster.....	304	Southboro'.....	186
Lunenburg.....	297	Upton.....	184
Westminster.....	291	Hubbardston.....	163
Uxbridge.....	281	Oakham.....	161
Templeton.....	273	Northboro'.....	156
Rutland.....	268	Paxton.....	145
Leicester.....	240	Berlin.....	118
Holden.....	223	Ward.....	108
Winchendon.....	231	Northbridge.....	95

Thus it is seen that in number of polls Worcester was, in 1786, the seventh town in the county. It may well be a subject of thoughtful consideration as to the operative causes which have secured for it the position of the second city in the Commonwealth.

Within the period of present consideration the conditions were favorable, not for rapid development, but for careful, thoughtful action. Its foundations were not laid in mortar and cement only, but in education, intelligence, taste, a due degree of political wisdom, business sagacity and prudent foresight. It possessed natural advantages in location. As the shire-town of the county it attracted attention, immigration and business. Its area was ample; its adaptability for trade and manufactures was noticeable. The wealth of the town was in excess of its proportion, according to population; its income in 1786 was third among the towns of the county. Its inhabitants did not secure foreign capital and foreign corporations for business ventures. Its wealth was localized, its capital was a *home* capital and every inhabitant had a local pride and local interest. The profits of its trade went into the pockets of its own citizens and not to non-resident stockholders.

It is believed that in an exceptional degree the families of early Worcester have remained and been represented here during a large part of its existence. This fact alone is of no inconsiderable importance. A harmonious union of effort develops strength. An intensified interest and added pride in the home of generations of ancestors come to the loyal descendant. In a population of a few thousand its effect upon the whole is more potent and visible than when distributed among greatly increased numbers.

During this period, with its population never above 4,000, Worcester had among its active and prominent men representatives of the following early families: Chandler, Paine, Curtis, Rice, Bigelow, Lincoln, Green, Goulding, Stowell, Allen, Salisbury, Jennison, Upham, Flagg, Grout, Perry, Thomas, Lovell, Goddard, Mower and others. A brief glance at some of the strong men of this period will enable us to appreciate the power they must have exerted in shaping events and counseling measures. The services of many were not confined to Worcester, but the nation and the State called them to positions of honor and usefulness.

LEVI LINCOLN, SR., graduated at Harvard in 1772, came to Worcester in 1775, began the practice of law, and became the leader in his profession. Successively judge of Probate, Representative to the General Court, State Senator, member of Congress, Attorney-General of the United States in the Cabinet of President Jefferson, Councilor, Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of the Commonwealth, and finally, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, which latter position was declined, were the fitting reward for his ability and capacity for useful and distinguished service. He was a great advocate and learned jurist, and his portrait, together with that of his eminent son Levi, finds fitting place in the Worcester Law Library.

His interest was not confined to legal and political duties only. He was one of the original members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

EDWARD BANGS graduated at Harvard in 1777, came to Worcester in 1789, and pursued his profession of the law with success. He entered with spirit and energy into service for the best interests of the town; was for many years selectman, and served with fidelity in other local capacities. He was a staunch and bold advocate of the supremacy of the law at the time of Shays' Rebellion, and was a volunteer in General Lincoln's army. He was Representative, for ten consecutive years, to the General Court; was attorney for the Commonwealth for Worcester County from 1807 till his appointment as associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1811, which position he retained till his death in 1818.

ISAIAH THOMAS, was known as widely, perhaps, as any citizen of Worcester during this period, and honored throughout the land. His service to the home of his adoption from 1778, when he came here for permanent residence, till his death, in 1831, was varied and marked. He not only devoted himself to the extension of his business,—to establishing a book-binding (the first in the country); to the building and operation of a mill on the Blackstone River for the manufacture of paper (the second of the kind in the United States); to the employment of a large number of presses in connection with his business of book publisher; to the attainment of greater accuracy and elegance in the printing of books, by which the reputation of his work extended through the country, and attracted to Worcester attention and trade,—but also, by labor, advice and munificence, aided in the extension of the means of education, improvement and culture for his fellow-townsmen. Material advantages were also furnished by him to his town. Lincoln, in his valuable "History of Worcester," refers to them as follows: "The site of the County Court-House was bestowed by him, and the building and avenues on the front constructed under his uncompensated direction. No inconsiderable share of the cost of enlarging the square at the north end of the Main Street, and erecting the stone bridge, was given by him. The street bearing his own name, and the spot where the brick school-house has been built were his benefaction to the municipal corporation. In the location and execution of the Boston and Worcester turnpike he assisted by personal exertion and pecuniary contribution, and few local works for the common good were accomplished without the aid of his purse or efforts."

His zeal in the foundation and endowment of the American Antiquarian Society is gratefully remembered by every thoughtful student in the land. Reference to his efforts in that respect will be made at greater length in another place.

NATHANIEL PAINE, graduated at Harvard in 1775, and after engaging in the practice of law at Groton, returned to Worcester, in 1785; became county attorney in 1789 and remained such till his appointment as judge of Probate, in 1801, which lat-

ter office he held till 1836. In 1798, 1799 and 1800 he represented the town in the Legislature.

FRANCIS BLAKE, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1789, removed to Worcester in 1802 and remained here till his death, in 1817. He was a man of brilliant parts, a distinguished advocate and an orator of great force. In 1810 and 1811 he represented the Worcester District in the State Senate. In 1816 he was appointed clerk of the courts.

DR. JOHN GREEN, SR., a physician of large practice and great reputation, was deeply interested in the political movements of the time and actively engaged in local affairs. He died in 1799.

DR. WILLIAM PAINE, a graduate of Harvard, in the class of 1768, returned to Worcester in 1793 and remained here till his death, in 1833. He was a man of intellectual tastes and of large culture. He was "fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, member of the Medical, Agricultural, Linnean, Essex Historical and American Antiquarian Societies."

DR. JOHN GREEN, the second, born in Worcester in 1763, made that his home during life. "He attained to a pre-eminent rank among the physicians and surgeons of our country."

LEVY COLN, son of Levi Lincoln, Sr., graduated at Harvard in 1802 and began the practice of law here in 1805. He was elected State Senator in 1812. From 1814 to 1822, with the exception of three years, he represented Worcester in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. In 1820 he was one of Worcester's representatives to the Constitutional Convention. In 1822 was Speaker of the House of Representatives; in 1823 Lieutenant-Governor; in 1824 associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court; Governor of the Commonwealth in 1825 upon nomination of both parties, and held the office for nine successive terms, till January, 1834.

JOHN DAVIS, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1812, was admitted to the bar in 1815; began practice here in May, 1816, and soon rose to distinction in his profession and to the merited confidence of the public. In 1824 he was elected a Representative in Congress, and by successive re-elections till 1834, when he was elected Governor of the Commonwealth.

JOSEPH ALLEN was clerk of courts for thirty-three years, till 1810; was chosen Representative to the Eleventh Congress and was of the Governor's Council from 1815 to 1818. He was a man of scholarly attainments, of great probity and force of character.

DANIEL WALDO, STEPHEN SALISBURY, SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE and BENJAMIN HEYWOOD were men of large affairs. The latter was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and his grandson, John G. Heywood, is to-day the only member of the society from Worcester.

DR. OLIVER FISKE was a noted physician and actively interested in public questions.

DR. ABRAHAM LINCOLN and EDWARD D. BANGS were, together with Levi Lincoln, delegates from Worcester to the convention in 1820 to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

REV. DR. JONATHAN GOING, pastor of the First Baptist Church, was earnestly interested in all educational questions and movements.

REV. DR. SAMUEL AUSTIN, minister of the First Parish from 1790 for twenty-five years, was a man of great influence.

REV. DR. AARON BANCROFT was minister of the Second Parish from 1789 for more than half a century. He was earnestly and actively interested in all measures for the advancement of learning and for the promotion of education. A man of great power and beauty of character, beloved and revered.

Within the limits of this article it is not feasible to mention others and it is not possible to do the remotest justice to those already referred to. In fact, it has not been the purpose of the writer to give any adequate account of those mentioned or to attempt a biography of each: that is done elsewhere by other writers; but the sole aim has been to indicate, by the briefest mention, some of those who gave to Worcester, during this period, their service and their thought. Combined, their power can be better imagined and more clearly conceived than separated under the heads of lawyers, doctors, clergymen, business men, benefactors, etc.

It may be doubted if in any town in Massachusetts of from two thousand to four thousand inhabitants, during a similar period of its history, a greater combination of intellectual force, business sagacity, eminent public service and devoted loyalty can be found.

With such men, and such purpose the growth of a town may be expected to be symmetrical, its foundations ample and secure.

BROADENING ACTIVITY.—The town soon began to have a more active care for the general well-being of its inhabitants, and for its own good name; to foster an increasing degree of pride in its citizens, and to contribute more largely to the comforts of life and the ease with which business might be transacted.

In 1786 a petition was presented to the town to purchase a fire-engine, which resulted in the town voting, January 4, 1793, to "grant a sum of money to procure a good fire-engine for the use of the town," and shortly after, that an engine-house be built. This action was accompanied by the organization, on January 21, 1793, of the Worcester Fire Society, both, doubtless, largely in consequence of the destruction, on January 4, 1793, of the weaver-shop of Cornelius & Peter Stowell. This society was formed in consequence of "a sense of social duty, for the more effectual assistance of each other and of their townsmen in times of danger from fire." Its membership was limited to thirty. Its character may be inferred from the names of its original twenty-two members: Joseph Allen, John Nazro, Leonard Worcester,

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel Chandler, Ezra Waldo Weld, Dr. John Green, Samuel Brazier, Thomas Payson, Edward Bangs, Dr. Elijah Dix, William Sever, Theophilus Wheeler, Dr. Oliver Fiske, John Paine, Samuel Allen, Stephen Salisbury, Charles Chandler, John Stanton, Dr. Abraham Lincoln, Daniel Waldo, Jr., and Isaiah Thomas. It is in existence at the present time and its history is honorable and unique.

Swine were soon doomed to wander in less conspicuous places than the Main Street of the increasingly tidy town, and in 1792 it was voted that they should not be permitted to go at large on Main Street. The neater and more aristocratic horse and mule still had their privileges unimpaired till 1806, when it was voted that they should not be permitted to go at large, and at the same time all neat cattle, except cows, were relegated to a more private manner of life, while they were given the freedom of the town between April 1st and November 1st. The principal streets of the town in 1783 were Main, what is now Front, part of Summer, Lincoln, Salisbury, Pleasant, Green and Grafton Streets. New streets followed slowly. Mechanic Street was laid out in 1787, and in 1806 Isaiah Thomas constructed and gave to the town the street known by his name. After the swine and cattle were cared for and banished from the streets, the next most dangerous class, apparently, were provided for, and the children and youth were solemnly warned by vote, in 1811, not to engage in the frivolities of rolling hoops, playing ball, etc., in the streets.

The last liberties accorded to the brute creation, it is believed, were in 1815, when the town voted to allow new milch cows to go at large in the day-time, but not at night, "the owners thereof having their names branded on the horns of the cows or a strap around the neck with the name marked thereon, that the owner may be found in case of damage." The lines were somewhat tightly drawn, for it was further provided that "no person shall turn his cow into the highway without first having the written consent of the selectmen, and no person shall have the benefit of turning more than one cow to feed in the highway the present season."

Worcester apparently believed in protection to home products, and the rights of the farmer were not to be sacrificed. As late as 1814 the town voted to "pay the sum of one shilling bounty on crows heads, killed within the town, provided the heads are covered with feathers."

Having thus prepared the way for its new dignity, the town voted in 1814 to name the streets. A general movement was everywhere manifest.

President Dwight in 1812 gave the following description of the town: "The houses are generally well built, frequently handsome, and very rarely small, old or unrepared. Few towns in New England exhibit so uniform an appearance of neatness and taste or contain so great a proportion of good

buildings and so small a proportion of those which are indifferent as Worcester."

The introduction of water for domestic and public purposes was authorized by the following act of the Legislature, and for the purposes of interesting comparison with later acts it is given almost entire:

An Act authorizing Daniel Goulding to Conduct Water in subterraneous Pipes from a Certain Spring in his own Land, within the Town of Worcester, for the accommodation of himself and some other Inhabitants of the said Town.

Be it enacted, &c.

SECT. 1. That Daniel Goulding of Worcester in the County of Worcester and his heirs and assigns, he and they are hereby authorized and empowered to sink, place, renew, alter and repair from time to time, as may become necessary, such pipes or conduits of water from the said Spring to such of the inhabitants of the said town as the same may Convene, for the purpose of supplying them with water; and the said Goulding and his heirs or assigns are hereby authorized to place the said pipes in the land of such Proprietors as may, by some proper instrument in writing grant him or them the privilege thereof, as also on and under such public highways, roads or land as may become necessary for the purposes aforesaid and with the least inconvenience to the public.

Provided nevertheless that the Selectmen of the said town for the time being may, as they shall judge it expedient, for the purposes of extinguishing fire, or as a precaution or a security against the calamitous effects thereof and under such regulations as they may think reasonable, from time to time make and place Conductors to any part of the said pipes or conduits, for the purpose of supplying water when necessary for the extinguishment of fires as aforesaid.

SECT. 2. Provides remedy for destroying or interfering with said pipes or water works.

SECT. 3. That nothing in this Act shall be considered as an excuse for any unnecessary exposure, damage, delay, disturbance or inconvenience to passengers, carriages or cattle, passing or re-passing over any of said highways or public land, but the same shall be considered as a nuisance or trespass in the same manner as if this Act had never been made.

Passed March 2, 1798.

The town in its corporate capacity and individuals forming a joint stock company, aided by the town, combined to maintain suitable schools. In 1784 Dr. Elijah Dix, Hon. Joseph Allen, Hon. Levi Lincoln, Sr., Nathan Patch, Dr. John Green, John Nazro, Palmer Goulding and others procured a lease of land on the west side of Main Street and erected a building known as the Centre School-house, and opened two schools—one for instruction in the elementary studies and the other for the higher branches of academic instruction. The latter had as instructors many who became distinguished as educators, theologians, lawyers, etc.

The town appropriated in 1799 the sum of one thousand dollars for the maintenance of schools and twenty-five hundred dollars for school-houses, which, by the way, was the first time that the annual appropriation was made in dollars—having been in pounds prior to that time, except in a special appropriation of October 8, 1798. In 1800 ten school-houses were built in various parts of the town. In 1823 a revision of the educational system was made under the thoughtful judgment of Rev. Dr. Bancroft, Rev. Jonathan Going, Hon. Samuel M. Burnside, Levi Lincoln, Otis Corbett and Samuel Jennison.

In 1806 two thousand dollars were appropriated for the construction of a poor-house.

In 1816 a new fire-engine, at an expense of five hundred and fifty dollars, was procured.

A Town Hall was provided for the growing needs of the town, which was dedicated May 2, 1825, with an address by Hon. John Davis. In other ways than by corporate action the town gradually became prepared to enter upon its future career.

In 1804, March 7th, an act was passed by the Legislature incorporating Daniel Waldo, Isaiah Thomas, Daniel Waldo, Jr., Benjamin Heywood, William Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Nathan Patch, William Henshaw, Francis Blake, Nathaniel Paine, Elijah Burbank and others as the president, directors and company of the Worcester Bank, with an authorized capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which at once began business and was the only bank incorporated in the State at the time west of Boston, except one at Northampton, incorporated a few days previous.

More, perhaps, than any other agency which contributed to the highest culture of the town and fostered a spirit of scholarly research and attainment was the American Antiquarian Society, which owed its existence and largely its maintenance to Isaiah Thomas. In consequence of the petition of Isaiah Thomas, Nathaniel Paine, William Paine, Levi Lincoln, Aaron Bancroft and Edward Bangs to the Legislature, representing that they, "influenced by a desire to contribute to the advancement of the arts and sciences and to aid by their individual and united efforts in collecting and preserving such materials as may be useful in marking their progress not only in the United States, but in other parts of the globe; and wishing also to assist the researches of the future historians of our country, in their opinion the establishment of an antiquarian society within this Commonwealth would conduce essentially to the attainment of these objects," the society was incorporated October 24, 1812. Its library and treasures have always been open to the public, and its influence from the first upon the people of the town must have been potent.

The laudable spirit of the citizens and the foresight with which the bases of business were laid is seen also in the application for the incorporation of the Worcester Mutual Fire Insurance Company. It was incorporated February 11, 1823. Manufactures were slowly increasing and seeking firm foothold. The town only needed closer relations of traffic and intercourse with larger centres of population and business to begin a rapid ascent in wealth and influence. The opening opportunity came with the construction of the Blackstone Canal.

POLITICAL SENTIMENT AND SERVICE.—The constant and earnest interest which the town manifested in national political movements, the bitter animosities caused by party struggles, are not peculiar to Worcester, and an entrance upon them is perhaps unnecessary and undesirable. A brief mention of one

or two important events, typical in their nature, must suffice.

First: the decision of the court that declared slavery abolished in Massachusetts, was made at Worcester in the case of Nathaniel Jennison *vs.* John and Seth Caldwell, in which the elder Levi Lincoln was counsel with Caleb Strong for the defendants, and presented the argument that was sustained by the court. The suit was brought for enticing away the plaintiff's slave "Quock" Walker, was tried in the Court of Common Pleas and judgment rendered for the plaintiff for twenty-five pounds; appealed to the Supreme Court and tried at the September term, 1781, and judgment for defendants on the ground that since the adoption of the Constitution in 1780 slavery did not exist in Massachusetts. The judges who presided at this trial were Justices Sarjeant, Sewall and Sullivan. An indictment was found at Worcester against the above-named Jennison for assault on Walker, which was tried at the April term, 1783, of the Supreme Court before all the justices, including Chief Justice Cushing, and the view adopted by the court in the first-named case was confirmed by the whole court and forever set at rest the question of the existence of slavery in Massachusetts. The census of 1790 contains no return of slaves in this State.

Second: The protest against the War of 1812.—A convention, consisting of delegates from forty-one towns, was held at Worcester on the 12th and 13th of August, 1812, to protest against the continuance of the war.

Worcester was represented by Hon. Benjamin Heywood, Hon. Francis Blake and Mr. Elijah Burbank. Hon. Benjamin Heywood was chosen chairman. A committee was appointed to "consider and report what measures the Convention ought to adopt, in the present perilous situation of our Country, to mitigate the calamities of the present War with Great Britain, to avert the further evils with which we are threatened, to accomplish a speedy and honourable Peace and to arrest the course of that disastrous policy, which, if persisted in, cannot fail to terminate in the destruction of the rights and liberties of the people."

The committee consisted of Andrew Peters, Esq., Hon. Francis Blake, Rev. John Crane, Hon. Solomon Strong, Aaron Tufts, Esq., Benjamin Adams, Esq., General James Humphrey, Rev. Jonathan Osgood, Nathaniel Chandler, Esq., John W. Stiles, Esq., and Colonel Seth Banister.

This committee made a report on the 13th, which, after dealing at great length with the causes which led to the war, the measures undertaken to continue it, the state of commerce resulting from it, continued as follows:

We earnestly embrace the present occasion to express for ourselves and in behalf of our constituents a strong and ardent attachment to the Union of the States, and indignantly to disclaim every imputed design to aid in any project which may tend to procure a separation.

To shorten the duration of the present most impolitic and destructive War, we earnestly exhort the friends of Peace to withhold from the Government all *voluntary* aid and to render no other assistance than is required of them by the laws and the Constitution.

They proceed to say, that if double duties or direct taxes are laid, "we do not, like some men, now in high authority, advise our Constituents to refuse the payment of them and to rise in opposition to the authority by which they are imposed. But if our rulers, afraid to hazard their popularity by the imposition of taxes, request of the citizens to enable them to prosecute this unrighteous War by loaning money to replenish the treasury, we entreat them, as they value the Peace and welfare of their Country, to remember that we have as yet no French emperor among us to force a loan at the point of the bayonet and to refuse the smallest contribution for this unwarrantable purpose."

Third: The opposition to the extension of Slavery.—Missouri applied for admission to the Union, and in December, 1818, the Missouri question formally appeared in Congress. In the House of Representatives a motion was made to amend the act by providing that "the further introduction of slavery be prohibited in said State of Missouri and that all children born in the State after its admission to the Union shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." The House adopted the amendment, but the Senate rejected it, and the House refusing to recede, the bill was not passed at that session.

A strong sentiment against the extension of slavery was aroused in the free States, and Worcester and Worcester County were determined to be heard. A convention of the opponents of slavery extension was held in Worcester December 9, 1819.

The following account of the Anti-Slavery Extension Convention appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* of December 15, 1819:

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE!

On Thursday, the 9th of December inst., agreeably to previous notice, a large number of respectable citizens of the County of Worcester assembled in the Court House in this town, for the purpose of expressing their opinion upon the propriety of preventing the further introduction of slavery into such States as may hereafter be admitted into the Federal Union.

The meeting was organized by the choice of Hon. Solomon Strong as chairman and Levi Lincoln, Jr., as secretary. The Rev. Dr. Bancroft addressed the meeting, and expressed his deep sense of the importance of the subject to the character and interests of our country, and its connexion with the cause of religion.

Mr. Burnside moved that a committee be appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention upon the subject of the toleration of slavery in the country west of the Mississippi.

Hon. Oliver Fiske, Isaac Goodwin, Esq., Edward D. Bangs, Esq., Bezael Taft, Jr., Esq., and Samuel M. Burnside, Esq., were appointed on the committee. The meeting was then adjourned till the next evening to receive the report of the committee.

On Friday evening the meeting was opened according to adjournment. The Hon. Oliver Fiske, chairman of the committee, presented a report, consisting of the following Preamble and Resolutions, which (after a very impressive and eloquent address from the Hon. E. H. Mills, of Northampton, a member of the last Congress, and some pertinent observations from John W. Hubbard, Esq., of this town) were, on motion of Hon. Seth Hastings, unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, In the opinion of this meeting, by the unequivocal spirit

and language of the Federal Constitution (exemplified by the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, and by subsequent acts and provisions), Congress possess the power of prescribing the terms on which new States to be created from a territory, not a party to the original compact, may be admitted into the Union; and

"WHEREAS, The voluntary admission of slavery, as a condition, would be a departure from the wise and liberal system of our National Government, and abhorrent to that spirit of freedom so illustrious in our institutions; and

"WHEREAS, The extension of slavery would be dangerous, in common, to those States who, in their compact, acted under an implied security, that the moral and political evil of slavery, though not abolished, would never be extended; and who, by the act of admission of new States, are solicitous to transfuse the spirit and blessings of independence which they possess and are bound to guarantee the rights they enjoy—the first of which being a *republican form of government*; and

"WHEREAS, More especially it would be inconsistent, if not *unjust*, to extend a privilege to new States, formed from a territory acquired by *purchase*, which has been withheld from those created within the original limits of the United States by an express article in the ordinance of 1787, which ordinance has since been sanctioned by Congress and has become a permanent law. Therefore

"Resolved, That those members of the last Congress who with zeal and perseverance opposed the *extension of slavery* are entitled to the gratitude of the friends of morality, of religion and the republican character of the United States, and that we deeply regret that any members, especially from those States whose Constitution and laws prohibit slavery, and whose constituents deprecate its practice, should have felt it their duty to give it countenance and support.

"Resolved, That this Meeting most earnestly request their Representatives in Congress to use their unremitting exertions to prevent the sanction of that honorable body to any further *extension of slavery* within the extending limits of the United States—more particularly in giving a *precedent* in the case of the admission of Missouri—a *precedent* which in future may be the means of depopulating the vast wilds of Africa and rendering our boasted Land of Liberty pre-eminent only as a *Mart for Human Flesh*!

"Resolved, That the foregoing Preamble and Resolves, subscribed by the Chairman and Secretary, be transmitted to the Hon. Messrs. Adams and Kendall as expressing the sentiments of this meeting."

MISCELLANEOUS.—*Washington's Second Visit to Worcester.*—In the autumn of 1789 President Washington made a tour through New England, and passed through Worcester on his way to Boston, coming from Springfield through Palmer, Warren, Brookfield, Spenceer and Leicester. Of his visit here the following account is taken from Wall's "Reminiscences of Worcester:" "Information being received in Worcester during Thursday evening that Washington would be here the next morning (October 23, 1789), a company of respectable citizens, about forty in number, paraded before sunrise, on horse-back, and went out as far as Leicester line to welcome him into the town. The Worcester Company of Artillery, commanded by Major William Treadwell, were already assembled, on notice being given that Washington was approaching, and before he reached here five cannon were fired for the New England States, 'three cannon for the three States in the Union,—one for Vermont, which will be speedily admitted, and one as a call to Rhode Island before it is too late.' When the 'President General' had arrived in sight of the meeting-house (the Old South Church), eleven more cannon were fired. Washington viewed with great interest and attention the Artillery Company as he passed and expressed to the inhabitants his sense of the honor done him. He stopped at the 'United States Arms'

(now Exchange Hotel), where he took breakfast, and then proceeded on his journey. To gratify the inhabitants, he politely passed through the town on horse-back. He was dressed in a brown suit, and pleasure glowed in every countenance as he came along. Eleven more cannon were fired as he departed. The party of forty citizens before-mentioned escorted him a few miles from the village, where they took their leave. The route travelled was up Lincoln Street, across the upper end of Long Pond, by the old road, through Shrewsbury," etc.

Funeral Honors to Washington.—In common with so many towns, not only in the State, but throughout the country, Worcester paid its deep homage to the memory of Washington, and put in the hands of every family, in enduring form, the record of its appreciation.

The *Massachusetts Spy* of February 26, 1800, gives the following account of the funeral honors paid to Washington by the citizens of Worcester: "On Saturday the inhabitants of this town joined in the national honors paid to the memory of our illustrious Washington. At eleven o'clock the procession formed at the Court-house agreeably to the order published in our last paper. The male youth from eight to eighteen amounted to two hundred and fifty—an impressive sight. The whole number was not less than seven hundred. With solemn music they moved to the South Meeting-house, the pulpit of which was covered with black broadcloth. After a grave and pathetic piece of music the Rev. Mr. Austin addressed the Throne of Deity in a devout and appropriate prayer; this was succeeded by music, when the Rev. Mr. Bancroft pronounced an eulogy on the character of the deceased Hero and patriot of America, which we think, at least, one of the best we have seen or heard on the subject. The solemnities closed with music. The serious attention, the solemn appearance of the audience through every part of the exercise, witnessed that every heart felt the loss his country had sustained and gave an *amen* to the truth of the virtues which the eulogist portrayed.

"The town returned their thanks to the orator, requested the oration for the press and voted that every family should be furnished with a copy at the town's expense."

Lafayette's Visit.—On September 4, 1824, Lafayette visited Worcester, breakfasted with the Hon. Judge Lincoln, from whom he received an address of welcome, and to which he replied in earnest words. A full account of the interesting occasion may be found in "Reminiscences of Worcester."

SECOND PERIOD.

From the opening of the Blackstone Canal to the incorporation of Worcester as a city.

THE BLACKSTONE CANAL.—The first attempt at procuring water communication between Worcester

and Providence originated with citizens of the latter place, notably John Brown, about 1796; surveys were made and acts of incorporation for a canal company sought from Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The former State soon passed the act required.

A petition from citizens of this county to the Legislature of Massachusetts, praying that incorporation might be granted for the opening of "inland navigation from the navigable waters near Providence to the interior parts of Worcester County, and, if feasible, to Connecticut river," was presented at the May session, 1796. A project was at the same time started, "which had the effect, if not the intent, of defeating the former," of constructing a canal from Boston to the Connecticut River. Incorporation was refused for the canal to Providence.

The project was revived, however, in 1822, and meetings were held early in that year here and in Providence with a view to speedy action. Committees were appointed, funds for survey were obtained. Benjamin Wright, chief engineer upon the middle section of the Erie Canal, was secured to make a survey and an estimate of cost of construction. These were completed in September of that year, and report thereof made.

January 14, 1823, our Legislature passed an act incorporating "John Davis, Wm. E. Green, John W. Lincoln, Lemuel Davis, Edward D. Bangs, John Warren, John M. Earle, Dan'l Waldo, Isaiah Thomas, Rejoice Newton, Reuben Sikes, Oliver Fiske, Theophilus Wheeler, John Green, Asa Hamilton, Benj. F. Heywood," their associates, &c., under the name of the Blackstone Canal Company, with authority to "locate, construct and fully complete a navigable canal commencing in or near the village of Worcester." . . . "to the boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island." A similar act was passed by Rhode Island, authorizing the construction from tide-water to the boundary between the two States. These corporations were subsequently united, the Massachusetts act authorizing it being passed February 20, 1827.

In 1824 the work of excavation was begun in Rhode Island, and in 1826 in Massachusetts near Thomas Street, in this town.

The first boat arrived in Worcester October 6, 1828. Freight-boats came as far as Uxbridge October 18th, and soon thereafter to Worcester. The cost was about seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The sanguine expectations which were here entertained of the effect of the construction of the canal upon Worcester are illustrated by the following extract from the address of the Hon. John Davis at the dedication of our Town Hall in 1825:

The town, unaided by any particular advantage except that of being the Centre of a thrifty and enterprising population, has risen in wealth and numbers to a degree almost unequalled in the interior of New England. It is now in its youth, and its growth is vigorous and healthy. What will be its future destinies remains to be disclosed by time. Should it become the head of inland navigation, hence to the waters of the

Narragansett, it is safe, without the gift of prophecy, to predict that this valley will be covered with population, and the exhilarating hurry and bustle of trade will pervade places that are now under the peaceful dominion of the farmer; the spires of new temples, dedicated to the worship of God, will rise up to greet the eye of the beholder; the mechanic arts, under new combinations of capital and skill, will take deeper and stronger root; the fine arts will find an abode among us; and our hills, under a better cultivation, will put on a gay and more beautiful attire. This auspicious event, we have great reason to believe, is near at hand. The scruples of the most incredulous seem now to be removed, and if we pursue it steadily there is little doubt of its being accomplished.

It is doubtful if the results so confidently looked for would have come in their fulness as the sole effect of the canal, but unquestionably great results did follow. The whole Blackstone Valley was stimulated, new villages sprung up, new industries were started, the water-power was utilized, a new outlet for Worcester products was created, closer business relations were maintained between Worcester and Providence and the seaboard, on the one hand, and between Worcester and the surrounding country on the other. But, more important still, Worcester was made more emphatically a distributing centre for imports over the canal.

A comparison between the number of tons transported each year by means of the canal to and from Worcester is exceedingly instructive: To Worcester, in 1831, 4300 tons; 1832, 4400 tons; 1833, 4663 tons; 1834, 5336 tons; 1835, 4694 tons.

From Worcester in 1831, 808 tons; 1832, 890 tons; 1833, 848 tons; 1834, 826 tons; 1835, 739 tons. The amount of tolls collected increased from \$1000, in 1828, to \$16,464.45 in 1834, which was the highest reached in any year. It gradually declined from the latter year until the last toll was collected in 1848. Between 1825 and 1835, when the Boston and Worcester Railroad was opened, the population of Worcester had increased from 2650, in the former year, to 6624 in the latter—a much greater increase in those ten years than in the previous sixty years.

In valuation the town had increased from \$2,437,550, in 1825, to \$3,667,250 in 1835.

OPENING OF RAILROAD COMMUNICATION.—Previous to the opening of the canal the trade of Worcester had been largely with Boston. The effect of easier freight communication with Providence had since then tended to divert its trade from Boston. But it was not only Worcester's trade that was diverted, but, practically, Worcester County's trade. Unquestionably this fact had its influence in hastening the construction of the Boston and Worcester Railroad.

That railroad was incorporated June 23, 1831, and was the first of any length in the State. It was completed and opened for public travel July 4, 1835. A grand celebration took place here on July 6th. A train of twelve cars arriving here at one o'clock brought the directors and a large number of stockholders. The arrangements for the celebration were under the direction of a committee of which Hon. Charles Allen was chairman. The visitors were escorted to the Town Hall, where ex-Governor Levi Lincoln presided,

and speeches were made by Governor John Davis, Governor Everett, Chief Justice Artemas Ward, Hon. A. H. Everett, Hon. Julius Rockwell and others. The terminus of the road was on Foster Street, near Main. Passenger cars ran three times daily each way, occupying about three hours for the trip. The fare was \$1.50 at first, but was raised the next year to \$2.00.

The *Western Railroad* was completed from Worcester to Springfield in 1839, and trains began running on October 1st of that year. The road was completed to Albany in 1841.

The *Norwich and Worcester Railroad* was opened for the running of through trains April 1, 1840.

The *Providence and Worcester Railroad* was finished and trains began running October 25, 1847, and on November 4th of that year the event was celebrated here. Ex-Gov. Davis welcomed the visitors; after which a banquet was served in Brinley Hall, at which Governor Lincoln presided, with Governor Davis, Judges Charles Allen, Emory Washburn and Thomas Kinnicutt and Hon. Stephen Salisbury as vice-presidents. Speeches were made by John Barstow, president of the road; United States Senator Simmons, of Rhode Island; Mayor Burgess, of Providence; President Wayland and Professor Gammell, of Brown University; President Nathan Hale, of the Boston and Worcester Railroad; Hon. George Bliss, of Springfield, for the Western Railroad; Judges Allen, Washburn and Kinnicutt, Governor Davis, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, and others.

Worcester thus rapidly became a great railroad centre and appropriately the "heart of the Commonwealth."

Population and wealth increased with extreme rapidity. Population in 1840, 7497; 1845, 11,556; 1848, 15,000 about. Valuation in 1840, \$4,288,950; 1845, \$6,004,050; 1848, \$8,721,100.

GENERAL PROGRESS.—It was probably in this period that Worcester began to be known as the "Heart of the Commonwealth." That designation was undoubtedly first applied to Worcester County. The first mention of it in print which I have been able to find, as applied to the county, is in the *Spy* of October 12, 1831, in which the county is referred to as being "as justly entitled to the appellation of the 'Heart of the Commonwealth' in agricultural improvement, as it is to that of the 'Heart of the Commonwealth' from its local situation."

Warwickshire, the central county of England, was thus denominated by the poet Drayton in 1613: "That shire which we the 'Heart of England' call." And perhaps some scholarly son of Worcester County appropriated it from Drayton to his own beloved county. But clearly the town soon began to covet the title, and with such success that the county was forced, either in love or from necessity, to resign all claim to it.

I have been unable to find any earlier documentary title for the town to it than in a quaint book, entitled

"Pictorial Views of Massachusetts for the Young," published at Worcester in 1847 by Warren Lazell, where the town is referred to as follows: "Being in the centre of the interior county of the State, and containing a fertile soil and a population noted for industry, intelligence and wealth, this town has long been denominated the 'Heart of the Commonwealth.'" The adoption of that emblem by the city in its seal, confirmed its title to it by *adverse user* against all claimants.

The first "Village Directory" was published in 1829 by Clarendon Harris, whom we, of this generation, remember with great respect and affection. It purported to contain "the names of the inhabitants, their dwelling-houses and places of business arranged according to streets and squares." It contains two hundred and ninety-seven entries or numbers, divided as follows among the only streets given: Lincoln Square and Main Street, 106; Summer Street, 20; School Street, 20; Thomas Street, 12; Central Street, 4; Mechanic Street, 25; Pleasant Street, 7; Front Street, 25; South Street, 15; Green Street, 27; Washington Square, 8; Grafton Street, 16; Middle Street, 7; Prospect Street, 5.

The next directory was published in 1843, and the issue has continued successively each year since.

The town began to move with quick step along the various paths that led to the city of Worcester. With the rapid increase in wealth and population came the necessity for ampler expenditure on the part of the municipality. Methods adequate for the little country village were not sufficient for the now important town. The modest requirements of the former generation were insufficient to properly satisfy the growing needs of the great central town. Municipal comforts and even elegancies must be provided. First of all, the darkness of the streets at night must be relieved. A lamp association was formed, and in 1833 the town voted an appropriation for the purpose of lighting the lamps of the association. In 1834 the town voted that the selectmen be requested to petition the Legislature for authority to establish a Fire Department, and on February 25, 1835, necessary authority having been obtained, the Worcester Fire Department was established.

In 1832 a commodious brick school-house was built on Thomas Street, and in 1837 there were twelve districts and an appropriation of seven thousand dollars for schools, which included two thousand five hundred dollars for the Centre District.

The Worcester Manual Labor High School was incorporated in 1834 and dedicated June 4th of the same year. Its organization was largely due to the efforts and munificence of the Hon. Isaac Davis.

Mount St. James Seminary (now Holy Cross College) was also established. The State Lunatic Hospital was located here and portions of its building constructed respectively in 1831, 1835 and 1836.

The only means, prior to 1845, for supplying water

were through the Daniel Goulding Aqueduct, but in that year the Legislature, by Chapter 90, provided that

The Inhabitants of the Centre School District in the town of Worcester, as the limits of said district are now defined, are hereby made a corporation by the name of the Worcester Aqueduct Company, for the purpose of constructing and maintaining an aqueduct to conduct water from Bladder pond, in said town, to said district, for the extinguishment of fires and for other uses; and also that the corporation might vote to raise money, the amount to be assessed upon the polls and estates of the inhabitants of said district and collected by the town.

A board of managers, consisting of Stephen Salisbury, Isaac Davis, Wm. A. Wheeler, Henry W. Miller and Samuel Davis, was appointed. Pipes were laid through Prospect, Thomas, Main, Park, Salem, part of Mechanic, Pleasant and Elm Streets, in all about two miles, with fifty-six hydrants. The town paid to the corporation five hundred dollars yearly. In 1847 the pipes were extended about two miles.

The town, in anticipation, perhaps, of its future patronage of music, sought its inspiring and educating influence, and in 1846 voted to give the Worcester Brass Band permission to erect a stand upon the Common and play once a week after July 1st.

One unique fact should be referred to. In 1837 the surplus revenue of the United States was divided among the States and towns, and Worcester received its proportion.

The town voted May 1, 1837, to receive from the treasurer of the Commonwealth its proportion of the surplus in deposit, with the agreement to pay it back when demanded. The receipt of the same is thus recorded: "Tuesday, May 2, 1837. The town received from the treasurer of the Commonwealth \$6084.39, being the two first instalments of this town's proportion of the surplus revenue of the United States."

On July 20th of the same year the town received the additional sum of \$4526.52, being the third instalment.

Worcester was no longer dependent upon one bank. Before incorporation as a city it had, in addition, the Worcester County Institution for Savings (established 1828); the Central Bank (1829); the Quinsigamond (1833); the Citizens' (1836); the Mechanics' (1848). Insurance companies were multiplied: the Manufacturers' Mutual Fire (1834); State Mutual Life (1844); Merchants' and Farmers' (1846); and People's Mutual Fire (1847).

Manufactures became established, inventive genius was stimulated, water-power was increased, steam-power was introduced, industries were multiplied, all without the aid of foreign capital. In the "Directory" of 1848 the unique fact is stated in these words: "All the business is done by private capital; there is not a single corporation concerned in the management of labor of this town."

Worcester was no longer compelled to resort to Boston newspapers for the daily news. The *Worcester Daily Transcript* was issued June 9, 1845, by Julius L. Clarke, editor and proprietor.

The *Spy* followed quickly, and issued its first daily July 1, 1845. John Milton Earle was its editor and proprietor.

WORCESTER INFLUENCE.—Worcester furnished, during ten years of this period, from its citizens two Governors for the Commonwealth—Levi Lincoln (from 1828 to 1833 inclusive), and John Davis (in 1834 and 1835, and again in 1841 and 1842). Indeed, it is an exceptional fact not only that the Governor of the State from 1825 to 1835 inclusive should have come from this town, but more significant that one should have immediately succeeded the other. The claims of "locality" must have had less influence then than in some years.

The interchange of offices, by the will of the people, between these two notable men was equally striking. Levi Lincoln was elected to Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the election of John Davis as the successor of the former as Governor. Lincoln remained a member of Congress until he resigned in 1841, when he was appointed collector of the port of Boston by President Harrison. In 1844 and 1845 he was in the State Senate (the latter year as president), and in 1848 was elected Worcester's first mayor.

Governor Davis also remained in public life, serving as United States Senator from 1838 to 1841; again as Governor for two years (1841 and 1842); and again from 1845 to 1853 as United States Senator.

PLINY MERRICK was district attorney for the Middle District from 1832 until 1843, having previously been county attorney from 1824. From 1843 to 1848 he was judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in which latter year he resigned, and accepted the position of president of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad.

Worcester had during a portion of this period another distinguished citizen upon the bench of the Court of Common Pleas. EMORY WASHBURN was appointed judge in 1844, and remained till December, 1847, when he resigned. He had, prior thereto (in 1841 and 1842), been a member of the Massachusetts Senate.

CHARLES ALLEN was also one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas from 1842 to 1844, when he resigned. In 1847 he was nominated judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth, but declined the honor.

Worcester furnished judges of Probate for the county during this entire period, in the persons of Nathaniel Paine till 1836; Ira M. Barton, from 1836 to 1844, and Benjamin F. Thomas, from 1844 to 1848.

In 1834 GEORGE BANCROFT, a native of Worcester, son of Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft, published the first volume of his masterly "History of the United States." Though at that time he had ceased to be a resident of Worcester, still Worcester would not surrender a qualified proprietorship in him, and viewed with paternal satisfaction the fame of her son.

These are not names only; they were intellectual and political forces. However true it may be that

the real forces in the progress of a free people lie deeper than the surface, that the abiding principles of justice, sobriety, independence and morality must permeate the whole body and constitute an elevating and propelling power, yet, at least, it must find its expression. Its "Amen" follows the declaration of its faith, and does not precede it. There must be the "unity of spirit," and thus the words of the faithful leader are the embodiment of the thought and aspirations of the mass.

In this interesting period of the nation's history the people of Worcester were not idle spectators; her strong men were not apathetic listeners; they were fearless and determined actors.

The continued attempt of the slave States to enlarge the slave-holding territory of the Union was met at the North by a sentiment of vigorous opposition, moving, however, upon somewhat different lines. The American Anti-Slavery Society was organized at Philadelphia in 1833. It had for its object the entire abolition of slavery. Local societies were formed in the free States. The Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society held its first meeting at Worcester, February 15, 1838. Among its first officers from Worcester were Lewis Chapin, vice-president; Edward Earle, secretary; Ichabod Washburn, one of its counselors; Samuel H. Colton, treasurer; and Geo. M. Rice, one of the committee to establish other anti-slavery societies.

Meetings began to be held by it with considerable frequency, at which addresses were made and resolutions adopted, which had a powerful effect in shaping public opinion; but, nevertheless, they and those sympathizing with them to the full extent of their views were in the minority.

The great majority of the people regarded slavery as a blight and a curse, but directed their efforts mainly to prevent the acquisition of any more slave territory or the admission of more slave States.

The proposed annexation of Texas, with its vast area, was stoutly opposed by well-nigh the whole population of Worcester and Worcester County.

A convention was held at Worcester May 6, 1844, of those opposed to the annexation. It was called to order by Hon. John W. Lincoln, of Worcester. Hon. Isaac Davis was one of the vice-presidents. Worcester was largely and strongly represented among the speakers. Charles Allen, Gov. Lincoln, Emory Washburn, Samuel M. Burnside, John Milton Earle and others expressed Worcester's attitude in no uncertain way.

Indeed, a considerable time prior to this, on December 5, 1837, a convention of the ministers of the Gospel of the county was held in Worcester to take action with reference to slavery. It was adjourned to January 16, 1838, when resolutions in earnest condemnation of slavery were adopted. Their spirit may be judged by the following expression of purpose: "In order to arrest attention, awaken interest, arouse

the public conscience at the North and the South, and thus, as far as in us lies, bring into action a train of holy influences which, with the blessing of Almighty God, shall result in the total removal of this evil from our land."

No more secure stronghold of liberty existed in Massachusetts, or at the North, indeed, than Worcester and Worcester County. It was not surprising, then, that from Worcester should come the voice that summoned to the Free-Soil party the earnest friends of freedom, no matter what their former party affiliations had been. Charles Allen was the natural product of Worcester's free soil and free ideas.

An exceedingly interesting case was tried at Worcester at the January term, 1840, of the Court of Common Pleas, relating in some remote measure to the slavery agitation. Dickenson Shearer and Elias M. Turner, both of Palmer, were indicted here for kidnapping a colored boy by the name of Sidney O. Francis, with intent to transport him out of the Commonwealth, and to sell him as a slave. Pliny Merri-ck, for the Government, is said to have managed the case with great ability. Ira M. Barton, of Worcester; Mr. Chapman, of Springfield, and Hon. Isaac C. Bates (soon thereafter United States Senator), of Northampton, appeared for the defendants. Worcester was an exceedingly poor place to attempt such an act as these defendants committed. A Worcester County jury convicted both. Shearer was sentenced to the State Prison for seven years and Turner (a boy) was sentenced for eighteen months.

The last Board of Selectmen consisted of F. W. Paine, Horatio N. Tower, Ebenezer H. Bowen, Jonas Bartlett and Albert Tolman. The days of the township were nearly passed. Its varied and multiplied municipal interests could better be regulated through the instrumentality of city government.

November 8, 1847, on motion of J. Milton Earle, it was voted that a committee of ten be appointed to draw up and present to the Legislature a petition for a city charter. The committee was composed of the following: Levi Lincoln, Stephen Salisbury, Ira M. Barton, Isaac Davis, Benjamin F. Thomas, Edward Earle, James Estabrook, Alfred D. Foster, Thomas Kinnicutt and Ebenezer L. Barnard. This committee was successful in securing the desired act, which was approved by Governor Briggs February 29, 1848. The act was accepted by vote of the inhabitants on March 18, 1848, and the first city government was inaugurated April 17, 1848.

THIRD PERIOD.

The same sagacity and political wisdom which Worcester as a town had so often and so invariably shown continued to direct and dominate her as a city in the selection of her municipal officers. The same sacrifice which her citizens had so often shown in relinquishing personal preferences and abating

private interests continued to animate them. The organization of the various departments of a new city, the proper adaptation of suitable methods to new conditions, the introduction of orderly and accurate systems all require earnest thought, active vigilance and laborious devotion.

With rare wisdom the choice was first made. Levi Lincoln, with the education and tastes of a scholar, with the experience and statesmanship resulting from long service in Congress and as Governor of the Commonwealth, with the judgment and prudence derived from connection with large business interests, was selected as Worcester's first mayor.

In her first Board of Aldermen were Benjamin F. Thomas, judge of Probate; Isaac Davis, with his legal and financial ability; Stephen Salisbury, eminent in learning and skilled in finance; John W. Lincoln, for many years chairman of the Board of Selectmen, a man of sound judgment and held in great respect; Parley Goddard, James S. Woodworth, James Estabrook and William B. Fox, all men of tried capacity, and held in high esteem. With mature judgment the various departments were organized, and with conservative and watchful care the finances were regulated. To the mayor and aldermen of that first year Worcester is greatly indebted. They labored with intelligent and untiring zeal. Eighty-four meetings of that board were held during the year, and the greater portion of the measures and ordinances adopted had their initiative with them. Isaac Davis was chairman of the Committee on Finance, and with such watchfulness did he and his associates upon that committee regulate the financial affairs of the new city, that the expenditures were but \$65,389, the tax but \$5.34 on \$1000 and the debt reduced.

With no boastfulness it can be said that few cities, if any, in the Commonwealth, have during any period of their existence been favored with mayors of greater ability than was Worcester in its early years. When among them may be named Levi Lincoln, Henry Chapin, Peter C. Bacon, Isaac Davis, Alexander H. Bullock, W. W. Rice, P. Emory Aldrich and D. Waldo Lincoln, we doubt if any citizen of the Commonwealth will question it. Most certainly no educated citizen of the State need ask as to any one of them, Who was *he*? What did *he* ever do?

Distinguished and honored service in the gubernatorial chair, upon the bench, in Congress, at the bar and in the management of one of the great railroads of the country have made their names known at least through the Commonwealth.

The city was equally fortunate during the same time in its choice of legal advisers. Among its solicitors were lawyers of great eminence,—Henry Chapin, Peter C. Bacon, Charles Devens, Jr., Dwight Foster and George F. Hoar. Its other important officers were, in the main, as wisely chosen.

Shortly after the new government was organized the Worcester and Nashua Railroad was completed.

Its first train ran December 18, 1848. The Fitchburg and Worcester Railroad was opened in February, 1850. Thus in the mid year of the century Worcester was the radiating centre of six railroads.

Its population in 1850 was 17,049. Its valuation in the same year was \$11,082,501. The ratio of increase in population during the decade from 1840 was 128 per cent., and in valuation during the same period 158 per cent.

No wonder that Mayor Chapin, in his inaugural address in 1850, should say, "What is to be the extent of our population no one can foresee. We have come to our growth so many times that the prophets have lost their reputation, and we stand where nature and art both combine to make us a great inland city. Year by year the hum of industry grows louder and the footsteps of an increasing population are more distinctly heard."

No wonder that the philosophic mind of the great lawyer, Hon. Peter C. Bacon, should seek to trace its cause. In his inaugural address as mayor in 1851, among other causes to which he attributes the surprising growth, he says, "not inconsiderably are we indebted for this increase to the superior excellence of our admirably organized and efficiently conducted school system and to our educational advantages, which have attracted vast numbers to a residence amongst us. . . . But the proximate and most efficient cause in the production of these grand results is to be sought in the introduction of railroads, which has made Worcester the centre and focus of no less than six converging railroads, thus affording to us facilities of communication not, perhaps, possessed or enjoyed by any other inland city in the world of no greater extent or population."

Although, perhaps, a diversion, I cannot permit this opportunity to pass without calling more special attention to this admirable address of Mayor Bacon. It evinces profound thought, it covers a wide range of topics, many of them rarely discussed at such a time; it announces with fearlessness the result of his deep moral convictions and his intended action as a consequence thereof, and I have no hesitation in pronouncing it the most able address ever made by a mayor of Worcester to its City Council.

The decade from 1850 to 1860 was marked in Worcester by a steady and symmetrical growth. The population increased to 24,973, and the valuation to \$16,406,900. Municipal taxes had increased from the modest \$65,000 of 1848 to \$119,067 in 1860. The rate of taxation was still low, it being only \$8 on \$1000 in the latter year.

The year 1868 marks the close of this period. In 1865 the population was 30,058; valuation, \$18,937,800; rate of taxation, \$17 on \$1,000; municipal taxes, \$222,047.51. In 1868: population, 36,687; valuation, \$26,220,260; municipal expenditures, \$297,069.

The city in 1848, when the Town Hall had become the City Hall, evidently did not propose to have the

same liberties taken with the exterior of the structure, now that it was thus ennobled, as had formerly been the case. The City Council, accordingly, in 1848 by vote directed the city messenger to place upon the exterior walls of the building the following notice: "Stick no bills on this Building."

No political flag could flaunt itself over any of the streets without due permission. October 13, 1851, the Council voted to permit a flag to be suspended over Main Street from the Whig headquarters at the corner of Main and Central Streets, and within a few days, upon petition of the Democratic Committee, a similar favor was granted it.

The hall in the City Hall was the principal one in the city till Mechanics' Hall was completed, in 1857, which is one of the most beautiful and spacious halls in the State.

In 1855 an attempt was made to procure a lot of land on which to erect a new City Hall. The lot on the corner of Main and Pleasant Street was sought, but upon report of the committee that the price asked was \$52,000, the subject was dropped and the Town Hall of 1825 remains the City Hall of 1889.

Telegraph wires were first strung in the city in 1849.

The works of the Gas-Light Company on Lincoln Street were completed in 1849, and gas furnished in November of that year.

Buildings were numbered in accordance with the vote of the City Council in 1848.

In 1862 the floating bridge over Lake Quinsigamond was supplanted by the construction of a solid causeway at an expense of \$25,997.

The first recommendation for the establishment of a Public Library was made by Mayor Bacon in 1851. It was established through the munificence of Doctor John Green in 1859.

In 1856, in compliance with the recommendation of Mayor Isaac Davis, a superintendent of public schools was first elected. In the same year the "New Common" or "Elm Park" was improved and a new street built from Elm to Highland Streets, adjacent to the park. Prior to this time the only park in the city was the "Old Common" or "Central Park," which had been such from time immemorial.

In 1863, Ex-Mayor Isaac Davis offered to the city a deed of fourteen acres on the shores of Lake Quinsigamond for a park, but the City Council rejected it. It was reserved for his son, ex-Mayor Edward L. Davis, to renew the offer many years after, which was gratefully accepted.

The first horse railroad was opened for the carriage of passengers from Lincoln Square to New Worcester, August 31, 1863.

The mayors during this period were as follows: 1848, Levi Lincoln; 1849-50, Henry Chapin; 1851-52; Peter C. Bacon; 1853-54, J. S. C. Knowlton; 1855, George W. Richardson; 1856, Isaac Davis; 1857, George W. Richardson; 1858, Isaac Davis;

1859, Alexander H. Bullock; 1860, W. W. Rice; 1861, Isaac Davis; 1862, P. Emory Aldrich; 1863-64, D. Waldo Lincoln; 1865, Phinehas Ball; 1866-68, James B. Blake.

During this time the city had lost none of its influence possessed in former years, but furnished men of eminence for important positions in the State and nation. Emory Washburn was Governor of the Commonwealth in 1854, John Davis was United States Senator from 1845 to 1853, Alexander H. Bullock was Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1862 to 1865, inclusive, and Governor from 1866 to 1869, Dwight Foster was Attorney-General of the State from 1861 to 1864, inclusive, and judge of the Supreme Court from 1866 to 1869, Chas. Allen was a member of Congress from 1849 to 1853, Eli Thayer from 1857 to 1861, John D. Baldwin from 1863 to 1869. Pliny Merrick was justice of the Court of Common Pleas from 1850 to 1854, Charles Allen Chief Justice of the Superior Court from 1859 to 1867, Benjamin F. Thomas judge of the Supreme Judicial Court from 1853 to 1859, Pliny Merrick judge of the same court from 1853 to 1864, Charles Devens, Jr., was justice of the Superior Court from 1867. During this entire time, as in the previous period, citizens of Worcester filled the position of judge of Probate for the county. Thomas Kinnicutt from 1848 to 1857, Dwight Foster to July 1, 1858, Henry Chapin from July 1, 1858, for many years beyond the close of this period, Worcester furnished district attorneys for the Middle District during the greater portion of this time: Benjamin F. Newton from 1851 to 1853, P. Emory Aldrich from 1853 to 1855, John H. Matthews to 1856, E. B. Stoddard to 1857, P. Emory Aldrich from 1857 to 1866, Hartley Williams to 1868.

Worcester sent as its Representatives to the Constitutional Convention of 1853: Charles Allen, Isaac Davis, John S. C. Knowlton, J. Milton Earle and Henry Chapin.

The great material advance which the city experienced, stimulated by its easy connection with the seaboard, the interior and the West, as well as by the demands of the war, is so fully covered by Mr. Washburn in his carefully prepared article, that the mere reference to it here is alone permissible.

INTRODUCTION OF WATER.—The capacity of Bladder Pond, now Bell Pond, which the Worcester Aqueduct Company used as its source of supply, was soon inadequate for the demands of the city. The property of the Aqueduct Company had come under the control of the city by purchase in 1848. The aqueduct pipes were extended each year, but individual takers were often deprived of a supply, because of its insufficiency for the double purpose of extinguishing fires and for domestic purposes. Expedients were resorted to in order to increase the body of water available in the pond, principally by pumping from a spring in Gates' lumber-yard.

Ethan Allen presented a petition to the City Council,

April 24, 1848, for leave to lay pipes under a portion of Lincoln and Main Streets, "to bring into his grounds from the north part of Worcester the water from some springs in the grounds of Capt. Lewis Barnard, and to such other places as may be necessary to conduct the water from said petitioner's premises." Permission was granted on said petition May 6, 1848, for him to lay pipes as far south as the house of Charles Thurber, Esquire. July 23, 1849, he was granted leave to extend his aqueduct pipe "through and over Front Street, as far as Salem Street, for the purpose of supplying families with water."

Hon. Phinehas Ball, in a report made to the City Council, February 9, 1863, states that this aqueduct was then supplying "some thirty-seven different parties, almost wholly on Main Street" This same aqueduct is still in use at this day, supplying a few families during a portion of the year. The house of the writer, on Lincoln Street, is among those thus supplied.

The Paine Spring aqueduct was also in use, furnishing in 1863 "at least a hundred and twenty-five families and shops, on School, Union, Main, Thomas and Summer Streets."

The third private aqueduct was the Rice Aqueduct, "supplying parties in the neighborhood of Grafton and Franklin Streets, to the number of sixty-one families, and two steam-engines which are estimated equal to twenty-four families."

From 1852 to 1864 the subject of an additional water supply was from time to time referred to by successive mayors, and spasmodic action was occasionally taken by the City Council. The first expert examination of available sources was made in 1854 by Mr. M. B. Inches, a competent engineer, of Boston. Again in 1856 a further examination was made by Mr. Inches and a report made recommending Henshaw Pond and Kettle Brook as the most available source for further supply. At the municipal election in that year the question was submitted to the inhabitants for a yea and nay vote upon the recommendation aforesaid. After the exclusion of the vote in Ward 1, on account of informality, the vote stood, Yeas, 939; Nays, 940. If the vote of Ward 1 had been included the yeas would have had a majority of 87. The debt of the city was at that time not quite \$104,000, and the inhabitants were by no means unanimous in their desire to increase it four or five-fold by an expenditure for one particular purpose. Thus the matter rested till 1860, when, upon further surveys, it was recommended to obtain legislative authority to take Lynde Brook, which was obtained by act of the Legislature in 1861, but quiet brooded over the waters till 1864. In 1863 Hon. Phinehas Ball made an elaborate report. The citizens felt the urgent need of definite action, and on January 18, 1864, the question was submitted to the voters whether water should be introduced into the city from Lynde Brook

in the town of Leicester in substantial accordance with the report of Mr. Ball. It was decided in the affirmative by a vote of 864 yeas to 282 nays.

Work was soon commenced upon reservoir and conduit pipes, and on November 14, 1864, water was let on for the first time. The city now had a reservoir on Lynde Brook of the capacity of 228,000,000 gallons, the height of the dam being at first twenty-seven feet from the bed of the brook. The debt of the city by reason of the extraordinary expenses of the war and introduction of water, was in 1865 nearly \$425,000. Mayor Blake suggested and encouraged the necessary measures and expenditures required by the growth of the city and demands of the future. With the introduction of water came the necessity for the adoption of a system of sewerage. Mayor Blake recommended it in 1866, regarding it "the foremost and most important of any matter which can come before us." Legislation was obtained, and in 1867 work began on a portion of the great central sewer in Mill Brook and some lateral sewers, which was prosecuted in subsequent years.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND INFLUENCE.—No period in the history of our nation since the Revolution has approached in the magnitude of the issues to be determined the years from 1848 to 1865. Political questions were dignified into the loftiest moral issues. The grandest fearlessness of political action was the result of the deepest convictions of the human soul. "Deep answered unto deep," and heart to heart. Men held freedom dearer than life and partisans became patriots. The stain of political dishonor was cleansed with blood and a nation's life was dearer than one's own.

Worcester had no humble part in this grand awakening, this beneficent fusion of the political with the moral forces. She led; she did not with cautious and hesitating step follow. The first majestic movement was in the Whig National Convention at Philadelphia, in June, 1848, when Worcester, by the lips of Hon. Charles Allen, made the momentous declaration: "You have put one ounce too much on the strong back of Northern endurance, you have even presumed that the State which led on the first revolution for liberty will now desert that cause for the miserable boon of the Vice-Presidency. Sir, Massachusetts will spurn the bribe. We declare the Whig party of the Union this day dissolved."

These words met with an emphatic response in Worcester, and when, on June 21st, after the return of Mr. Allen from the convention, a meeting was held to receive him, presided over by our honored Albert Tolman, its members, its enthusiasm and its earnestness left no doubt as to Worcester's endorsement of his action. One of the resolutions adopted at that meeting defined with a clearness of expression and an intensity of spirit rarely equalled the lofty attitude of Worcester's loyalty: "Resolved, That Massachusetts wears no chains and spurns all bribes; that Massa-

chusetts goes now and will ever go for free soil and free men, for free lips and a free press, for a free land and a free world."

Worcester was fittingly chosen as the place for holding the People's Convention of Massachusetts on June 28, 1848, of which Samuel Hoar, of Concord, a name ever honored, was president, and at which Charles Allen, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Joshua R. Giddings and others made addresses, and who were received by the five thousand freemen there gathered with unbounded enthusiasm.

The *Worcester Spy*, then under the management of John Milton Earle, was an unmistakable factor of great power in the grand advance that stopped only with Appomattox. On July 5, 1848, in referring to the convention, it said: "They have spoken a voice not to be mistaken and taken a stand never to be receded from till the last battle is fought and the victory won for Liberty and Right." In another article, by a different writer, Worcester's connection with the origin of the Free Soil party is fully considered. It is my purpose simply to refer to it. But I content myself with quoting the words of Senator Hoar in his profound and eloquent address at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the naming of Worcester with reference to this subject. He says: "But as surely as Faneuil Hall was the cradle of American independence so surely was Worcester the cradle of the later revolution."

The liberty-loving and determined people of Worcester and Worcester County elected Charles Allen to the National House of Representatives, that there his words and their words might be heard in the imperative demand that slavery should not invade another foot of the nation's soil.

The attempt to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the aggression of the slave power caused intense excitement at the North. Worcester's position in relation to the Fugitive Slave Law was pronounced and emphatic. We do not need to resort to the memory of men, to the daily talk of Worcester's earnest men, to the files of unofficial publications, though these all confirm the fact of the city's deep feeling. I suppose that very few, of the present generation at least, know that in one of the official publications of the city is a declaration of purpose by the mayor of the city, that at once lifts the author of it to a place of unending honor, and puts his city and our city where no hand can rob it of its glory.

Again, it is a pleasure to refer to the inaugural address of Mayor Bacon in 1851.

In referring to the Fugitive Slave Law, he says: "If it be asked whether it is intended that the police of the city shall, in its official capacity, aid in its enforcement, I answer, No." He then considers the effect of a decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Priggs vs. Pennsylvania*, 16 Peters 608, in its operation upon a law of

Massachusetts, Acts of 1843, ch. 69, which provided that no sheriff, constable or other officer of this Commonwealth should arrest or detain, or aid in the arrest or detention, of any person for the reason that he was claimed as a fugitive slave, and closes as follows: "And it is necessary for me only to add that should any officer of the city, embraced within the provisions of that Act of 1843, be found violating its provisions, I should deem it my duty to recommend his IMMEDIATE REMOVAL FROM OFFICE."

Only three years after these noble words were spoken, Worcester had an opportunity of showing by action that the words of its mayor expressed their own deep and abiding convictions. The arrest, in Boston, of Anthony Burns, as a fugitive slave, for the purpose of restoring him to his owner (?), which took place in May, 1854, roused Worcester to an exceptional degree. A contemporary account of the great meetings here, consequent upon it, will best illustrate the spirit of the occasion. The following account is taken from the *Spy* of May 31, 1854:

GREAT MEETING IN WORCESTER.

Rally at the City Hall!

Without the issuing of a single handbill or any previous notice, more than a thousand citizens of Worcester were assembled in the City Hall on Saturday evening at the ringing of the bell.

Speeches were made by W. W. Rice, Dr. O. Martin, Thomas Drew, T. W. Higginson and S. S. Foster, all of which were received with the most enthusiastic applause. The most intense excitement prevails in regard to the disgraceful proceedings of the U. S. Government in bucking up the Kidnappers of men upon the soil of Massachusetts. But one feeling pervades this entire community,—Whigs, Democrats and all seem to be animated by one common sentiment of earnest opposition to the infamous invasion of our soil by the desperadoes of the Southern States under the protection of the Army of the United States.

It was voted unanimously to lay aside business on Monday and proceed to Boston *en masse*, there to meet the friends of Freedom and humanity from other sections of the State and to take counsel together upon the emergencies of the times.

Not less than nine hundred people from this section went to Boston by the special and other trains on Saturday and a much larger number will be there to-day. The people of the country towns are aroused to a pitch of excitement hitherto never seen in Massachusetts since the days of the Revolution. What the result may be Heaven only knows, but one thing is certain: the administration and the South have raised a storm which can only be quelled when the manacles fall from the limbs of the last slave.

On Sunday evening the City Hall was crammed to its utmost capacity, with an earnest and true-hearted audience brought together by the demonstrations now being made by the slave power of its authority in and over Massachusetts. Dr. Martin was called to the Chair and made some stirring remarks on the occasion. Other able and eloquent addresses were made by D. F. Parker, Rev. Mr. Marrs, S. S. Foster, Thomas Drew and others, all breathing the most determined feeling to fight the battle of Freedom and to use all proper means to prevent the return of any fugitive from bondage.

In the course of Mr. Parker's remarks he renounced his former party allegiance and expressed his determination hereafter to go for freedom to all mankind, every where — . . . The meeting then adjourned to Court Square in Boston, at 11 o'clock yesterday.

Among those who went to Boston were: Adin Thayer, W. W. Rice, T. W. Higginson and Martin Stowell.

Two citizens of Worcester were arrested for acts alleged to have been done by them in opposing the United States officers at Boston. They were T. W.

Higginson and Martin Stowell. Neither was convicted.

The rendition of Burns produced a profound impression in this city. The bells of all the churches were tolled during the day; the stores were closed and draped in black; the flag of the United States, reversed, furled, draped with black and raised half-mast high, was hoisted on the liberty pole on the Common.

On Sunday morning the effigies of four men, prominently connected with the Burns case, were found suspended on the Common. Large labels were attached.

No. 1.
PONTIUS PILATE LORING,
THE UNJUST JUDGE.
No. 2.
BEN. HALLETT,
THE KIDNAPPER.
No. 3.
CALEB CUSHING,
THE BLOODHOUND.
No. 4.
FRANK PIERCE,
SATAN'S JOURNEYMAN.

Scarcely had Burns been remanded to slavery, when the slave-hunters sought Worcester for the supposed purpose of securing the person of William H. Jenkins, an escaped slave. On Sunday October 29, 1854, information was received that Asa O. Butman, a deputy United States marshal, who had arrested Burns, was here. At once the *Spy* issued the following notice:—

LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPERS!

BUTMAN, THE KIDNAPPER OF THOMAS SIMS AND ANTHONY BURNS, IS IN TOWN, ACCOMPANIED BY ANOTHER OFFICER!! THEY ARE BOOKED AT THE AMERICAN TEMPERANCE HOUSE! LOOK OUT FOR THEM!!

A public meeting was held in the evening, and the vigilance committee previously appointed watched the hotel and the movements of Butman. They were assisted by a large number of volunteers, who surrounded the hotel. The crowd increased and became somewhat demonstrative in language. A pistol was seen in the hands of Butman, a complaint was at once made against him for carrying dangerous weapons, he was arrested and came before the court the next morning and gave bail for his appearance at a later day. The Commonwealth was represented by W. W. Rice and Adin Thayer.

Upon his release, the excitement was such, the attendance so large, and the outlook so ominous, that he sought the protection of the officers of the law, which was granted, and he was taken to the marshal's office. But with that respect for law which Worcester has signally displayed, and with the most earnest purpose to prevent violence, those whose love for freedom could never be questioned, attempted to repress the ardor of the crowd. George F. Hoar addressed the throng and earnestly besought that no violence should be inflicted on Butman, and courageously announced that he had offered to accompany

Butman to the depot. Rev. T. W. Higginson, Martin Stowell, S. S. Foster and others volunteered to form a body-guard for Butman's safety. A more instructive scene has rarely been witnessed in Worcester than the protection afforded by these ardent friends of liberty to the *person* of this cringing coward, whose supposed business they bitterly loathed. These, with a few police, escorted Butman to the depot. There were obstacles to a rapid journey, and upon arrival at the station, it was found that the train upon which they proposed to send Butman to Boston, had left. Mr. Foster stated to the crowd that Butman had promised never again to visit Worcester, if he could safely depart; that this was a victory for freedom, and he hoped that no violence would mar the triumph. At last Butman was started for Boston in a hack, accompanied by Mr. Higginson. It is believed that he kept his promise!

There was no occasion to "recommend for immediate removal" any of the Worcester police; their only assistance rendered Butman was to get him safely out of the city *without* his prize. It may be very doubtful if Mr. Butman's visit here was for the purpose of procuring Mr. Jenkins, for the reason that more than three years prior to his visit, Mr. Jenkins, through the instrumentality of Emory Washburn, had been manumitted by his owner (?), W. E. Taylor, of Norfolk, and for the further reason that the instrument of manumission had been recorded in Norfolk in 1851, and in the city clerk's office at Worcester on June 9, 1854.

As it is believed that it is the only document of that character recorded here since 1777, at which time one of similar import is of record, I have thought it deserving of insertion here. It is as follows.

Know all men by these presents, that I, William E. Taylor, of the City of Norfolk and State of Virginia, have manumitted, Emancipated and set free, and by these presents do manumit, emancipate and set free a mulatto man slave named Henry Jenkins, and sometimes called William Henry Jenkins, who was purchased by me in the year 1837 of the late John N. Walke, of the said City of Norfolk, and I hereby declare him, the said Henry, to be entirely liberated from slavery and entitled to all the rights and privileges of a free person, with which it is in my power to invest him. The said Henry hereby emancipated is a man of light complexion, about five feet eight or nine inches high, and about thirty-five years of age.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal at the City of Norfolk, aforesaid, this 20th day of March, A.D. 1851.

W. E. TAYLOR. [LS.]

In the Clerk's office of the Court of the Corporation of the City of Norfolk, on the 20th day of March, 1851, this deed of emancipation was acknowledged by William E. Taylor, party thereto, and admitted to record.

Teste JNO. WILLIAMS, Cl.
1851, March 20 Ack'd in off by Wm. E. Taylor and A. R.

Teste JNO. WILLIAMS, Cl.
Recorded and examined,
(State tax paid.) JNO. WILLIAMS, Cl.

The righteous indignation of Worcester over the dastardly assault upon Senator Sumner found immediate expression at a meeting held in May, 1856. The officers of the meeting were; President, Hon. J. S. C. Knowlton; Vice Presidents, Rejoice Newton, Ira

M. Barton, W. A. Wheeler, George W. Richardson, Henry Chapin, Charles Thurber, Lee Sprague, P. Emory Aldrich, George M. Rice, William T. Merrifield, Edward Earle, Joseph Mason and Thomas Kinneutt; Secretary, P. L. Moen. Speeches were made by P. Emory Aldrich, Charles Allen, Dwight Foster, D. F. Parker, J. B. D. Cogswell and Rev. Horace James. For participation in this service, if for no other reason, Worcester ought to hold these honored men in enduring remembrance.

During all this period the activity of Worcester in the anti-slavery cause was conspicuous, not simply in the ranks of the Anti-Slavery Society, but in the great body of the more practical and constitutional Free Soilers and Whigs. The records of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society, now in the possession of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, show that as early as 1847 the society began to adopt resolutions that it was the "duty of the non-slave-holding States to immediately secede from the Union." In 1851, while it rejoiced in the election of Charles Sumner, it resolved that he, Giddings, Hale, Mann, etc., occupy an utterly indefensible position, because they have taken an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States. Again, in 1854, after the formation of the Republican party, it resolved that the support of the new party is practical treason to the anti-slavery cause.

Its members were animated by a deep and abiding spirit of abhorrence of the institution of slavery and could see no possible issue out of participation in its crime, except by withdrawal from a government whose Constitution, they argued, sustained it. Events have shown that, by the very opposite course of insistence that no State should or could legally withdraw from the Union, the grand consummation which they so earnestly desired—the utter annihilation of slavery—has been accomplished. The great majority of Worcester's freedom-loving population, while detesting slavery, were not disunionists. The Anti-Slavery Society resolved that no true abolitionist could consistently hold office, but Worcester agreed with Dr. Oramel Martin, who in one of the public meetings of the society, in 1854, argued that it was wisest for the cause to vote for the best anti-slavery candidates they could get.

But, however much certain details of action were disapproved, without doubt the work of that society served a most beneficent purpose and was a grand educator of the people. Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelly Foster were the best known members of the Anti-Slavery Society, and their assiduous and fearless labor, day and night, in season and out of season, was a contribution of great power to the general cause.

A greater privilege yet awaited Worcester. It became the birth-place of the Republican party. This is not intended in a partisan sense or with a partisan bias, but simply in a historical view.

On July 20, 1854, the "People's Convention" was

held in Worcester, participated in by many of Worcester's strong men as well as from all sections of the State. Upon that day the party took the name of "Republican."

P. Emory Aldrich and P. W. Taft, of Worcester, were upon the Committee on Resolutions, which reported, among other resolutions, the following:

Resolved, That the unquestionable existence of a settled purpose on the part of the slave power to convert the Republic which our fathers founded on principles of justice and liberty into a slave-holding despotism, whose vital and animating spirit shall be the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery, calls for the immediate union of all true men into a party which shall make the question of freedom paramount to all other political questions.

Resolved, That in co-operation with the friends of freedom in other States we hereby form ourselves into the REPUBLICAN PARTY of Massachusetts, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:—

among which were the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the restoration of liberty to Kansas and Nebraska, prohibition of slavery in all the Territories, refusal of admission of any more slave States into the Union, etc.

The activity of Worcester in the formation of the Republican party and in the great struggle for freedom in Kansas are considered so fully by another writer that I forego further mention of it. So, too, the energy and the sacrifice of Worcester in the Civil War receive treatment in another article. All, however, combine to form the magnificent total of Worcester's achievement in behalf of Liberty and Union.

Worcester's contribution to the great temperance movement was not equalled by any town in the State.

The consecration to a life of sobriety and moral effort made by John B. Gough, when, at the Worcester Town Hall on October 31, 1842, he took the pledge of total abstinence, had doubtless a more beneficent effect upon the whole land in the grand efforts for the reclamation of those addicted to the excessive use of liquor and in the elevation of the moral sentiment of the country, than any other agency. In the suppression of the sale of liquor, the suggestion made by Mayor Bacon, in his inaugural address of 1852, has proved more potent than any other legal means. He says: "We cannot rely upon living witnesses to give the testimony sufficient to put down this traffic. Why should we not then, as in other cases, appeal to the tools—the implements, and, if necessary, to the very liquor itself and get their response? Why not produce and interrogate them?"

CLOSING PERIOD.

The space allowed for this article has already been exceeded; the reference to this period must, therefore, be exceedingly brief. The materials for its history are so accessible that any one may readily examine for himself.

The causes which contributed to the growth and prominence of Worcester have continued to exist and operate, so that now it is estimated that the city has

a population of about 82,000. It has a valuation of \$64,514,536 and 23,122 polls. Its Lynde Brook Reservoir has been increased so that its storage capacity is now 680,000,000 gallons. In 1883 the city took the waters of Tatnuck Brook as an additional water supply, and the distributing reservoir upon that stream has a storage capacity of 370,000,000 gallons, so that, with Bell Pond, of 30,000,000 gallons, its present actual supply is 1,080,000,000 gallons. The daily consumption is somewhat over 4,000,000 gallons. It has now 110 miles of main pipe and 76 miles of service pipe. Its water-works system has cost about \$2,350,000.

Work upon the construction of sewers has been continued until now the city has sixty-eight miles of sewers, all constructed within the last twenty-one years. It has now a duty imposed upon it of purifying its sewage before pouring it into the Blackstone River. The total cost of its sewers has exceeded \$2,400,000.

The act which authorized the city's sewer system provided that assessments might be made for a portion of the cost upon those whose estates were benefited thereby.

Each city government till 1872 hesitated and delayed to take the action authorized. It was necessarily attended with great embarrassments and difficulties, but Hon. George F. Verry, in his inaugural of 1872, took strong and fearless ground as to the necessity of meeting the question and dealing with it without further delay. Accordingly, in 1872, an assessment, aggregating \$450,000, was laid. Naturally it met with opposition, but its legality was established by the Supreme Court and it was collected.

The mayors during this period have been as follows: 1869-71, James B. Blake; 1871, Henry Chapin, *ad interim*, for a few weeks after Mayor Blake's death, Edward Earle the balance of the year; 1872, George F. Verry; 1873, Clark Jillson; 1874, Edward L. Davis; 1875-76, Clark Jillson; 1877-79, Charles B. Pratt; 1880-81, Frank H. Kelley; 1882, Elijah B. Stoddard; 1883, Samuel E. Hildreth; 1884-85, Chas. G. Reed; 1886-89, Samuel Winslow.

In 1871 the city took decisive action towards removing the railroad tracks from the old Common and some of the adjacent and most frequented streets, which resulted in their removal and the construction of the Union Station. In 1885 steps were taken to secure the removal of the Old South meeting-house, and under legislative authority it was accomplished in 1887, at an expense of \$115,000. The Common is now free from all structures not belonging to the city. The City Hall, the monument to Col. Timothy Bigelow, erected in 1861, and the beautiful soldiers' monument, dedicated July 15, 1874, alone remain upon it.

The wisdom of providing ample parks by the city was stimulated by the gifts of Horace H. Bigelow and later of Edward L. Davis, of Lake Park, on the shores of Quinsigamond, and of Stephen Salisbury, of Insti-

tute Park, on the shores of Salisbury Pond, so that in 1888 the city government appropriated two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of several tracts in various sections of the city for use as parks.

Worcester's benefactors have been largely those whose gifts have been their loyal service to her, but she is not without those who added to such service more material means. The largest pecuniary gift which Worcester ever received was from George Jaques, who by deed and will gave to the city in 1872 over two hundred thousand dollars for a city hospital. Mrs. Helen C. Knowles, wife of Lucius J. Knowles, gave to the city in 1886, by her will, twenty-five thousand dollars for a maternity ward in connection with the hospital. George Bancroft, in 1882, presented to his native city the sum of five thousand dollars for the foundation of a scholarship in memory of his parents, the income to be devoted towards the liberal education of some young native of Worcester who, in the schools of the city, may prove his ability.

Still another railroad leading to Worcester has been added—the Boston, Barre and Gardner—to which the city liberally contributed two hundred and sixty-two thousand dollars in subscription to the capital stock. The Worcester and Shrewsbury Railroad to the lake affords abundant facilities for access to that attractive resort.

The street railroad has extended its location, so that now it has seventeen miles of track, and carried the past year 3,794,169 passengers.

The city's streets have increased in number and length, so that now it has one hundred and forty-two miles of public streets, and fifty miles of private ways.

Its schools have been fostered with a generous hand, the appropriation the past year for that purpose being \$266,554.00. Its great educational institutions have been supplemented by the Polytechnic Institute and Clark University.

Though the net debt of the city was, on November 30, 1888, \$2,061,183.00, yet its credit stands as high, and its bonds sell at as much premium, as those of any town or city in the country.

Although Worcester has, at no time, been represented upon the successful State ticket since 1869, yet her influence has not sensibly diminished. Her leading men have rendered service in other capacities.

GEORGE F. HOAR represented this district in the National House of Representatives from 1869 to 1877, and has been greatly distinguished as United States Senator from Massachusetts since 1877.

CHARLES DEVENS, JR., remained upon the Superior Court bench till 1873, when he was appointed one of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, and remained such till 1877, when he became Attorney-General of the United States in the Cabinet of President Hayes. Upon his retirement from that position in 1881, he was again appointed one of the justices of our Supreme Court, which position he now occupies.

FRANCIS H. DEWEY was one of the justices of the Superior Court from 1869 to 1881, when he resigned.

P. EMORY ALDRICH has been a member of the Superior Court bench since 1873, and HAMILTON B. STAPLES since 1881.

W. W. RICE succeeded Geo. F. Hoar in the House of Representatives and remained till 1887.

JOSEPH H. WALKER has just been elected a member of the next House.

A merited and distinguished honor was conferred upon EX-GOV. BULLOCK, in the offer by President Hayes of the nomination of his name for minister to England, which was declined by Mr. Bullock.

HENRY CHAPIN remained judge of Probate till his death, in 1878, when he was succeeded by another citizen of Worcester, AMIN THAYER, who held the office till his death, in 1888.

THOMAS L. NELSON was appointed judge of the United States District Court for the Massachusetts District in 1879, and still occupies the position.

Worcester has furnished district attorneys for the Middle District during the entire time, viz.: W. W. Rice, H. B. Staples, Francis T. Blackmer, W. S. B. Hopkins, and the present incumbent.

Worcester has had the service of distinguished members of the bar as city solicitors, including T. L. Nelson, F. T. Blackmer and Frank P. Goulding.

CONCLUSION.—If, from the foregoing sketch, it can be seen that Worcester, during the past century of her existence, has been true to the highest demands of civic existence; has been active and usually foremost in the great movements of political thought; that her people have been inspired with a true conception of duty; that her leaders have been fearless and actuated by noble impulses; that material prosperity has been attained by promoting intellectual and moral growth, as well as by sagacious judgment and varied industries; that her true progress has not been retarded by alien indifference, but promoted by the filial affection of her children, its purpose will have been accomplished.

The fountains of her political action have remained pure. Her affairs have been, in the main, committed to men of education and capacity. She has ordinarily chosen as her servants those who, from culture, intelligence, honesty and maturity of judgment, were qualified to represent her worthily. The demagogue has found here no place for the sole of his foot; the unworthy self-seeker for office has been doomed to disappointment.

Adherence to these principles and continuance of present intellectual and economic conditions assure Worcester's future.

A more apt embodiment of one of the most important phases of Worcester's history and life can hardly be found than in the following extract, from that admirable inaugural of Mayor Bacon, so often referred to:

The fact that absenteeism, the bane of cities, as it is of States, is

here almost wholly unknown, a very minute and quite inconsiderable proportion only of the property of Worcester being owned by non-residents, the capital here, particularly that devoted to and invested in manufactures, in trade, in mechanic arts being almost entirely owned, supervised and managed not by the agent of some distant capitalist, but by the resident proprietor, whose personal supervision of his own affairs and his own capital insures thrift and profit in his own business, and whose personal residence amongst us is a sure guarantee of his sympathy and generous co-operation in every enterprise calculated to benefit the city of his residence; the circumstance . . . that our capital, manufacturing and mechanical, is quite minutely subdivided and owned in moderate and comparatively inconsiderable amounts, by a great number of thrifty and independent proprietors, the fortunate peculiarity in our industrial organization, that the prosperity of our city is not dependent, as is the case not unfrequently elsewhere upon the prosperity of any one particularly dominant and controlling mechanical or manufacturing interest, which now flourishing, and now depressed, exhibits the place of its location, now a town or city, full of life and activity, and now embarrassed in its business and the abode of idleness and a place of stagnation and distress; the stability of our prosperity, on the contrary, reposing upon the great number and variety of interests and trades, manufacturing, mechanical and commercial, carried on here, where, though one branch or interest may be at any given time depressed, the greater number will be found prosperous and productive; these, and all these, have conducted to our prosperity, and now let me ask which of these causes has exhausted itself, or which is likely to cease its operation? Not one; in my opinion not one.

As true to-day as in 1851, and of all the causes which have contributed to Worcester's *honor* and her prosperity, not one has exhausted itself.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY CHARLES EMERY STEVENS.

A HISTORY of any New England town without an ecclesiastical chapter would surely be like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. For a city of eighty thousand inhabitants, with fifty churches and fifteen denominations, and a history covering two centuries, such a chapter ought of right to occupy a large space. But this the plan of the present work altogether forbids. Only a very condensed outline of what might well fill a volume can here be given. It must needs be a somewhat bald narration. Outline sketches admit of neither shading nor color. Under such limitations this writing must proceed.

At the outset two methods of treatment presented themselves. One was the chronological method; the other was the topical. By the latter method all that is to be said of one denomination would be presented by itself; the topic would be exhausted before another was touched. Beginning with the Trinitarian Congregationalists, for example, we should treat of all the churches of that order before proceeding with the next. And although the other method may have its advantages, and, indeed, has been adopted by some writers, this, on the whole, seemed to be the preferable method. It has this im-

portant advantage, that the origin and growth of each denomination can be viewed consecutively and apart from others. Accordingly, this method will be pursued in the present history. Without further preface, I begin with the

TRINITARIAN CONGREGATIONALISTS—*First or Old South Church.*—The first permanent settlement in Worcester began on the 21st of October, 1713. Nearly fifty years before, steps had been taken towards this end and temporary settlements had been begun; but before foot was set upon the soil a provision was made "that a good minister of God's word be placed there." This provision was first realized in the year 1719, when the Rev. Andrew Gardner was ordained as the first minister of the Gospel settled in Worcester. Before this, however, the people had been wont to assemble regularly for public worship in their dwelling-houses, and notably in that of Gershom Rice, who was the first to open his house for the purpose. Soon the dwelling-house became too strait, and in 1717 a small meeting-house of logs was built. It stood at the corner of Franklin and Green Streets, just southeast of the Common. This served its purpose until 1719, when a more spacious edifice was erected on the site thenceforward occupied by the Old South for one hundred and sixty-eight years. Meanwhile a church had been constituted—perhaps self-constituted—with Daniel Heywood and Nathaniel Moore for its first deacons. This occurred soon after the permanent settlement. The precise date of this important beginning is not known, but Whitney ("History of Worcester County") thinks that all probabilities point to the year 1719. This, then, seems to have been the year when the church was organized, the meeting-house built and the first minister settled.

The ministry of Mr. Gardner was not a happy one. He was addicted to deer-hunting and practical jokes, and, naturally, was accused of remissness in the discharge of his duties. His people on their part neglected to pay his small stipend of perhaps £40, and also the "gratuity" of £60, which they had voted to give him. Dissatisfaction increased; some left his preaching. The General Court having been appealed to in vain, an ecclesiastical council was at length convened, in September, 1721, to take the matter in hand. After long delay by the council, on the 31st of October, 1722, Mr. Gardner was dismissed from his charge. It is said his errors were more of the head than of the heart. He was generous, sometimes without regard to consequences. This instance has been preserved: "A poor parishioner having solicited aid in circumstances of distress, Mr. Gardner gave away his only pair of shoes for his relief; and, as this was done on Saturday, appeared the next day in his stockings at the desk to perform the morning service, and in the evening officiated in borrowed slippers a world too wide for his slender members." Mr. Gardner was a native of Brookline and a gradu-

ate of Harvard in the class of 1712. It was thought worthy of mention that, in conformity with the custom of the time, his name was placed last in the roll of his class, as indicating the relative social position of his parents. For the same reason Abraham Lincoln's name would have stood at the foot of his class had he been college bred. The subsequent history of Mr. Gardner did not improve his reputation. Installed as the first minister of Lunenburg in 1728, and dismissed in 1731 "because he was unworthy," he retired to a town in the Connecticut Valley, and there died at an advanced age. After a period of preaching without settlement by the Rev. Shearjashub Bourne, the Rev. Thomas White and others, on the 10th of February, 1725, a call was given to the Rev. Isaac Burr, and on the 13th of October following he was ordained as the second minister. A long and quiet ministry followed. His relations with the people were cordial, and the latter were forward and generous in his support. When the paper money of the period became depreciated they took care that his salary should not suffer. During his ministry a memorable event was the arrival in Worcester, October 14, 1740, of George Whitefield, accompanied by Gov. Belcher. On the next day the famous evangelist "preached on the Common to some thousands," as he wrote in his diary. Nothing appears to show that this visit was otherwise than welcome to Mr. Burr. And yet, the forces then set in motion had their ultimate issue in his dismissal. It seems the Rev. David Hall, of Sutton, "a follower of Whitefield," found Mr. Burr too backward in the new Whitefield movement. Though he preached repeatedly "in private houses" in Worcester with Mr. Burr's consent, yet he was moved to write down in his diary that the latter "seemed not well pleased." At length Mr. Burr refused his consent to further preaching by his Sutton brother, whereupon the latter was led to express the fear that the Worcester minister was "too much a stranger to the power of godliness." In truth, a Whitefield party had been formed in Worcester, and Mr. Burr was found not to be of the number. Alienation naturally arose, and the growing trouble impaired his health. So, in about four years after Whitefield's advent, a mutual council was convened, and under its advice Mr. Burr was dismissed in March, 1745. Lincoln ("History of Worcester," p. 146) says that he was the son of the Hon. Peter Burr, the father of President Burr, of Princeton College, and consequently grandfather of Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States. But this is an error. It appears from evidence in the probate office at Hartford, Conn., that he was the son of Thomas Burr, of that city, and therefore not of the Aaron Burr lineage. He was born in 1698, and graduated at Yale in 1717. His death occurred at Windsor, about 1751. No portraiture of his person or mind survives; no characteristic anecdote is of record, and nothing testifies of his ministry save its

continuance for a fifth of a century in a generally peaceful way. The town next made choice of Nathaniel Gardner, a graduate of Harvard in 1739; he, however, declined the call. Nearly two years elapsed before the settlement of the next minister. In this interval a covenant¹ was adopted and subscribed by fifty members of the church. Doubtless there was a covenant of some sort when the church was first organized, but what it was, and how it compared with this new one, we have no means of knowing. If it was a "half-way covenant" after the fashion of that day, it must have differed materially from this one of 1746.

After Mr. Gardner many candidates were heard; but at last the choice lay between the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, of Boston, and the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard. Each was to preach four Sabbaths in succession, and on the Sabbath before the day of election both were to preach. After this competitive trial the choice by a very large majority fell on Mr. Maccarty, and Worcester missed the chance of having the famous divine of the Revolution among the number of its ministers. Mr. Maccarty was installed on the 10th of June, 1747. The sermon on the occasion was preached by himself, for which unusual step he offered ingenious reasons in the introduction. Besides the pecuniary provision for his support, a house with about two acres of land on the Common southeast from the meeting-house was purchased for a parsonage. In 1765 this property was conveyed in fee to Mr. Maccarty by the town. Nearly fifty years after, in a suit by the Rev. Samuel Austin, D.D., in behalf of the parish, the property was recovered back from the tenant claiming under a conveyance by the executors of the deceased minister. The estate, however, was afterwards relinquished by the parish. The ministry of Mr. Maccarty was of nearly forty years' duration. In the course of it occurred the Revolutionary War, bringing severe trials; and at the close protracted sickness kept him out of the pulpit. He lived greatly respected and died deeply lamented on the 20th of July, 1784, at the age of sixty-three years. His ministry was the longest of all which the First Church enjoyed during the first one hundred and seventy years. Mr. Maccarty was tall, slender and thin, with a black, penetrating eye, which added to his effectiveness in speaking.²

¹ To be found in Lincoln's "History of Worcester."

² A faint likeness of him survives on a poorly-painted canvas in the possession of Mrs. Mary P. Dunn, one of his literal descendants. His remains were buried in the cemetery then on the Common, at a spot just south of and very near the Soldiers' Monument. In 1848 all the gravestones in the cemetery were laid flat, each over its respective grave, and buried beneath the turf, and Mr. Maccarty's among the rest. A description of the emblems on his headstone, together with its inscriptions, is given in Barton's "Epitaphs." The inscriptions were copied upon a mural tablet erected in the Old South by Dwight Foster (brother of Mrs. Dunn), late a justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The tablet will have an appropriate place upon the wall of the New Old South.

"As a preacher he was solemn, loud, searching and rousing," said a contemporary clerical brother. President John Adams, in his early years a resident of Worcester, wrote to Dr. Baneroff that "Mr. Macarty, though a Calvinist, was no bigot." In the course of his ministry, Mr. Macarty published eight occasional sermons; several others may be found in Doctor Smalley's "Worcester Pulpit." From these posterity may judge something of his doctrine, which was sound, and something of his style, which was not classical. During his sickness and after his decease a young man appeared in his pulpit whose preaching was destined to be the occasion, if not the cause, of a lasting division in the First Parish. Of this an account will be given under another head. During the controversy which arose, no minister was called; then, in 1786, the Rev. Daniel Story was called, accepted the call and went on preaching, without being ordained, for about two years, when the call was re-called. It had been discovered, that he, too, entertained Arminian sentiments. Having thus received his *congé* in Worcester, Mr. Story went into Ohio as chaplain of the company which founded Marietta, the centennial of which was celebrated in 1888, a distinguished citizen of Worcester (Senator Hoar) having a leading part therein. Mr. Story was an uncle of Joseph Story, the eminent justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was born in Boston on the 29th of July, 1756, was a graduate of Dartmouth in the class of 1780 and died at Marietta in 1804.

The settlement of the next minister, Dr. Austin, in the last decade of the century, was the beginning of a new order of things. Before proceeding with its history let us look at the way of public worship in the First Church during the period then closing. As elsewhere, the principal parts of the service were praying and preaching; singing and reading the Scripture lesson were subordinate; and, indeed, this last did not become a part of the service until near the middle of the century. Under date of September 3, 1749, the church record recites that the "laudable custom was very unanimously come into by the church at one of their meetings some time before." In this matter the Worcester church was not behind others, since the custom "was not introduced into New England" until that period. Singing had been a part of the service from the beginning. At first it was congregational, primitive and rude. The minister read the first line of a psalm and the congregation sang it. Then the eldest deacon "lined" the rest, and "singing and reading went on alternately." There was neither chorister nor choir nor set tune, but each one sang to please himself. This was the "usual way," so-called. In 1726 an attempt was made to substitute the "ruleable way." A vote of the town was passed to that effect, but the deacons resisted, and the "usual way" still prevailed. The unmelodious custom was too strongly entrenched.

Forty-three years went by and a generation had died off before another attempt to change it was made. Then, in May, 1769, came a modest proposition to invite "a qualified individual" to lead. A bolder stroke followed in March, 1770, when three men were designated by name "to sit in the elders' seat and lead," and by a unanimous vote a fourth was chosen to "assist." Here was our modern quartette, so far as the old-time sense of propriety would allow. The next step was taken in 1773 by providing seats exclusively for the singers. Six years after, on the 5th of August, 1779, the town struck the final blow by adopting these votes: That the singers sit in the front seats of the front gallery; that they be requested to take said seats and carry on the singing; and that the psalm be not "lined." Nevertheless, on the next Sabbath the venerable eldest deacon rose and began to "line" the psalm. The singers, from their new "coign of vantage," began to sing; the deacon raised his voice, the singers raised theirs; it was an unequal strife, and the deacon "retired from the meeting-house in tears." This was the end of the "usual way" of singing in Worcester. From that time onward the ruleable way prevailed without opposition.

The first book in use was the "Bay Psalm Book,"¹ as improved by President Dunster, of Harvard College. This held the ground until 1761, and was then displaced by the version of Tate and Brady, "with an Appendix of Scriptural Hymns by Dr. Watts." The exact date when this book came into use was on the 29th of November in that year. It continued in use until the settlement of Dr. Austin, and then, on the 20th of January, 1790, gave way to "Watts' Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs." The version of Sternhold and Hopkins was never used in the church in this town," says Lincoln.² This version was the one in use under royal authority by the Church of England, and was bound up with its "Book of Common Prayer." Perhaps it was because of this that the New England churches chose to have a "Psalm Book" of their own—a book free from all complicity with an established church.

¹ This most famous and rarest of books was the first one ever printed in America. Its true, whole and only title was "The whole booke of psalmes faithfully translated into English Metre, Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the lawfulness, but also the necessity of the heavenly Ordinances of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God. Imprinted 1640." In 1636 there were, says Dr. Thomas Prince, "near thirty ministers" in New England who had been educated in the English universities. These divines selected out of their number "the Rev. Mr. Richard Mather, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Weld and the Rev. Mr. John Eliot," to prepare a new version of the Psalms for the use of the New England churches. The printing of the work was begun in 1639 and completed in 1640. This was the "Bay Psalm-Book." A single copy, bearing the imprint of the last-named year, is treasured in the iron safe of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester. It is sometimes said of a very rare book that it is worth its weight in gold. In 1875 a copy of this book belonging to the estate of the late Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, was sold by auction in Boston for about one thousand and fifty dollars. The Worcester copy weighs nine ounces. The price paid for the Boston copy, therefore, was more than six times its weight in gold.

² M.S. Notes in Lib. of Antig. Soc.

To illustrate the several versions and furnish a means of comparison the first verse of the first psalm from each is subjoined.

FROM THE BAY PSALM-BOOK OF 1640.

O Blessed man that in th' advice
of wicked doth not walk:
nor stand in sinners way, nor sit
in chayre of scornfull folk.

FROM DUNSTER'S IMPROVED BAY PSALM-BOOK OF 1650.

O Blessed man that walks not in
th' advice of wicked men,
Nor staudeth in the sinners way
nor scorners seat sits in.

FROM TATE AND BRADY, ORIGINAL EDITION, ANNO 1700.

Happy the Man who in ill Advice
From Virtue ne'er withdrew,
Who ne'er with Sinners stood nor sat
Amongst the scoffing Crew.

FROM TATE AND BRADY, WITH APPENDIX BY WATTS, ANNO 1754.

How blest is he who ne'er consents
by ill Advice to walk
Nor stands in Sinners Ways; nor sits
where Men profanely talk!

FROM STERNHOLD AND HOPKINS, LONDON, 1648.

The man is blest that hath not bent
to wicked read his care:
Nor led his life as sinners do,
nor sate in scorners chaire.

After six years of waiting the First Parish at length secured the most distinguished among all its ministers. On the 29th of September, 1790, the Rev. Samuel Austin, D.D., of New Haven, was duly installed in the vacant pulpit. His first considerable step was to clear up and reinvigorate the doctrinal basis of the church. A new creed and covenant were adopted, whereby its orthodoxy was conformed to the strictest type. All the subsequent activities of Dr. Austin had this type for their basis. He devoted himself to the investigation of theological questions. He prepared and published the first complete edition of the works of the elder Jonathan Edwards. He was one of the founders of the General Association of Massachusetts, and also of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society. He was often called to sit in councils on difficult cases. He was a man of strong convictions and plain speech. On public affairs he preached with great freedom. His fast-day sermons were notable. Several were published. The one preached on the 23d of July, 1812, during the war, caused much agitation. He therefore published it, with this upon its title-page: "Published from the press by the desire of some who heard it and liked it; by the desire of some who heard it and did not like it; and by the desire of others who did not hear it, but imagine they should not have liked it if they had."

At the end of twenty-five years he became president of the University of Vermont, but, because of the suit already mentioned, remained nominal pastor of the First Parish till 1818. Resigning the college

presidency in 1821, he became pastor of a small church in Newport, R. I., once the charge of the famous divine, Dr. Samuel Hopkins. This, too, he resigned in 1825, and then returned to Worcester, preaching occasionally in Millbury. By and by the death of an adopted son, physical disease and pecuniary losses brought on mental disturbance. Like the poet Cowper, he became a religious monomaniac. The darkness of despair settled down upon him. For some four years he remained in this state of gloom. Near the end, light at intervals broke through the cloud. He died on the 4th of December, 1830, in the seventy-first year of his age. He was a man of commanding stature, of dignified carriage, austere yet affable on near approach, and "with a smile like a sunbeam breaking through the clouds." As a preacher he was remarkable for power and pathos, and of eminent gifts in devotional exercises. The impress of his character was deep and abiding. Of his publications, Lincoln ("History") gives a list of thirty-three, with their titles.

The successor of Dr. Austin was the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. He was ordained as colleague pastor on the 9th of October, 1816, and became sole pastor by the formal dismission of Dr. Austin in 1818. His ministry was short but fruitful of a spiritual harvest, about eighty new confessors being added to the church in one year. But it was a ministry full of trouble also. Beginning as a young man of twenty-six years, he found himself confronted at the outset with the opposition of a leading person both in the parish and in the town. Though this person was not himself of the church, yet some of his family were; and the combined influence of all caused the diafection to spread. Attempts at reconciliation were made and failed. It became evident that either the minister or the disaffected must leave. The former was too strongly intrenched to be ousted, and the latter perforce accepted the alternative. For a time they resorted to other communions while retaining connection with their own church. Presently, they sought release from this bond. Some asked for dismission and recommendation. Several were dismissed but not recommended. Councils were resorted to and counter-councils were held, with the usual results of *ex parte* proceedings. Each party in turn was sustained. At last a council constituted the disaffected, with others, into a new church, the history of which, under the name of the Calvinist or Central Church, will be given in its proper place. A war of pamphlets followed, able and exhaustive on both sides; and to them the reader must be remitted for further and fuller details of the unhappy controversy. This church quarrel was the most serious that ever afflicted any church of any communion in the town. Ill health compelled Mr. Goodrich to lay down his charge on the 14th of November, 1820, and the same cause prevented him from resuming the pastoral office. For the rest of his life he devoted himself to literary pursuits. He

became a maker of books; his school histories were in their day greatly in vogue, and of one more than one hundred thousand copies were printed. A list of his principal works is to be found in the "Worcester Pulpit."

The sixth pastor of the Old South and the next after Mr. Goodrich was the Rev. Aratus Bevil Hull. Born at Woodbridge, Conn., in 1788, graduated in 1807 at Yale, where he was a tutor for six years, he was ordained and settled at Worcester on the 22d of May, 1821. He came to his new calling with a high reputation both as a scholar and as a teacher. Ill health, however, kept him down, and after a protracted sickness he died in office on the 17th of May, 1826. His virtues as a man and a minister were celebrated by his contemporary neighbor, Dr. Nelson, in a funeral sermon. He was eminently social, simple, refined, charming in conversation and "a welcome friend to the poor." A quarter of a century after his death men often spoke of him "with kindling emotion." His church attested their affection by erecting to his memory a monument inscribed all over with elaborate encomium. In 1827 the church and parish united in a call to the Rev. Rodney A. Miller. The call was accepted and he was ordained on the 7th of June in that year. For nearly seventeen years he remained pastor of the church. During this period more than four hundred were added to its communion. At length differences arose between Mr. Miller and members of the church and parish; in consequence, a mutual council was called and the result of its advice was the dismission of Mr. Miller. For many years after, he continued to reside in Worcester, but in the end returned to Troy, N. Y., his native place, where he died at an advanced age. Mr. Miller was the first president of the first Temperance Association ever formed in Worcester. For some years he was one of the overseers of Harvard University and had a zeal for the rectification of its theological standards.

A series of seven pastorates followed that of Mr. Miller. The first was that of the Rev. George Phillips Smith, a graduate of Amherst in 1835. He was installed on the 19th of March, 1845, and died at Salem, while in office, on the 3d of September, 1852. His ministry was a happy and successful one. Following him came the Rev. Horace James, a graduate of Yale in 1840, who was installed on the 3d of February, 1853. Mr. James was full of devotion to his charge, but when the Civil War broke out, devotion to his country overbore the former and issued in his appointment as chaplain of the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and his consequent dismission from his pastoral charge. This event occurred on the 8th of January, 1863, and his death on the 9th of June, 1875. Rev. Edward Ashley Walker, who had been ordained chaplain of the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery in June, 1861, was installed as Mr. James' successor on the 2d of July, 1863. Like some of his predecessors, he was compelled by ill health to

retire altogether from the ministry. His death occurred on the 10th of April, 1866. During his ministry, September 22, 1863, the one hundredth anniversary of the building of the Old South meeting-house was elaborately commemorated. At the meeting-house the Hon. Ira M. Barton made an introductory address, and Leonard Bacon, D.D., of New Haven, gave a historical discourse; while at Mechanics Hall, in the after part of the day, much reminiscent discoursing was had. The old meeting-house, a typical specimen of New England church architecture of the last century, with its elegant slender spire and faithful weathercock, was suffered to remain for nearly a quarter of a century longer before its demolition in August, 1887, under a municipal decree.

After Mr. Walker's dismission the Rev. Royal B. Stratton was installed on the 2d of January, 1867. Serious disability, more or less impairing his usefulness, led to his dismission on the 25th of April, 1872. His death occurred in this city on the 24th of January, 1875. On the 21st of May following Rev. William M. Parry, of Nottingham, England, received a unanimous call to the pastorate. He practically accepted the call and performed his duties as acting pastor, but was never installed. On November 3, 1873, he "resigned," but the resignation, taking the church by "surprise," was not accepted. On the 11th of December it was withdrawn, but on the 4th of January following he preached his farewell sermon. His preaching had been both dramatic and eccentric and consequently had drawn crowded houses. Leaving the Old South, he drew after him nearly one hundred and fifty of its communicants, and together they at once proceeded to organize a new church in Mechanics Hall by the name of the Tabernacle Church. Without loss of time a Congregational Council was convened for the purpose of recognizing the church and installing Mr. Parry as its pastor. The council received the church into fellowship but refused to install Mr. Parry. The church then proceeded to violate the principle of the fellowship, to which it had just been admitted, by an autocratic installation. The services on the occasion were performed by lay members of the church; and in that fashion Mr. Parry became the first and, as it proved, the only pastor of the Tabernacle Church in Worcester. Church and pastor both came to a speedy end. Mr. Parry suddenly died in his chair while making a call upon two of his female parishioners, and the church, already grown disgusted and disintegrated by his gross and increasing eccentricities, vanished into the naught.

To return to the Old South: The Rev. Nathaniel Mighill, a graduate of Amherst in 1860, was installed as Mr. Stratton's successor, September 25, 1875. The fate of so many of his predecessors overtook him also, and because of ill health he was dismissed on the 15th of June, 1877. Then followed the Rev. Louis Bevier Voorhees a graduate of Princeton in

1867. After occupying the pulpit for six months, a nearly unanimous call led to his installation on the same day on which his predecessor was dismissed. But neither in this instance did a change of ministers secure the church against the fate which so inveterately pursued its chosen pastors. After preaching for a time Mr. Voorhees was compelled to relinquish his charge, but his formal dismission did not take place till the 5th of May, 1880, when his successor, the Rev. Joseph F. Lovering, was installed as the fourteenth pastor of the church and so remained.

A question had long been in issue between the city and the First Parish touching their respective estates in the land occupied by the Old South. The city claimed the land and wished to remove the building, and the parish resisted the claim and wished to preserve the building. Things remained in this condition until 1885, when the city obtained from the legislature authority to take all the title and interest of the parish. In May, 1886, the city council voted to take under the act. Thereupon the parish made an overture to the city towards an agreement upon the amount of damages. The city having declined to entertain the overture, the parish then proceeded, under the provisions of the act, to ask the Superior Court for the appointment of commissioners to award damages; and this was done. The case came on to be heard in July, 1887, when the city solicitor, Frank P. Goulding, appeared for the city, and Senator George F. Hoar for the parish. An exhaustive preparation and all the legal learning and skill of the respective advocates went into the case. After weeks of deliberation the commissioners brought in an award of \$148,400. The city refused to pay the award, and under the act claimed a trial by jury. A compromise followed resulting in the payment of \$115,395.25. With this money the parish purchased a lot on the corner of Main and Wellington Streets, and proceeded to erect thereon a church worthy of its history and rank as the First Parish in the city of Worcester. The corner-stone was laid on the 4th of July, 1888, and the exterior walls, of red sandstone throughout, were substantially completed by the end of the year. It is, without doubt, the most imposing church edifice in the city. A massive central tower, forty feet square and rising on four square marble pillars to the height of one hundred and thirty-six feet above the pavement, is the dominating feature. Another feature, appealing to a different sentiment, is the low belfry at the northeast corner, of architecture curious and fine, in which is suspended, as the sole relic connecting new and old, the bell (cast in 1802) that swung for eighty-five years in the old belfry on the Common. A parish-house at the rear, adding to the mass and architectural completeness of the whole structure, contains a variety and abundance of spacious apartments suited to all the multiplied and multiplying requirements of modern church life. The cost of this New Old South

at its completion is reckoned at one hundred and forty thousand dollars.

The Calvinist or Central Church.—The second church of this order was first named the Calvinist Church. It was an outcome, but not an outgrowth, of the First Church. As we have already seen, the settlement of Mr. Goodrich resulted in a serious disaffection towards his ministry. Among the disaffected and aggrieved were Deacon David Richards, his wife and eight others. In their extremity these persons summoned a council (the third) to advise them in the premises. This council was convened on the 16th of August, 1820, and having heard the case and approved a Confession of Faith and a Covenant which had been presented, proceeded on the 17th to constitute the applicants into a separate church under the name of the Calvinist Church in Worcester. It is worthy of note that the moderator of this council was the Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D.D. For a certain length of time the new church maintained public worship in private places. The house of its first deacon, David Richards, seems to have been the first and principal place of worship. This house stood near the site recently purchased by the United States for the new post-office building. In this private way, without any pastor or parish, the church held itself together until 1822. In that year "articles of association" looking towards a parish organization were drawn up and signed. The first signature was that of Daniel Waldo, under date of April 3d; others of the same date followed, and within the next nine years more than two hundred and sixty others were added. On the first Sunday following, April 3, 1823, regular public worship was commenced in the court-house. This continued until October 13, 1823, when the society took possession of its meeting house, which had been erected by Mr. Waldo at a cost of fourteen thousand dollars. The sermon at the dedication of this house was preached by Dr. Austin, who was in sympathy with the new church. In the next year the property was conveyed to trustees for the use of the church and society. Early in 1825 the organization was perfected by the incorporation of the Calvinist Society. Meanwhile, on the 15th of April, 1823, the Rev. Loammi Ives Hoadly, who had supplied preaching for the previous year, was ordained as the first pastor. His ministry was embarrassed by the unhappy relations which continued between this church and the Old South, but still went on with increasing success until a severe sickness brought it to a close. His dismission, by a vote of the church, took place on the 19th of May, 1829. Recovering in a measure, he engaged in various activities,—as pastor again for a brief period, editor of *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, assistant editor of the "Comprehensive Commentary," teacher and farmer. His last residence was in Northfield, Conn., his native place, and there he died quite recently at the great age of ninety-one, having outlived

all his successors in the pulpit of the Calvinist Church but the last two.

During Mr. Hoadly's ministry Mr. Waldo made a further addition of five thousand dollars to the resources of the society. Its growth continued unchecked, and in 1830, and again in 1832, the church edifice was variously enlarged and improved. This prosperity was due, in no small degree, to the popular ministry of the Rev. John S. C. Abbot, who became the successor of Mr. Hoadly on the 28th of January, 1830. During five years Mr. Abbot continued to go in and out among his people with great acceptance. While discharging his pastoral duties, he found time to write and publish two books which made his name known in both hemispheres. These were "The Mother at Home" and "The Child at Home," the former of which has been translated and published in nearly all the languages of modern Europe. In 1835 Mr. Abbot asked and obtained a dismission on account of ill health. After recuperation by a year of travel in Europe, he spent the remainder of his very active life in various pursuits, but became known to the wide world chiefly as the author of many popular books. Mr. Abbot was born in Brunswick, Me., and graduated at Bowdoin in 1825. He died at Fair Haven, Conn., on the 17th of June, 1877. His successor was the Rev. David Peabody, who was installed in 1835 within six months after the pulpit had become vacant. His ministry was short and much interrupted by ill health. In the year following his settlement, under the advice of his physicians, he sailed for the South, where he spent the winter. A temporary improvement enabled him to resume his pastoral duties in Worcester. But the attack on his lungs—for that was his malady—again enforced cessation from pulpit labor. He improved the time in travel. Arriving in Hanover the day after commencement, he learned to his surprise that he had been appointed Professor of Rhetoric in Dartmouth College, his *alma mater*. This, taken with the state of his health, determined his course. He obtained a dismission from his pastoral charge and in October, 1838, entered upon the duties of his new office. His tenure of this, however, was brief. His death occurred on the 17th of October, 1839, after one year of college service much interrupted by illness. The career of Professor Peabody was as brilliant as it was brief. His intellectual powers were of a high order. His mental discipline was thorough, his scholarship fine. His character was "a rare combination of strength and loveliness." With a figure and face of manly beauty and a rich and mellow voice, he stood before his people in the pulpit a preacher of singular attractions. His memory long continued to be fragrant in Worcester.

The next pastor of the Central Church was the Rev. Seth Sweetser. His pastorate covered a period of forty years. It began on the 19th of December,

1838, and ended with his decease, in 1878. During this period, in 1845, occurred the death of Daniel Waldo, in a large sense the founder of the society. In his will he continued to remember it for good by devising to it, in connection with the church, a valuable real estate upon which stood the chapel of the society and a dwelling-house. In 1858 occurred the first interruption to the prevailing harmony. Until then the expenses had been defrayed by a tax on the polls and estates of the members. Under a new statute the expenses were raised by an assessment on the pews. This change caused the withdrawal of a considerable number of rich and influential members. But the vital forces of the body soon healed the breach and supplied new strength. Forty additional pews were provided to help bear the burden of the new tax. Dr. Sweetser was not a magnetic preacher; he had not the gift oratorical, but his compositions for the pulpit were of rare finish. He published occasional sermons which amply repaid perusal. On the death of President Lincoln he gave a discourse which had no superior, whether of pulpit or platform, in the whole range of productions called forth by that event. It was sought for from distant cities and the edition was exhausted before the demand was supplied. In his last years Dr. Sweetser's health declined until he was at length compelled to surrender the pulpit. But church and parish were unwilling to sunder the tie which had bound them so long together, and though his service ceased, his support (not his salary) was measurably continued until his death. Dr. Sweetser was born at Newburyport in 1807 and graduated at Harvard in 1827. For a time he was a tutor in the university, and in after years a member of the Board of Overseers. He sustained the same relation to Andover Seminary. Of the Polytechnic Institute in Worcester he was an original corporator and trustee, and to it he gave his best thought and work. Of the city he was an unobtrusive leading citizen, and among the clergy of the State he was a power. The bases of his influence were wisdom and reserve.

On the 19th of November, 1874, the Rev. Henry E. Barnes, a graduate of Yale in 1860, was installed as junior pastor. On the 3d of May, 1876, after a year and a half of service, he was dismissed, and soon settled in Haverhill, Mass., where a large measure of success rewarded his labors. For nearly two years the pulpit was supplied by candidates and quasi-candidates. Many were called, but few chosen. Then the Rev. Daniel Merriam, a graduate of Williams College, united all voices in calling him to the vacant place. The call was accepted, and in February, 1878, he was installed, the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn, N. Y., preaching the sermon. Within a month came the death of Dr. Sweetser. In no long time after, the subject of building a new church began to be agitated, and foremost in the agitation was the new pastor. A conditional subscription was set on foot and the required amount was provided for; but the

enterprise developed antagonisms, which, in the interest of peace, made it necessary and certain that one party or the other should and would withdraw. Accordingly, four-fifths of the trustees, all but one of the deacons, the men whose money had been chiefly relied on, and a large body of others, old and young, quietly left their church home of a generation, voluntarily surrendered all the property and dispersed themselves among the other churches. But Providence, "from seeming evil still educing good," inspired the crippled church with courage to arise and build, and the result was one of the most beautiful churches in the city or elsewhere. It stands as a conspicuous monument of the recuperative power of a Christian democracy under adverse conditions. At its completion no root of bitterness remained to bear evil fruit, and those who withdrew and those who remained sat amicably side by side at the dedication of the new house. Its beauties were afterwards celebrated by the graceful pen of Prof. Churchill in the *Andover Review*.

The Union Church.—In the autumn of 1834 a few young men, chiefly from the Old South Church, conspicuous among whom was Ichabod Washburn, laid their plans for a new church. The need of it had been felt for several years, and it seemed to them that the time to act had fully come. Accordingly, the preliminary steps were taken, and on the 11th of March, 1835, they were duly incorporated under the name and style of the "Proprietors of the Union Meeting-house." At a meeting held in December of the same year it was voted that the name of the new church should be "The Union Church." In January, 1836, Articles of Faith and a Covenant were unanimously adopted, and on the 3d of February following a council constituted the new church with the customary formalities. On the 5th of March the society held its first meeting, and on the 6th of July its new house of worship was dedicated. It was a plain brick structure of 90 feet by 54, situated on Front Street, opposite the historic Common. Made more commodious in 1845-46, it was superseded in 1880 by a more beautiful but not more spacious edifice erected on the same site. The first pastor of the Union Church was the Rev. Jonathan E. Woodbridge. His installation took place on the 24th of November, 1836. His ministry began when the anti-slavery movement was burning its way through the churches. Union Church did not escape. Mr. Woodbridge took one side and the society took the other on the question of opening the church to anti-slavery lectures. On the 19th of January, 1838, the society, by a vote of forty-five to twelve, decided to open the house to the famous anti-slavery agitators, James G. Birney and Henry B. Stanton. Mr. Woodbridge thereupon promptly tendered his resignation, and on the 2d of February the society as promptly accepted it, and called a council to dissolve the relation between them. The first call to this pastorate, though unanimous on

the part of church and parish, had been declined by Mr. Woodbridge. Upon a second and more urgent call he had consented to come, only to discover in one short year that he and his people could never agree on the great divisive question of the day. His dismissal took place on the 14th of February. After leaving Worcester he became more widely known to the churches as editor of the *New England Puritan*, afterwards made one with the *Boston Recorder* under the name of the *Puritan Recorder*. The second pastor of the Union Church was the Rev. Elam Smalley, who was installed on the 19th of September, 1838. For nine years previous he had been associate pastor with the Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D.D., of Franklin. Doubtless he had profited by such a long association with that remarkable divine, but no two persons could be more unlike in their mental characteristics. Reasoning, so eminently characteristic of the Franklin doctor, was not Dr. Smalley's forte or aspiration. He sought rather to edify by pleasing. If he did not prophesy smooth things, he yet prophesied in a smooth way. What he aimed at he accomplished. The church was built up, and his ministry of fifteen years was a success. The society testified its appreciation by repeated additions to his salary. In due time he was decorated with the doctorate of divinity. After seven years the meeting-house was altered so as to secure one hundred additional sittings, while Deacon Ichabod Washburn at his own cost provided a vestry and Sunday-school room in the basement. In 1844 the society accepted from the "Proprietors of the Union Meeting-house" a deed of all their corporate property and assumed all their corporate liabilities. On the 8th of May, 1854, Dr. Smalley asked a dismissal, in order "to enter another field of labor." The request was granted, and he shortly after became the pastor of the Third Street Presbyterian Church in Troy, N. Y., and there, on the 30th of July, 1858, he died. In 1851 he published "The Worcester Pulpit, with Notices Biographical and Historical." The plan of the work included a sketch of each church and pastor in each denomination, with specimen sermons. It is a valuable source of information touching the churches of Worcester. The Rev. J. W. Wellman, a graduate and afterwards a trustee of Dartmouth, was the next choice of Union Church. He justified their choice by declining the call from a sense of duty to the obscurer church of which he was then the pastor. Dr. Wellman at a later day became conspicuous as the only trustee of Andover Theological Seminary who resisted the "new departure." Failing to secure him, the church next extended a call to the Rev. Ebenezer Cutler, of St. Albans, Vt. The call was accepted and the pastorate was installed on the 6th of September, 1855. At the same time a subscription for a pastor's library was set on foot which resulted in a substantial sum for that essential but much-neglected furnishing of a church. In 1859 began a series of efforts, continuing

through several years, for either the enlargement of the old or the building of a new house of worship. Votes were passed to mortgage, to sell the old house, to examine sites, to build a new house, to raise money by subscription. An abiding feeling that the church was not well housed for doing its most effective work lay at the bottom of these spasmodic efforts. But out of it all the chief thing realized at the time was only a small addition to the rear for the organ and choir. The new church was still in the future. Dr. Cutler continued his ministry with growing reputation until 1865, when he was elected president of Vermont University. This called forth an urgent appeal from his people not to leave them, and he consequently declined the flattering offer. Shortly after, he received a tender of the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History in Hartford Theological Seminary, but this also he promptly put aside without waiting for it to take formal shape. In the autumn of 1874 he initiated the proceedings which resulted in the organization of the Worcester Congregational Club, of which he became the first president. The subsequent history of the club amply vindicated itself and him. In the winter of 1877 a bronchial trouble compelled him to seek relief in other climates. First going to Florida, and in the summer to Europe, he was absent from his pulpit until the following October, when he resumed preaching, though not fully recovered. Early in 1878, under stress of circumstances, he finally resigned his pulpit, retaining, however, his office. The pastoral relation was not dissolved until the 11th of October, 1880, just before the installation of his successor. The council, in dismissing him, made mention of his "wide usefulness" and "profound scholarship," and gave him the name of "a Christian man without fear and without reproach." He continued to worship with the Union Church which subsequently testified its affection and esteem by honoring him with the title of *pastor emeritus*.

For nearly two years the Rev. George H. Gould, D.D., supplied the pulpit in connection with the testing of candidates by preaching. During this period the new church, so long desired and so long delayed, was erected on the old site. As already remarked, it was a more beautiful though less capacious edifice than the old one. The cost was thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars. A new organ of fine quality and appearance added to the attractions. The dedication of the house took place on Sunday, the 10th day of October, 1880, on which occasion the sermon was preached by the Rev. Henry A. Stimson, the pastor-elect. On the 14th, Mr. Stimson was duly installed. He was a graduate of Yale, and came to his new charge from a highly successful ministry in Minneapolis. His ministry in Worcester was distinguished by remarkably energetic parochial work. The young were especially soon made to feel of how much church work they, too, were capable. The printing-press was brought into play, and a Sunday bulletin

was issued every week. The service of song was extended and enriched. And by the plan of free seats on Sunday evenings the poor had the gospel preached to them. Large congregations rewarded these efforts, large additions to the church followed. In the midst of, perhaps because of, this marked success Dr. Stimson received a call from the church in St. Louis of which the lamented Dr. Constans L. Goodell had been pastor, and he decided it to be his duty to accept the call. His dismission, much to the sorrow of his people, took place in June, 1886. The present pastor, Rev. William V. W. Davis, was installed as his successor on the 15th of April, 1887. He was a graduate of Amherst in the class of 1873, had his first settlement in Manchester, N. H., and was called to Worcester from the Euclid Avenue Presbyterian Church in Cleveland, Ohio. Within the first year of his ministry one hundred members were added to the church. The present membership is five hundred and thirty-four.

Salem Street Church.—This church was the result of a joint contribution of men and means from the Old South the Calvinist and the Union Churches. The rapid growth of the city from 1840 to 1848 had impressed the pastors and brethren of those churches with a conviction that the time had come for the organization of a fourth church of their way. Measures were accordingly taken in 1847 for the erection of a church edifice. Meanwhile the persons enlisted in the new enterprise held preliminary meetings, adopted a creed and covenant, and on the 14th of June, 1848, were recognized as a church in a formal manner. Of the one hundred and thirty-three who constituted the membership, eighty went out from the Union Church, thirty from the Calvinist Church and the rest mostly from the Old South. The new church had its place of worship in the city hall until the 12th of December, 1848, when the new house, which had been erected on Salem Street, was dedicated. The cost was somewhat less than twenty-eight thousand dollars; the money was collected out of the three sponsorial churches. On the day following the dedication occurred the ordination of the Rev. George Bushnell, and his installation as the first pastor of the church. The sermon on this occasion was preached by his brother, the Rev. Horace Bushnell, D.D. Mr. Bushnell was a graduate of Yale in 1842, and had his theological education at Auburn and New Haven. He prosecuted his ministry with great satisfaction to his parishioners for nine years, and then found it prudent, because of impaired health, to withdraw from pastoral labor. By accepting the position of superintendent of public schools in Worcester he hoped to regain his health. However, after nearly a year of this labor it seemed expedient to lay down his pastoral charge, and he was accordingly dismissed on the 27th of January, 1855. Prior to this date the church had taken action at sundry times to provide a new pastor. On the 23d

of June, 1857, a vote was passed by a small majority to call the Rev. Merrill Richardson, of Terryville, Ct.; then at the same meeting the matter was indefinitely postponed. On the 9th of November, by a nearly unanimous vote, a call was extended to the Rev. Eli Thurston, of Fall River, which, however, was declined by him. On the 21st of December the church again voted to call Mr. Richardson, and the society concurred in the call. To this action, however, there was serious opposition, which found expression before the council convened to install him. The council, nevertheless, while giving respectful heed to the remonstrants, of whom there were forty-eight, proceeded with the business before them, and on the 27th of January, 1858, Mr. Richardson was installed as pastor of the Salem Street Church. After this untoward beginning he went forward with his ministry for twelve years. Then, on the 27th of September, 1870, he was dismissed at his own request, because his eyes had failed him for purposes of study. "When he came there was a storm, but when he went away there was a clear sky." In two months after, he was settled over the New England Congregational Church in the city of New York; and in two years after that he became pastor of the church in Milford, Mass. His death occurred in December, 1876. It was said: "He gave the church uniting power, and a certain healthiness of spiritual life." It was said again: "He was a warrior and a child; he was rough and gentle." And again it was said: "He sought to produce everywhere the peace of God in Jesus Christ." But it was also said by the late Judge Chapin, a leader of the Unitarians and at one time president of the American Unitarian Convention: "Mr. Richardson is a good enough Unitarian for me." These testimonies are all to be considered in forming an estimate of the minister who won the Salem Street pulpit with so much difficulty, but who, having won it, kept it undisturbed till he chose to give it up.

On the 8th of March, 1871, the Rev. Charles M. Lamson, of North Bridgewater, received a unanimous call from both church and parish. In his letter of acceptance he said that he viewed it as "a call to a work rather than to a place," and in this spirit he prosecuted his ministry. His installation took place on the 3d of May. In June he was appointed chairman of a committee to revise the church standards and to prepare a new manual. On May 1, 1872, the creed as re-written by the committee was reported and unanimously adopted. It would be a just description to say that it was the old creed liberated from the old straitness, and some might think from the old straightness, even. Entire harmony and deepening affection between Mr. Lamson and his people, increasing influence within the city and widening reputation without, marked his ministry from the beginning to the end. After more than fourteen years of service he felt admonished by the state of his health to ask a dismission. Very sorrowfully his people yielded to

his wish, and on the 28th of September, 1885, his dismission was declared in a result of council, which expressed in tones of rare encomium the appreciation of his clerical brethren. After a year and more the Rev. Isaac J. Lansing, of Brooklyn, N. Y., was called to the vacant pulpit. The call was unanimous, save for a single vote. Mr. Lansing was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was content with its doctrines, but dissatisfied with its polity. He disliked its three years' limitation of ministerial labor. He preferred the Congregational permanency. The call to Salem Street was opportune and he at once signified his acceptance. The installation took place on the 11th of November, 1886. The loss of Mr. Lamson, and the loss of members because of that loss and also because of their nearness to other churches had greatly reduced the prosperity of the Salem Street Church. To the work of its recovery and enlargement Mr. Lansing brought all his methodist energy and forth-putting. He devised liberal things, all of which, however, he could not at once bring to pass. But a debt of five thousand dollars was paid off, and the meeting-house was renovated and re-seated at an expense of about eight thousand dollars more. Once more it was filled with an old-time congregation. In August, 1888, a unique departure was initiated. At its own motion and its own cost, without aid from the parish treasury, the church determined to provide an assistant minister for service over and above and outside of the pastor's proper work. This plan was carried into effect on the 18th of October, by the engagement of the Rev. William W. Sleeper. Several definite lines of activity were contemplated. The new minister, a thoroughly educated musician, was to take in hand the musical training of the congregation. He was to have a large Bible-class of the young men. He was to act as a missionary in the highways and hedges. And he was to do service at funerals and minister consolation to such as had no pastor to call upon. At the opening of the year 1889 this new and varied work was in successful progress; while, as an important reinforcement for its more pronounced success, the church had in that year secured the services of Prof. Benjamin D. Allen, who for thirty-four years had been the organist of Union Church.

Summer Street Mission Chapel.—This church had its origin in the benevolent heart of Ichabod Washburn. To provide "the benefits of moral and religious instruction and restraint for a pretty numerous class of persons, living in Worcester," was his aim. Accordingly he had erected, at his own expense, and caused to be dedicated in the spring of 1855, a Mission Chapel on Summer Street in that city. At the same time he made provision for the free ministry of the gospel to all who should resort to the chapel for such a privilege. The first minister employed in this service was the Rev. William T. Sleeper, then the city missionary. His term of service closed with the close

of the year 1856. Rev. Samuel Souther, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1842, followed him and remained until 1863, when he enlisted as a private in the army of the Union and gave up his life on the battle-field. Under his ministry an Industrial School was organized in December, 1857. In 1864 the Rev. Henry T. Cheever, a graduate of Bowdoin in 1834, succeeded to the ministry of the Mission Chapel. Through his inspiration a movement was begun for the formation of a church, and on December 23, 1864, eighteen persons constituted themselves the "Church of the Summer Street Mission Chapel," by the adoption of a Confession of Faith and a Covenant and the election of deacons and a clerk. On the 22d of January, 1865, the church was received into the fellowship of the churches by public "services of recognition held by a council in Union Church. On the 3d of April the church "constituted itself a religious society" or parish, "according to the statutes of the Commonwealth, under the name of "The Society of the Summer Street Mission Chapel." In March, 1866, Deacon Washburn executed his will and made ample provision therein for the perpetual maintenance of this charitable foundation. The Mission Chapel estate was devised to the Union Society, in trust, "for the purposes and trusts declared in the will, and no other." In addition, the sum of twenty thousand dollars was given for defraying the expenses of maintaining a minister and public worship, and a further sum of five thousand dollars to maintain the Industrial School connected therewith. By the decease of Deacon Washburn on the 30th of December, 1868, these gifts became operative. Mr. Cheever continued to be the minister of the Mission Chapel until the 1st of April, 1873, when Mr. Sleeper was appointed to his place by the joint action of two deacons of the Union Church and two of the Mission Chapel Church, in accordance with the provisions of the will. On the 26th of January, 1886, the trustees voted that it was expedient to sell the Summer Street property and locate the church elsewhere. This action was in harmony with the views and wishes of the Mission Church and its minister. But it was strenuously resisted by the former minister, Mr. Cheever, and by the widow of Deacon Washburn, on the ground that it was in violation of the letter and intent of his will and in defiance of the object which he had at heart. The question went up to the Supreme Court by petition of the trustees for leave to sell and was decided in their favor.¹ The founder of this important charity began his life in Worcester as a workman for daily wages. At the close of his life he left an estate of more than half a million of dollars accumulated by his own industry and rare sagacity. The bulk of this great wealth he devoted

to the good of his fellow-men. All along the pathway of his life he was setting up monuments of his munificence, while his testamentary gifts for school and church and hospital far exceeded those of his life-time or those of any previous benefactor of the city.

Plymouth Church.—The beginning of this church was in 1869. More than twenty years had passed since the last church of this faith and order had been organized. In that time the city had grown from sixteen thousand to forty thousand inhabitants. The churches were crowded; it had become difficult to obtain seats; some, even, through failure to do so, had gone into the Methodist fold. Under these circumstances, fifteen young men met together in a private room to confer respecting a new church. They had acted together in the Young Men's Christian Association, had thus become acquainted with each other, and said it would be a good thing if they could have a Young Men's Christian Association church. They formed a nucleus around which other young men gathered. Soon the circle of interested persons widened and came to include older men and men of substance. Then the enterprise rapidly gathered headway. The first meeting was held on the 15th of April, 1869. On the 29th it was announced that Mechanics Hall had been secured for public worship during one year. Forthwith a subscription of three thousand three hundred and forty dollars was made by sixty-three persons to defray the current expenses; and within a week or two the sum was raised to about three thousand eight hundred dollars. A Sunday school embracing more than three hundred was at once begun, and on the second Sunday in May public worship was held in Mechanics Hall with preaching by Rev. Dr. E. B. Webb of Boston. On the same evening a meeting was held to take measures for organizing a church. A committee was charged with the duty of preparing and presenting a creed and covenant. When the time came for action thereon difficulties were encountered. Among others, the Rev. George Allen, who had proposed to become a member of the church, rose and gave his voice against the adoption of any creed whatever. Failing to convince the meeting he recalled his letter of recommendation and withdrew from any further connection with the enterprise. At a subsequent meeting the articles of the creed as reported were largely changed and then adopted. The question of a name came up. Edward A. Goodnow, the largest giver, and many others were in favor of making it a free church. Mr. Goodnow, therefore, moved that the name be the "Free Congregational Church," and to make it free he subsequently subscribed one thousand five hundred dollars a year to pay for the hall. His associates, however, were not yet prepared for the measure, and instead of that name voted that the name be "Sixth Congregational Church." Meanwhile, a society had been organized by the name of the Plymouth Society, and the church afterwards made its

¹ The writer is authentically informed that it is the purpose of Mrs. Washburn to contest the sale at the proper time on the ground that such sale would destroy "the testamentary lien of the Industrial School on the Mission Chapel."

own name conform to that. On the 7th of July a council assembled in the Old South meeting-house to assist in organizing and recognizing the new church. With a recommendation to amend the 4th article of the creed they proceeded to the performance of their functions. Of the one hundred and ninety-four persons proposing to be of the church, one hundred and twenty-seven were then present and were duly constituted the Sixth Congregational Church. A week later fifty-one of the remainder were received into the membership. Four deacons having been elected, and a communion and baptismal service having been presented by Mr. Goodnow and his wife, Catherine B. Goodnow, on the 5th of September the church celebrated its first communion. From that time onward a great variety of preachers occupied the pulpit until April, 1870, when the Rev. Nelson Millard, of Brooklyn, N. Y., received a call to become the pastor. The call was declined on the ground that continuous preaching in so large a hall would cause too serious a strain on the physical powers of the preacher. On the 26th of October a unanimous call was declined by the Rev. William J. Tucker, now the distinguished professor at Andover, perhaps for the same reason. A practically unanimous call of the Rev. B. F. Hamilton met with the same fate. Meanwhile the future pastor of Plymouth Church, the Rev. George W. Phillips, of Columbus, Ohio, had been heard in its pulpit for the first time at Christmas in 1870. After this experience had been repeated at intervals through the following year, he accepted a call and was installed on the 28th of December, 1871. A condition of his acceptance was that the society should build a church edifice. Accordingly funds and a site were the next things in order. In April, 1872, the site was fixed by a vote to build on the ground where the church now stands. This action split church and parish in two. The soreness of the wound however, was soon assuaged, and both halves continued to live as two wholes with a two-fold prosperity and usefulness. Fifty-six members received a peaceable dismission and straightway with others proceeded to organize a church in the more southern part of the city. The load became heavier on Plymouth Church but the sturdy shoulders under it did not succumb. On the 26th of April, 1873, the corner-stone was laid; on the 19th of April, 1874, the chapel was dedicated for use; and on the 29th of April, 1875, the entire edifice was done and dedicated. It is a structure of granite, with perhaps a larger seating capacity than that of any other church in the city, having seats for the comfortable accommodation of fourteen hundred persons. Its cost, including recent decorative improvements, has somewhat exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In 1881 sixty-six thousand dollars of this cost still rested as a debt upon the Plymouth property and people. It was determined to obtain relief from the incubus by effecting, if possible, a large reduction of this debt. Suddenly, in the month

of April, Edward Kimball, of Chicago, the good genius of debt-burdened churches, appeared before the congregation to assist. While the matter was thus in hand, Edward A. Goodnow sent in a written proposition that if the debt were not merely reduced but extinguished he would make a gift to Plymouth of an organ and a chime, each to cost five thousand dollars. Under this incentive, coupled with Mr. Kimball's inspiration, the effort was redoubled, the debt was extinguished, and chime and organ were put in place, at a cost to the giver of nearly eleven thousand dollars. The chime was made a memorial of his deceased wife, for whom the church had before held a special commemorative service, by the inscription on the principal bell—*In Memoriam Catherine B. Goodnow*. After a successful pastorate of more than fourteen years Dr. Phillips, at his own request, was dismissed on the 10th day of May, 1886, and immediately settled as pastor of the important church in Rutland, Vt. On the 30th of June, in the same year, Plymouth Church and Society extended a unanimous call to the Rev. Arthur Little, D.D., of Chicago. The call was declined, and the church remained without a pastor until April 7, 1887, when the Rev. Charles Wadsworth, Jr., of Philadelphia, was installed. In May of the next year he resigned his office on the ground that he had accepted a call to a Presbyterian Church in San Francisco. The church was quite unreconciled to this sudden bereavement, but yielded to it under protest. However, the council called to dissolve the tie advised against it. This led to a reconsideration which resulted in a cordial re-establishment of the old relation. As the year 1888 wore on, however, the church was admonished by the failing health of its reinstated pastor that if it would keep him something must be done for his relief. Accordingly, in January, 1889, the parish voted to have, and provide for, a pastor's assistant. In this matter the Ladies' Benevolent Society had taken the initiative by assuming an obligation to pay one-half of whatever salary the parish should fix upon. By way of further relief, the pastor's annual vacation was doubled and a large addition made to his salary. In making these anxious and liberal provisions Plymouth Church felt justified by the magnitude of the work upon its hands. With the costliest church edifice of its order in the city and the largest church membership and no church debt and a constituency "rich and increased in goods," it was in a position both to devise and to execute liberal things.

Piedmont Congregational Church.—In the sketch of Plymouth Church it was stated that fifty-six members of that body were dismissed for the purpose of forming a church in the southern part of the city. This was the origin of Piedmont Church. The first steps were taken at an informal meeting held on the 3d of May, 1872. On the 10th of the same month it was resolved to organize a parish and purchase a lot on the corner of Main and Piedmont Streets. On the

16th the lot had been purchased and fifty-nine persons had signed an agreement to become a religious society. On the 23d the associates assembled under a warrant and organized the society according to law. On the 30th the name of "Piedmont Congregational Church" was adopted. The corporate name, however, continued to be the "Seventh Congregational Church in Worcester." On the 6th of June by-laws were adopted whereby "any person" proposed and elected by the major vote might become a member of the society. On the 14th the first subscription was made among those present at the meeting, and a sum of fifteen thousand dollars was pledged. Plans were adopted August 23d, and by September 20th the subscription had increased to twenty-four thousand dollars. Meantime, on the 2d of June, the first public religious service had been held in the Main Street Baptist Church. In the same place a council was organized, on the 18th of September following, for the purpose of constituting the church. The confession of faith, covenant and all preliminaries being found satisfactory, the church was duly constituted by the council. The sermon was preached by the Rev. George H. Gould, D.D., who remained as acting pastor from that date until 1877. In October ground was broken for the church foundation, which, by contract, was to be finished by the 1st of June, 1873. In due time the basement was completed and occupied for public worship during the period in which the superstructure was being finished. On the 1st of February, 1877, the auditorium was ready for occupation. It has a seating capacity of one thousand one hundred and twenty. The building is one of the largest church edifices in the city, and through improvements, chiefly of a decorative character made in 1888 at a cost of ten thousand dollars, is one of the most attractive. The original cost of land and construction has been set at one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. A fine organ, the gift of Clinton M. Dyer and wife, was placed in the organ-loft in 1884, at a cost, including a complete apparatus for blowing it by water-power, of about six thousand five hundred dollars. With the completion of the building came the first and only pastor, Rev. David O. Mears, D.D., who was installed on the 3d of July, 1877. Under his ministry church and parish kept pace with the most progressive. His reputation went abroad beyond Worcester, so that several doors were opened to him elsewhere. In 1885 he was invited to take the presidency of Iowa College. This, after careful consideration, he declined as he did also the pastorates of several important churches to which he had been invited.

Park Congregational Church.—The beginning of this church was a Sabbath-school gathered by a woman. To Lydia A. Giddings the praise is due. Along with and reinforcing her activity came that of the city missionary, the Rev. Albert Bryant. This was in the autumn of 1884. Presently a council ad-

vised the establishment of a church and measures were taken accordingly. In May, 1885, the first sermon was preached in Agricultural Hall by the Rev. J. F. Lovering, pastor of the Old South. The laboring oar was now placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. A. E. P. Perkins, a resident minister without charge. Through his efficient labors, with those of his coadjutors, such progress was made that in the summer of 1886 a commodious chapel had been erected, and on the 26th of September was dedicated. The land for the site, on the corner of Elm and Russell Streets, was the gift of David Whitcomb. Including this, the whole cost was about nine thousand dollars. The title of the property is in the City Missionary Society. On the 24th of February, 1887, the church was constituted and at the same time the Rev. George S. Pelton, formerly of Omaha, was installed as its first pastor. At first a Society was organized on the old double-headed plan; but after nearly one year of church life passed in this way Park Church took advantage of the general law for the incorporation of churches enacted in 1887, and on the 17th of January, 1888, took on corporate powers and became itself a parish. Both men and women were named among the corporators, and both were made responsible for the "government of the body" so far as they were "legal voters." The aim was to make impossible the old-time antagonism of church and parish. This the scheme assured. But just as under the old Congregational way, so now, there still remained two bodies in Park Church—a spiritual body independent of law and an artificial body subject to law.

Pilgrim Congregational Church.—The origin of this church was in marked contrast with that of the Plymouth and Piedmont Churches. While they sprang into existence as it were full-grown and displayed masculine vigor from the first, Pilgrim Church had a childhood. It was, in a sense, the child of the City Missionary Society. That society explored the ground and prepared the way and supplied the first preaching. Because of that society it came to exist when and where it did. It first became visible in the form of a diminutive Sunday-school, at No. 6 Hancock Street, on the 13th of May, 1883. Mrs. Fannie M. Bond, a city missionary, had gathered a little flock, and Mrs. Fannie H. Mighill, whose warm co-operation had been secured, opened her doors for its reception. At this first meeting exactly ten scholars were present, of whom five had never before been in a Sunday school. By the 8th of July the ten had become a crowd and Woodland street school-house was secured for its accommodation. In five years it had grown to nearly six hundred members. On the 1st of July, 1884, the school received the gift of a lot of land from Mr. F. B. Knowles, of Piedmont Church, and Mrs. Helen C. Knowles, of Union Church. The same persons, with others, contributed money for the building of a chapel which was finished and occupied on the 25th of January, 1885.

When completed it was the first of six houses of worship now (1888) standing between Piedmont Street and New Worcester. On the 16th of November, 1884, the Rev. Charles M. Southgate began pastoral work. He was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1866, and came to Worcester from a pastorate of nine years with the Congregational Church in Dedham. Under the fresh impulse imparted by him the enterprise went rapidly forward in the way of its enlargement and consummation. On the 19th of March, 1885, the church, embracing eighty-eight members, was organized, and at the same time the pastor was installed. On the 19th of August, 1887, ground was broken for the new church edifice, and on the 1st of July, 1888, it was dedicated. It stands on the corner of Main and Gardner Streets, is one of the most attractive churches in the city, and, with the other property, is valued at one hundred and ten thousand dollars. The auditorium has more than one thousand and fifty sittings, while the rooms devoted to the Sunday school accommodate more than six hundred persons. The society connected with this church was incorporated on the 13th of April, 1885. The by-laws provide that all male adult members of the church shall, and "any" adult members may, become members of the society.

Three things distinguish this from other Congregational Churches, and probably from all other churches in the city. The first is, the church and parish status. By requiring adult male members of the church to become members of the parish and members of the parish to be members of the church, it was designed, as in Park Church, among other things, to make antagonism between the two bodies impossible. One further thing seems essential to the complete success of this plan, and that is, to require all female, as well as male, adult members of the church to become members also of the parish. Without this, antagonism, however improbable, is nevertheless possible. The second distinguishing thing is the unique and admirable provision for the accommodation of the Sunday school. A spacious primary room, parlor and ten separate class-rooms have been so arranged that each can be shut off from the rest during the study of the lesson and then all thrown into one again for the general exercises. The third thing is the provision for the secular side of this church organization. The first chapel was moved to one side, named Pilgrim Hall, and fitted up with rooms for a gymnasium, carpenter's shop, boys' reading room, hall for social purposes and a kitchen. In this Hall the healthful secular life of Pilgrim Church goes on through all the secular days of the week. The membership of this church at the close of the year (1888) was two hundred and fifty.

Church of the Covenant.—This church is an anomaly of Congregationalism. At present it is tripartite, but it may become quadrupartite and indefinitely more. Under one church organization there are thus

far three "sections," each in a different part of the city. The names of these are, the Houghton Street Section, South Worcester Section and Lake View Section. Each section is an inchoate church, having some, but not all the powers of a Congregational Church. The peculiar organization grew out of the needs of the chapel congregations in charge of the City Missionary Society. Upon the incorporation of this society, in 1883, the congregations at South Worcester and Lake View came under its care. On the 19th of October, 1884, it organized a Sunday school in the neighborhood of Houghton Street, and on the 15th of October, 1885, dedicated the Houghton Street Chapel. In the chapel a council assembled on the 10th of December following to organize the church. At an adjourned meeting of the council held in the vestry of Plymouth Church, on the 22d of December, the business in hand was completed by the public recognition of the Church of the Covenant. In January, 1886, there were forty communicants in all the sections, of whom more than one half were in the Houghton Street Section.

Due provision was made for the practical working of this anomalous church. It was placed under the "pastoral care" of the City Missionary Society, with the city missionary, Rev. Albert Bryant, for its pastor. Each section was to manage its own sectional affairs. The pastor of the church was to be the pastor of the section and preside at all its meetings. He was to perform all pastoral, pulpit and sacramental duties for each separately. There was to be a secretary of the section and a clerk of the church, the former of whom was to transmit his record of sectional doings to the latter for permanent record. Each section was to elect one deacon or more, and the sectional deacons were collectively to be the deacons of the church. Any section might admit and dismiss members of its own body, but the duty of issuing letters of dismissal and recommendation was laid upon the clerk. The discipline of its own members was placed exclusively in the hands of the section, as though it were an independent church. Matters of interest common to all the sections were referred to a general advisory board. This was to consist of the pastor, standing committees of the sections and two representatives of the City Missionary Society chosen annually. By this board the clerk of the church was to be annually elected. If the church was to be represented in any ecclesiastical body, each section was to take its turn in appointing the representative. Finally, the whole church and each section were to hold separate annual meetings. The title to all the property was vested in the City Missionary Society. After a trial of several years the working of the plan fully met the expectation of its authors. At the close of the year 1888 the membership had increased to sixty, more than half of which still belonged to the Houghton Street Section.

PRESBYTERIANS.—In the year 1718 about one hun-

dred families of Scotch descent and Presbyterian principles emigrated to this country from the north of Ireland. Landing at Boston, they dispersed to various points in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. A part came to Worcester, and in the next year gathered a church after the Presbyterian way. A minister, Rev. Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied them and preached to them for some months. Their place of worship was at first in the garrison-house, then recently built, near the junction of the Boston and Lancaster roads. Very soon they began to build a house of worship for themselves; but while it was in the process of erection "a body of the inhabitants assembled by night and demolished [the structure]." Discouraged by this unwarrantable opposition, they made no further attempt to build a sanctuary. But the church continued to hold on its way for some years. For awhile they worshipped with the Congregational church, nearly equalling them in numbers; but, failing in this way to secure any preaching of their own kind, they withdrew and again became separate with the Rev. William Johnson as their minister. While supporting him, however, they were also compelled by law to contribute their share to the support of the church of the "standing order." From this burden they, in 1736, asked but failed to be relieved. In the end, by successive removals and otherwise, this first Presbyterian Church in Worcester gradually vanished out of existence, and for nearly one hundred and fifty years no further attempt was made in that direction. Conspicuous among this early company of Scotch Presbyterians was William Caldwell, who very soon went from Worcester with his family and became the founder of the town of Barre. He lived to be one hundred years old, lacking one year. His grandson, William Caldwell, became the sheriff of Worcester County—"the model sheriff," as Governor Lincoln styled him. An ancestor of General George B. McClellan was also among these early Presbyterians of Worcester.

After the long interval already mentioned a second Presbyterian church was constituted. The first meeting for this purpose was held on the 21st of February, 1886, and on the first Sunday in April following public worship was inaugurated. The church was formally organized by the Presbytery of Boston on the first Sunday in September, 1886, with forty-eight members and the Rev. J. H. Ralston as acting pastor. Mr. Ralston was a graduate of Alleghany Seminary, afterwards was in Kansas for seven years as a home missionary, and was called to Worcester from that distant field of labor. The place of worship for this church is a hall in the building of the Young Men's Christian Association.

UNITARIAN CONGREGATIONALISTS.—*First Unitarian Church.*—For about three-quarters of a century one church and one parish sufficed for the inhabitants of Worcester. Then the "Second Parish in the town of Worcester" was organized. That was and still

remains its corporate name, although the organization is commonly known as the First Unitarian Church. The genesis of the new body came about on this wise: The Rev. Mr. Maccarty, after a long and peaceful ministry with the First Church, had grown old, fallen sick and become unable to preach. A young man about thirty years old, Mr. Aaron Bancroft, was found to take his place in the pulpit. After he had preached for eight Sundays, Mr. Maccarty had so far recovered as to be able to resume his pulpit, and Mr. Bancroft went away. In the next year the aged minister died and Mr. Bancroft was again called in. This time his preaching caused commotion. Differences of opinion sprang up; the parish became divided, the peace of the town was disturbed and social intercourse interrupted. A second time Mr. Bancroft went away. Then the town—not the church—improved the opportunity to vote in town-meeting "that there be a day set apart for fasting and prayer in this town for calling on the Divine assistance for the re-establishment of the gospel ministry in this place." The town adjourned its meeting for one week, and then, four days before the one appointed for the fast, voted to have "Mr. Haven" preach four Sundays and after him Mr. Bancroft four. This arrangement brought Mr. Bancroft's first Sunday on the 10th of January, 1785. The date is significant. Three days later, without waiting to hear him on the remaining three Sundays, his admirers to the number of fifty-four signed and presented a petition for the town—not the church—to take action looking towards his settlement as Mr. Maccarty's successor. In the town-meeting held in response to this petition on the 1st of March, they moved this remarkable proposition: "That the town agree to settle Mr. Bancroft in the work of the gospel ministry, and such other person as may be agreeable to and chosen solely by those who are desirous of hearing further, and the settlement and salaries of both to be at the expense of the Town at large." The record says that "there was some debate." It adds that it passed in the negative. Defeated on this point, the petitioners then moved for leave to form a religious society over which Mr. Bancroft might be settled. This, too, passed in the negative. They then proceeded to take what the town had refused, with all its financial consequences. A voluntary association was formed, a covenant adopted and a church organized. Of the sixty-seven associates, only two men and four women had been communicants. But these, even, not having been dismissed from any other church for the purpose, were not competent, according to usage, to form the new one. A novel expedient was devised to meet this novel situation. A public "lecture" was appointed, at which the covenant was read and explained and then signed by all who chose to. In this way the church connected with the Second Parish was constituted. Public worship began on the third Sunday of March in the court-house, with preach-

ing by Mr. Bancroft. On the 7th of June he consented to become the minister of the new society, and on the 1st day of February, 1786, he was ordained. Only two ministers of the vicinage could be found to assist, the rest coming from Boston, Salem and Cambridge. After much difficulty and delay the new parish was duly incorporated on the 13th of November, 1787. It was a poll and not a territorial parish, and was the first of the kind in Massachusetts outside of Boston. Here some notice may fitly be taken of what seems not to have arrested the attention of any previous writer. By the ancient law of Massachusetts the method of choosing and settling a minister was after this manner: the church first made choice; then the parish—i.e., town—concurred or non-concurred. Unless there had been church action there was no place for parish action. This law, originating in 1692, continued down through the last century and was in force when the Constitution of the Commonwealth was adopted. That instrument contained two provisions bearing on the matter in hand: first, parishes were given the *exclusive* right of electing their public teachers; and second, all the laws theretofore in force were declared to "remain and be in full force until altered or repealed by the legislature; such parts only excepted as are repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this Constitution." Now, on the one hand, the law of 1692 giving to the church first and the parish afterwards the right of election never was repealed; but, on the other hand, that law was repugnant to the "*exclusive* right" of election given to parishes. And this appears to have been the legal status at the date of Mr. Bancroft's candidacy in 1785. The right of the church to any voice in the election of its minister had been simply annihilated. Whether this was known and fully understood at that time may well be doubted. Nevertheless, the business about Mr. Bancroft went forward precisely as though it was understood. The first and only resort was to the parish. The parish alone took action; the church took none. So far as its records show, Mr. Bancroft was not a candidate before that body. His name, even, does not appear on its records. The scheme to make him the minister of the First Parish manifestly originated outside the church and was carried on outside. And however much it turmoiled the town, it neither rent nor hardly ruffled the church. This view is supported by the fact, already stated, that only six communicants were found in the new movement. After the Bancroft party had withdrawn the First Church and Parish resumed their ancient relations and proceeded to elect Mr. Story as their minister by the rule of 1692; the church choosing and the parish concurring. The same course was pursued in the subsequent election of Dr. Austin. And this would seem to show that the procedure in Mr. Bancroft's case was accidental and exceptional, and not in the way of using the new power conferred on parishes by the new Constitution.

A house of worship for the Second Parish was the next essential thing. With much self-denial on the part of both parish and pastor—the latter relinquishing one-third of his salary—a building was erected, and on the 1st day of January, 1792, was dedicated. The modest edifice, shorn of its bell-tower and converted into a school-house, still stands on the spot where it was first placed, at the north end of Summer Street. Once installed in its pulpit, Dr. Bancroft for many years pursued the even tenor of his way, making many friends and no enemies, and by his virtues and writings building up a great and solid reputation. After forty-one years a colleague was provided, and on the 28th of March, 1827, the Rev. Alonzo Hill was ordained to that office. In 1829 the old meeting-house was deserted for a new and more spacious one built of brick on the site occupied by the present edifice. On the 19th of August, 1839, Dr. Bancroft departed this life at the age of nearly eighty-four. He began his preaching in Worcester as an avowed Arminian. He was also from the first, as he said, an Arian, but not an avowed one. At first he forebore to preach the Arian or Unitarian doctrine "because," in his own words, "the people were not able to bear it." When, thirty-six years after, he preached a course of controversial sermons in advocacy of that doctrine, he found they were able to bear it, as they evinced by asking for their publication. Curiously enough, one of these old sermons, on the "Annihilation of the Incorrigibly Wicked," places the Unitarian-divine squarely by the side of the late rector of orthodox "All Saints."¹ The volume called forth a high eulogium from President John Adams. "Your twenty-nine sermons," he wrote, "have expressed the result of all my reading, experience and reflections in a manner more satisfactory to me than I could have done in the best days of my strength." Besides this volume and the best "Life of Washington" in the day of it, Dr. Bancroft was the author of thirty-four other publications, chiefly sermons. In the "Worcester Pulpit" his character was drawn by the "orthodox" author of that work, with fit expansions and illustrations, as that of a benevolent, candid, brave, discreet, much-enduring and conscientious minister and man. His face, which art has made familiar in many places, has all the attractions of the ideal saintly pastor.

On the death of Dr. Bancroft, his colleague, Dr. Hill, became sole pastor, and so remained for more than thirty-one years. On the 29th of August, 1849, the church was destroyed by fire. Three days after the society began to build anew, and on the 26th of March, 1851, dedicated the present church edifice. While the body of the building is in the plain rectangular style of that day, the spire is a model of architectural beauty. In the pulpit of this church

¹ Compare Dr. Bancroft's twenty-seventh sermon with Dr. Huntingdon's "Conditional Immortality," published more than half a century after.

Dr. Hill completed his ministry of more than forty-three years. At the end of forty years from his ordination he preached a historical discourse, wherein may be found much interesting information touching the Second Parish and his own ministry. His death occurred February 1, 1871. Dr. Hill was a man of rare benignity; his face was a benediction. As a colleague he lived in entire harmony with his senior, and as sole pastor he perpetuated all amiable traditions. For nearly a century the Second Parish flourished under the two pastorates in an atmosphere of peace, diffused by the personal influence of the two pastors. The third minister of the parish was the Rev. Edward H. Hall. He had been installed as the colleague of Dr. Hill on the 10th of February, 1869, and succeeded as sole pastor at the decease of the latter in 1871. Mr. Hall closed his ministry of thirteen years to accept the charge of the Unitarian Church in Cambridge. He had so endeared himself to his parishioners that with unfeigned regret they yielded to the separation. He had continued and re-enforced the traditional amenities of the Second Parish ministry. He had approved himself "a scholar, and a ripe and good one." As a thinker he had pushed his way among the deep problems of thought, beyond what was commonly known of him. In the literature of art he was so much at home that many outside, as well as within his own parish, gladly came for instruction to the art lectures which he gave on several occasions. A broad and fine culture, coupled with a liberal faith, appeared to express the ideal towards which he continually aspired. And so, his transfer to the university town was a fit recognition of his aspirations and growth in that direction.

A vacancy of about three years was terminated by the installation of the Rev. Austin S. Garver, in 1885.

Church of the Unity.—Sixty years after the formation of the First Unitarian Church proceedings for a second were initiated. At the close of service in the afternoon of June 23, 1844, some persons, at the request of eleven members of the Second Parish, tarried to hold a conference on the subject. In August a committee reported in favor of a new Unitarian society. On the 25th of that month a meeting was held at which it was voted "to procure funds to pay for preaching, to hire a preacher, and to procure a place in which to hold religious worship, also to procure subscriptions of funds to build a church." Forthwith subscriptions were opened, a building fund inaugurated, the present lot on Elm Street purchased, and early in the spring of 1845 the erection of a church edifice begun. On the 26th of January in the same year the first religious service was conducted by the Rev. Dr. James Thompson, of Barre, in a hall over the Clarendon Harris book-store. On the 27th of November, after the necessary preliminaries, the "Second Unitarian Society in Worcester" became a body corporate under that name and style. The

number of corporators was forty-one, among whom were Pliny Merrick and Benjamin F. Thomas, afterwards justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. On the 7th of February, 1846, the parish adopted the following, which is its only by-law: "Any person signing his name to a certificate in a book kept by the clerk for that purpose, signifying his intention to do so, shall thereby become a member of this parish." At the same meeting, by regular action on an article which had been put into the warrant, the parish voted that its name should be the "Church of the Unity." But it does not appear that anything was ever done to legalize this change of name. On the 10th of February, 1846, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale was unanimously invited to become the minister of the parish. On the 25th of April occurred the dedication of the church, and on the 26th the installation of the minister. The dedicatory sermon—a remarkable one—was preached by the Rev. Orville Dewey, D.D., and that of the installation by the Rev. Samuel Lothrop, D.D. No church was ever formed in connection with this parish, no creed or covenant ever adopted, no deacons elected. But, in semblance of church order, on the 25th of May, 1846, the parish, at a meeting duly warned, adopted these resolutions: "That a committee be directed to make the necessary arrangements for the administration of the ordinances of religion: That this church has united for all means and purposes of Christian fellowship: Therefore, that an invitation be given to all persons present to partake with us of the Lord's Supper." This action marked the striking departure from the First Unitarian Church, which from the beginning had a church organization with a covenant, diaconate and solemn admission to membership. The ministry of Dr. Hale continued for ten years. He then, June 30, 1856, resigned his office, not because of any dissatisfaction, but because he had received a call to Boston, where he would have leisure for study which the constant draft for sermon-writing in Worcester would not allow. His parishioners were dismayed at this threatened calamity and earnestly sought, but were unable to avert it. The brilliant career of Dr. Hale since he sundered this tie is known to all the world. Nine months went by before action was taken to provide his successor. On the 19th of April, 1857, from among several who had been nominated in the parish meeting, the parish by a major vote invited the Rev. George M. Bartol, of Lancaster to accept the vacant place. Mr. Bartol declined the call and the parish went on without a minister for a year and eight months longer, when, December 22, 1858, the Rev. Rush R. Shippen was installed. In July, 1871, Mr. Shippen resigned to take office as secretary of the American Unitarian Association. In a printed discourse Mr. Shippen said: "We observe the Communion as a Memorial Service only." Under his ministry, in 1865, the church edifice was enlarged by the addition of forty-six pews at a cost of five thousand

dollars. After nearly two years the Rev. Henry Blanchard was installed on the 4th of May, 1873. Mr. Blanchard came into the parish from among the Universalists, and when he left returned into that fold. But while with the Church of the Unity, he sought, in a printed letter addressed to his parishioners, to define more exactly their dogmatic position by this utterance: "We stand for liberty of thought and Christianity. We define this latter, in the words of Noah Webster, to be 'the system of precepts and doctrines taught by Jesus Christ.' We learn these from the words of the teacher as they are taught in the New Testament." Mr. Blanchard's resignation was dated March 4, 1880, and was accepted to take effect on the 1st of April following. The Rev. Roland A. Wood, by birth an Englishman, was installed as his successor on the 1st of June, 1881. On the 14th of September, 1884, he resigned his office, and on the 1st of January, 1885, the resignation took effect. A year elapsed before another minister was settled; during this interval extensive improvements were made upon the church edifice by the construction of parish rooms and a general application of decorative art. The cost of this outlay was fifteen thousand dollars. In this renovated and attractive edifice the Rev. Calvin Stebbins was installed as the fifth minister of the Church of the Unity in January, 1886.

In the autumn of 1888 Mr. Stebbins and other Unitarians began a mission of that order near New Worcester. By the 27th of January, 1889, the enterprise had made such progress that measures were then adopted for the organization of the third Unitarian Society in Worcester. At that date every prospect favored the consummation of the plan.

BAPTISTS—First Baptist Church.—James Wilson was the founder of the Baptist Societies in Worcester. He was a layman who came here from England, bringing his Baptist principles with him. On his arrival he found no one in Worcester like minded with himself save two old persons and Dr. John Green, who soon disappeared, leaving him alone. Trinitarian Congregationalism and Unitarian Congregationalism were in complete possession of the ground, with two doughty doctors of divinity to maintain it against all comers. But Mr. Wilson was neither dismayed, nor converted, nor driven away. He had a great staying quality, and because of it the Baptist idea at last took root and flourished. From 1795, the year of his coming, until the constitution of the First Baptist Church, in 1812, he kept the faith, occasionally had meetings for religious worship in his dwelling-house, and did what he could to nourish the seed he had planted. In time an association was formed, occasional preaching was had and the Centre School-house was rented for Sunday service. "Opposition applied the spice." On the 28th of September, 1812, the Rev. William Bentley was employed on a salary; on the 9th of December "the Baptist Church in Worcester" was constituted. It

was composed of twenty-eight members, equally divided between the sexes. The first pastor was installed on the same day. Mr. Wilson became one of the deacons, and probably the first. He had long before won the respect and confidence of his fellow-townsmen, so that, in 1801, he had been made the postmaster of Worcester, and he so continued until his removal to Ohio, in 1833. The creed of the church is given at length in Lincoln's "History." In the year 1813 the first meeting-house was begun and completed, and on the 23d of December was dedicated. It stood on the site of the present building. Mr. Bentley remained in charge until the 31st of June, 1813, when he asked and obtained a dismission. On the 3d of November, in the same year, the Rev. Jonathan Going accepted a call to the vacant pulpit. He remained till January, 1832, when, at his own request, he, too, was dismissed. The reason which he assigned for this step was, "that he might devote himself to the interests of home missions, especially in the valley of the Mississippi." He had visited the West the year before, and had come back greatly pressed in spirit to go to its help. Dr. Going was a remarkable man. He had been educated beyond many of his Baptist brethren, while his natural powers were of a superior order. In advance of his contemporaries he had a vision of the wonderful future of the great Western valley, and determined to do his part in giving it a set towards the right. Without loss of time the Rev. Frederic A. Willard stepped into the pulpit left vacant by Dr. Going. He was a graduate of Amherst in the class of 1826. The year before coming to Worcester he had received, but declined, an appointment to the professorship of chemistry in Waterville College. Having remained with the Worcester church till July 30, 1835, he then resigned, to become later the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Newton. He was succeeded, on the 27th of October, by the Rev. Jonathan Aldrich, who, after seeing the church enlarged, by the addition of two hundred and eighteen members, took his dismission in May, 1838. In April of the following year the Rev. Samuel B. Swain became the pastor, and so remained for more than fifteen years. He was a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1830; in 1835 he had accepted a professorship of theology in Granville College, which the poverty of the college had not allowed him to retain. His ministry was one of great power. Under it the church "attained its highest numerical, social and financial condition." His death, at the age of fifty-five years, was felt to be nothing less than a calamity. In 1855 the Rev. J. D. E. Jones became the next pastor. After holding his office during four years he resigned it, in 1859, to become superintendent of public schools. He was succeeded by the Rev. Lemuel Moss, on the 14th of August, 1860. Remaining until the 25th of July, 1864, he then resigned his pulpit. Dr. Moss subsequently

became president of Indiana State University. On the first Sabbath in April, 1865, the Rev. H. K. Perver entered upon his duties as the next pastor of this church. On the last day of the year 1872 his pastorate came to an end, and on the 1st day of April, 1873, the Rev. B. D. Marshall began his labors as the ninth pastor of the First Baptist Church. After a service of fourteen years Dr. Marshall resigned his office on the last Sabbath in March, 1887. His successor, the Rev. George C. Craft, was inducted into office in January, 1888.

The present church was erected in the time of Mr. Aldrich, on the site of the original building, which had been destroyed by fire. It was a larger and finer building than the first, and from time to time underwent important improvements, the latest of which, in 1888, involved an expenditure of nine thousand dollars.

Second Baptist Church.—This was a colony from the First Church. It was constituted on the 28th day of December, 1841, with ninety-eight members, of whom eighty-nine were from the parent church. In one year one hundred more were added. The first preacher was the Rev. John Jennings, and the first place of worship was the Town Hall, where religious services continued to be held till the close of 1843. On the 4th of January, 1844, the new house of worship on Pleasant Street was dedicated. No society was organized; the business of the body was transacted by the church, which was the owner of the property. The Rev. Mr. Jennings had become the pastor early in 1842, and he resigned his charge on the 27th of November, 1849, after nearly eight years of successful service. His successor was the Rev. Charles K. Colver who accepted a call to the pastorate on the 14th of April, 1850. After four years of service failure of health obliged him to resign his place. The next pastor was the Rev. Daniel W. Faunce, who entered upon his duties on the 1st of September, 1854.

In the year 1856 the house of worship was repaired and remodeled "at a large expense." The front was rebuilt because of the change in the street grade; the style of architecture was altered and a tower added. In 1860 Dr. Faunce tendered his resignation, to take effect on the 30th of April. On the 11th of June following the Rev. J. J. Tucker accepted a call to the pastorate, but after a service of fifteen months felt compelled, by the force of circumstances, to resign his place on the 30th of September, 1861. For nearly a year the church was without a pastor; then it was fortunate in securing the services of the Rev. David Weston. Having accepted a call some weeks before, he was duly ordained in August, 1862, as the fifth pastor of the Pleasant Street Church. Dr. Weston fulfilled his office with great satisfaction to the people of his charge for more than eight years, and then, on the 25th of November, 1870, laid it down "to engage in another sphere of labor." The

church, in a series of tender resolutions, bore its testimony to him as "a ripe scholar, skillful sermonizer and sound theologian."

Two ministers in succession were now called, but both declined the call. On the 7th of June, 1872, the Rev. J. R. Wheelock received a call, accepted it on the 10th of July, and was ordained on the 1st of August. After nearly three years his resignation was accepted on the 28th of March, 1875. He was followed by the Rev. Sullivan S. Holman, who was installed on the 10th of June of the same year. Having accepted a call to another field of labor, Mr. Holman offered his resignation, which was accepted on the 10th of March, 1882, "with feelings of sorrow." Six months after Rev. J. S. James, of Allentown, Pa., received and declined a call. On the 7th of December following the Rev. Henry F. Lane accepted a unanimous call, and on the first Sunday in January, 1883, entered upon his new ministry. On the 1st day of March, 1888, his term of service was terminated, by the joint action of pastor and people, after five years of uninterrupted harmony. On the 27th of June the Rev. H. J. White accepted a call which had been given on the 6th of that month.

Main Street Baptist Church.—This was a second colony from the First Baptist Church. In June, 1852, a petition by Eli Thayer and fifteen others was presented to that church, expressing a desire to form a third Baptist Church. They declared their readiness to begin at once, and dutifully asked for the support and approval of the mother church. The maternal sanction was promptly and cordially granted; the City Hall was at once engaged, and there, in July, the Rev. Dr. Sharp, of Boston, preached the first sermon for the new colony. Public worship was maintained in the same place until November, when the place of meeting was transferred to Brinley Hall. There a Sunday school was organized, and there preaching by the Rev. S. S. Cutting was continued through the winter. In the evening of February 26, 1853, a parish organization was duly perfected under the name of the "Third Baptist Society in Worcester." The business was done in the law-office of Francis Wayland, Jr., under a warrant issued by Isaac Davis. On Sunday, the next day, a committee was appointed to prepare Articles of Faith and a Covenant with a view to a church organization. On the 6th of March what were known as the "New Hampshire Articles of Faith" and "Covenant" were adopted, a clerk was chosen, and the church constituted with thirty-three members. At the same time the Rev. William H. F. Hansel was chosen to be the pastor; but the call he declined.

On the 18th of May the society voted to build a chapel at the corner of Leicester (now Hermon) and Main Streets. On the 23d of June the recognition of the new church took place with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Ide, of Springfield. In the course of the year the chapel was completed at a cost, including

that of land and furnishing, of \$6461.17. On the first Sunday in January, 1854, it was occupied for the first time for public worship. On the 18th of September following Mr. H. L. Wayland was unanimously called to the pastorate. In accepting the call he relinquished two hundred dollars of the moderate salary which had been voted to him, as a contribution to the expenses of the society. On the 1st of November occurred his ordination, President Wayland preaching the sermon. On the 12th of February, 1855, plans for a church edifice were adopted and a building committee chosen. Early in May ground was broken; in the course of the year the house was finished, and on the second Sunday in January, 1856, was occupied for public worship. The whole property, including church, chapel, land and furnishing, had cost \$25,174.01.

After a highly successful ministry of seven years the resignation of Mr. Wayland was accepted, with much regret, on the 4th of October, 1861. A week before he had left his home to enter the service of the Republic as chaplain of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteers. For twenty-eight months he continued in that service; then became successively a home missionary in Tennessee, a teacher in two Western colleges, an editor in Philadelphia. On the first Sunday in May, 1862, his successor, Rev. Joseph Banvard entered upon the duties of his office. On the 15th of February, 1864, the parish voted to change its name, and take the name of the "Main Street Baptist Society," and at the same time took measures to obtain the legislative sanction thereto. Dr. Banvard having resigned after a ministry of nearly four years, adhered to his purpose against the earnest wishes of the church expressed in its vote of March 9, 1866. The church then elected as his successor the Rev. George B. Gow, in recognition of whom public services were had on the 18th of April, 1867.

In the next year an attempt was made to introduce the system of free seats; but, though the church adopted a vote affirming it to be "unscriptural and unchristian to rent seats," and offering to sustain the society in abolishing rentals, the latter body was found to be not then prepared for the innovation. In 1872 Mr. Gow's resignation was accepted, to take effect on the last Sunday in October. His successor was the Rev. F. W. Bakeman, who, after a pastorate of about three years and three months, terminated the same on the 1st of July, 1876. After an interval of sixteen months the Rev. George E. Horr became the fifth pastor of the church. He entered upon the duties of his office on the 4th of November, 1877, with services of recognition on the 20th. Before the close of this year the chapel was enlarged and improved at a cost of \$4829.40.

On the 2d of November, 1879, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the ordination of the first pastor, Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland, was appropriately observed. A

discourse full of interesting reminiscences was delivered by Dr. Wayland, and afterwards printed by request. In honor of him it was voted, about this time, "that the bell to be placed on the tower bear the inscription, *Wayland Memorial*." By a change in the by-laws on the 10th of February, 1881, no person was thereafter to be admitted to membership in the parish who was not already a member of the church. On the 24th of October in the same year the resignation of Mr. Horr was accepted; and on the 3d of October in the next year, by a vote of thirty-nine to three, the Rev. Henry A. Rogers, of Montpelier, Vt., was called to the pastorate.

In 1883 an act was consummated by the parish that was, perhaps, without precedent. Acting upon the written opinion of the Hon. Peter C. Bacon, LL.D., the Nestor of the Worcester bar, the parish, at a meeting held on the 24th of April and 8th of May, under a warrant drawn by Mr. Bacon, transferred, in the way of gift, its meeting-house and all its other property, real and personal, to the deacons, "for the use of the church." In the warrant was an article "to see if the society would take any action in regard to dissolving the society." No formal action was taken under this article. After provision had been made for transferring the property it was "voted to adjourn without day." No meeting of the parish was ever held after that, and evidently it was assumed that the parish was "dissolved." But to all appearance the "Main Street Baptist Society" still lives and has a name to live.

Mr. Rogers continued his ministry with the Main Street Church until 1886, when a growing disagreement between him and certain of the membership, and also within the membership itself, culminated in the summary dismission of himself and fifty-six others on the 27th of October, "for the purpose of forming a Baptist church in the south part of the city." At the same time the pastor gave in his resignation, to take effect on the 31st. On the next day it was unanimously accepted. On the 19th of December the Main Street Church proposed a mutual council to the "South Baptist Church," but the overture was declined. On the 31st of January, 1887, Professor C. R. Newton was employed to supply the pulpit as acting pastor. This continued until the 23d of September, when the Rev. Charles H. Pendleton was duly installed.

Dewey Street Baptist Church.—As in many other cases, a Sunday-school was the beginning of this church. It was organized in the Mason Street school-house on the first Sunday in August, 1867. Mr. L. M. Sargent and other laymen from the First Baptist Church were the original movers in the enterprise. For several years Joseph H. Walker, member of Congress elect, was its superintendent. Under his efficient administration the school prospered so greatly that more ample accommodations were speedily called for. This led to the building of the

chapel on Dewey Street. The lot on which it was erected was the joint gift of the late Judge Francis H. Dewey and Joseph Mason, Esq. Including this land, valued at \$750, the cost of the property was \$4,570. Of this sum, \$1000 was the gift of Mr. Walker. The dedication of the chapel took place on the 8th of February, 1872, and from that date it was occupied for the Sunday school and religious services. The church was organized on the 8th of July in the same year with a membership of twenty-eight. Its first pastor was Mr. Sargent, the layman to whose zeal and efficiency the church had owed its origin. During five years of devoted service he had approved himself in that and other ways, worthy of recognition as one among the clerical brethren. Accordingly, on the 2d of May, 1872, he was called to the ministry of the Dewey Street congregation. This was two months before the church had been formed. On the 5th of September it was recognized by a council convened in the chapel, and at the same time Mr. Sargent was ordained to the work of the ministry and installed as pastor of the church. His ministry was brief. On account of ill health he resigned on the 2d of May, 1873. At the close of his term of service the membership of the church had increased to forty-four persons. The next pastor was the Rev. D. F. Lamson. Coming on the 1st of July, 1873, and remaining nine and a half years, he left, on the 1st of January, 1882, a church embracing ninety-five members. His successor, Rev. B. H. Lane, entered on his office on the 1st of June, 1882, and vacated it on the 15th of October, 1884. On the 19th of the same month the Rev. D. H. Stoddard assumed the office. Growing congregations and consequent prosperity soon made apparent the inadequacy of the chapel accommodations. Mr. Stoddard therefore took in hand the business of building a church edifice; and the Baptist City Mission Board, seeing the importance of the field and its manifest needs, cordially co-operated with Mr. Stoddard in his scheme of church-building. With the aid of \$7,000 from this source, more land was bought and a commodious edifice, with "perfect ventilation," was erected at a cost of \$14,844. The value of the enlarged lot was reckoned at \$2,000 additional. On Thanksgiving day in 1886 the vestry was first occupied, and on the 13th of January, 1887, the completed building was dedicated. The property is held by trustees, there being no parish organization. The seats are free and the current expenses are paid by weekly contributions. At the close of the year 1888 the membership of the church was one hundred and forty-seven.

Lincoln Square Baptist Church.—This church grew from very feeble beginnings. Sunday schools had been begun and discontinued; only occasional preaching had been had. Material resources were limited and lack of courage prevailed. Many years elapsed before the decisive step of forming a church was taken. There came a time, at last, when some of the

waiting ones "heard a call from God to go forward," and on the 4th of April, 1881, the church was organized. The original membership consisted of thirty-one persons, largely from the Pleasant Street Church. Public services of recognition were held on the next day in accordance with the vote of council. Through the summer following preaching was supplied by the Rev. D. F. Lamson, of the Dewey Street Church. In October the Rev. J. J. Miller entered upon his work as the first pastor. Till then public worship had been conducted in a hall; but the new pastor made it his first business to provide a church edifice. To his unwearied endeavors and personal influence it was owing that the enterprise was successful. In May, 1882, a building-lot on Highland Street near Lincoln Square was purchased and a substantial edifice of brick and stone of excellent architectural design was erected. The lower part of the house was occupied for religious services on the 8th of July, 1883. On the 10th of June, 1884, the dedication of the complete building took place. The cost of land, building and furniture was about thirty thousand dollars. Of this amount Joseph H. Walker, of the Main Street Baptist Church, was the largest contributor. Gifts also were made by friends outside the Baptist fold. "The property is held and controlled by the church through its appointed officers." The seats are free and current expenses are met by weekly offerings. In 1888 the membership was three hundred and seventy.

South Baptist Church.—The inception of this youngest of the Baptist Churches was as early as 1883, and was due to the Rev. Henry A. Rogers, then recently installed as pastor of the Main Street Baptist Church. Mr. Rogers believed in "missions," and had passed much of his life in setting them on foot. Immediately on beginning work in Worcester he took note of the fact that the whole section lying south of the Main Street Church was without any kind of Baptist organization. He therefore proposed to his own church the establishment of a mission in that quarter. The proposal met with little encouragement. Then he began a mission at his own charge. One day in June, 1883, he was casually introduced to a young Frenchman named Isaac B. Le Claire. This man had led an abandoned life, had been a Roman Catholic, and not very long before had been converted to the Baptist faith and was now living a sober life. A brief interview ended in his being employed by Mr. Rogers as a colporteur. He at once went to work holding meetings in school-houses and private houses. The results of his work proved him to be the right man in the right place; and, indeed, his subsequent career in a far wider field showed that he had a remarkable fitness for his work. His immediate success in South Worcester was such that by August the Main Street Church felt constrained to assume the charge of the mission. By the winter of 1884, every available place of meeting had become so crowded that Le Claire was moved to ask for the build-

ing of a chapel; his request was promptly heeded, and the chapel at Jamesville was the result. All this was preparatory for the South Church scheme. The first suggestion for a chapel on the site which it afterwards occupied was made in January, 1884, at a prayer-meeting in the house of William A. Norton. In February Mr. Rogers urged the new chapel upon his people, expressing with much detail the reasons for the enterprise. After a time the Baptist City Mission Board became possessed, as not before, with the mission idea and adopted a comprehensive plan for the city, including the South Worcester Mission. On the 14th of September, 1886, the Board took measures to secure the lot already mentioned, on the corner of Main and Gates Streets. On the 1st of October the Main Street Church, at a very large meeting of eighty-one members, unanimously voted in favor of the South Church enterprise. In view of this action, the board on the 19th made over all claim to the lot in favor of the South Church. On the 21st a large number of the Main Street Church agreed together to ask letters of dismission for the purpose of organizing the South Church. On the 27th, at a covenant and business meeting of the Main Street Church, where one hundred and thirty persons were present, of whom not less than one hundred and twenty were, by estimation, of the membership, fifty-seven were dismissed by a large majority vote. But of the fifty-seven only forty were present at the meeting. On the next day, October 28th, the fifty-seven members, including Mr. Rogers, assembled in the chapel on Canterbury Street and were constituted a church by the adoption of Articles of Faith and the election of deacons and clerk. At the same meeting was consummated the settlement of Mr. Rogers as pastor of the new church. On the 27th of February, 1887, the church was publicly recognized by a council duly convened. The Baptist Mission Board, having acquired possession of the old Dewey Street Chapel, conveyed the same to the new organization and it was removed to the lot already described, and there, fronting Clark University, on the 30th of December, 1887, it became the church home of the South Baptist Church. No parish was organized, but the deacons were made trustees, to hold the property for the use of the church, after the method advised by Mr. Bacon in the case of the Main Street Church. Land, chapel and other property cost the South Church \$5,000. The membership was one hundred and fifty-seven at the close of the year 1888.

METHODISTS.—Methodism made its first approaches for the capture of Worcester after a somewhat straggling fashion. In 1790, the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, "that princely class-leader," as Dr. Dorchester styles him, came to Worcester, looked about town, fell in with Dr. Bancroft, by him was invited to tea, "drew back" because the Unitarian doctor did not think it worth while to say grace over the evening cup, and went on his way. Mr. Garrettson tells the story in

his private diary. The urbane Unitarian doctor was, perhaps, no less devout than his demonstrative Methodist brother, but in the seclusion of his own home he chose to order his devotions in his own way. Next after Mr. Garrettson came Bishop Asbury, in 1798, in 1805, 1807, 1812 and 1815. But neither he nor any other itinerant found any foothold in Worcester until 1823. Then the Rev. John E. Risley came and preached the first Methodist sermon heard in the town. Mr. Risley was travelling the Milford Circuit, embracing eighteen towns. In these he preached two hundred and thirty-five times in one year, but only five of them were in Worcester. These preachings were in a school-house at New Worcester, where were the only Methodists in town, and of these only a family or two. Other preachers came in subsequent years, but not until 1831 was any permanent society organized, forty-one years after Garrettson's advent. In June, 1830, the Rev. Dexter S. King had been appointed to this vacant field "to break up new ground." He began at New Worcester where he organized a class. This class was "kept alive" with preaching in the school-house once in two weeks. In 1833, Solomon Parsons joined the class and then began a movement for a society in the centre of the town. The way had been prepared by a young lad named Jonathan L. Estey, who came to town early in 1832 full of zeal to hunt up and consort with Methodists. He at last found and became a member of the class at New Worcester, and by his zeal so infected his associates that in the end Methodist preaching was established in the Centre. Early in 1833, a room was hired at the corner of Mechanic and Union streets for the use of a class. There the Rev. William Routledge preached at times; at other times he preached in the Central Church vestry and in the Baptist Church. In the autumn what was considered a bold step was taken. Eighteen persons, at the head of whom was Solomon Parsons, presented to the town authorities a petition for leave to use the Town Hall for Methodist meetings. Leave was formally granted, and the first Methodist sermon was preached there by the Rev. Ira M. Bidwell. Then the work went on "in the old Methodist style." "The hall was crowded, and," says Bidwell, "we had a time of power. After this we did not want for a congregation in Worcester." Early in 1834 the Rev. Joseph A. Merrill was appointed by the bishop to this, the Worcester Mission. On the 8th of February thirteen persons were duly organized as the "Methodist Episcopal Religious Society in the town of Worcester." This was a parish organization, and Dr. Dorchester says the step was taken to obtain relief from taxation in other parishes. But this is a mistake. Prior to 1834 the law which would have made this step necessary had been changed. The further history of this organization is now to be pursued as that of the

First Methodist or Trinity Church.—In June, 1834, the Rev. George Pickering was appointed preacher to

this church, but was also charged with duties that carried him into several of the surrounding towns. Meantime, a board of trustees was appointed and a lot of land purchased for a church site. In the first year the membership had grown to one hundred and nine. In 1835 the Rev. John T. Burrill was sent to this charge. At this time the anti-slavery fever was at its height, and an incident occurred which imperilled the infant church. On the 10th of August Rev. Orange Scott, then the presiding elder, undertook to deliver an anti-slavery lecture in the Methodist place of worship at the Town Hall. In the midst of his discourse Levi Lincoln, Jr., eldest son of the Governor, entered the hall with an Irish accomplice, advanced to the desk, seized the speaker's manuscript and tore it in pieces. At the same time the Irishman laid violent hands on the speaker himself. This was done in the presence of an audience "embracing many persons who held the highest offices in the county and the state." The contemporary account of the affair in the *Worcester Spy* styled it a "Breach of the Peace." But the notice taken of it by the authorities seemed to indicate that the assailed and not the assailants were regarded as the peace-breakers; for directly after, the selectmen, at the head of whom was the late Judge Merriek, notified the Methodist society that if the Town Hall were ever opened again for an anti-slavery meeting their use of it for preaching would be forfeited. The society, in its weakness, was intimidated and did not again offend. But it marks the temper of the time that, later on, the courageous Scott was, by his own brethren, deposed from, or not re-appointed to, the presiding eldership because he would not promise to refrain from anti-slavery lecturing.

In the autumn of 1836 the erection of a church was begun on the southeast corner of Exchange and Union Streets, completed in March, 1837, and then dedicated. This was the first Methodist meeting-house in Worcester. The building was in the centre of population, but also in the centre of a mudhole. It stood on piles, and was approached by hopping from tuft to tuft of grass across puddles and ooze. The *Spy* of that day took pay for advertising the dedication of this lowly church, but took no notice whatever of the dedication itself, although it said in every issue that "its office was to noise abroad." The church survived all neglect, and, waxing stronger and stronger, in the end erected one of the finest church edifices in the city, compelling the homage of the public and the press.

In 1837 the Rev. James Porter came, and remained one year. Although a year of general bankruptcy, it was one of great enlargement for the church. About one hundred and seventy-five probationers were added to the membership during his year. Mr. Porter was succeeded by the Rev. Joham Horton, whose term of service was equally brief. In May, 1839, the church property was legally transferred to a board

of trustees, in accordance with the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Rev. Moses L. Scudder succeeded to the pastorate in this year, to be followed by the Rev. Miner Raymond in 1841. Mr. Raymond remained two years, showed himself eminent as a preacher, and "made many friends beyond the limits of his own society." This year was made memorable for Worcester Methodism by the meeting of the New England Annual Conference in the town for the first time. In 1843 the Rev. Charles K. True, D.D. was assigned to the charge of this church. He was a graduate of Harvard and a Methodist minister of mark. Under him the project for removing the church to a site near the Common was "renewed." But while they still delayed, it was burned to the ground. Then a site was speedily purchased and the Park Street Church erected. The Rev. Amos Binney had become the pastor in 1844, and under him the new church was dedicated on the 16th of August, 1845. It was noted that Mr. Binney's term of service was very "profitable" financially, since he had carried his people through many embarrassments growing out of the church-building. After him came in succession the Rev. Jonathan D. Bridge, Rev. Loranus Crowell, Rev. Nelson E. Cobleigh, Rev. Z. A. Mudge, Rev. Daniel E. Chapin (a favorite, sent a second time), Rev. Fales H. Newhall, Rev. Chester Field, Rev. John H. Twombly, Rev. John W. Dадnun, Rev. John H. Mansfield (whose ministry of three years was very prosperous), and Rev. Charles N. Smith in 1868.

By this time the Park Street church had become too strait for the congregation. The society, therefore, now grown strong in numbers in courage and in resources, determined upon building a new church adequate to its new demands. Accordingly, a site was procured on the corner of Main and Chandler Streets, in the close neighborhood of the new United States Post-Office building, and there they erected Trinity Church at a cost, including the land, of one hundred thousand dollars. This crowning church of Methodism in Worcester was dedicated on the 25th of April, 1871. The Rev. F. W. Mallalieu, D.D. (afterwards bishop), was the first preacher appointed for Trinity after the occupation of the new house. He came in April, 1871, and remained one year. Rev. Ira G. Bidwell, appointed in 1872, remained three years. He was followed by Rev. V. A. Cooper, who was appointed to help the church financially as well as spiritually. In that respect there was no disappointment, as through his agency the debt was reduced by thirty-five thousand dollars in one year. The Rev. A. P. Kendig followed him in 1877, after whom came in succession Rev. J. A. Cass, in 1879; Rev. C. S. Rogers, D.D., in 1882; Rev. W. T. Perrin, in 1885, and Rev. W. H. Thomas, D.D., in 1888.

Laurel Street Church.—The selection of Park street for the new site of the First Church had not been satisfactory to all the members. Some thought it

carried the church too far from the centre of population; it was too far south. Out of this dissatisfaction grew the Laurel Street Church. This was as far to the north. For a time, however, the new colony had its place of worship on Thomas Street, which was more central. The church was duly organized on the 20th of July, 1845; but it was not until the 27th of February, 1849, that the new house on Laurel Street was dedicated. The first pastor was the Rev. Richard S. Rust. He was soon elected principal of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary, and after a pastorate of seven months was released from his engagement. The Rev. J. W. Mowry followed, after whom came the Rev. George Dunbar. This pastor was indefatigable in his efforts to secure the erection of the new house of worship. In April, 1849, he was succeeded by the Rev. Francis A. Griswold, after whom came in succession the Rev. Cyrus S. Eastman, Rev. William M. Mann in 1850, Rev. David H. Higgins, Rev. Joseph W. Lewis in 1853, Mr. Mowry again in 1854, Rev. Henry W. Warren in 1855 (afterwards bishop), Rev. Ichabod Marcy in 1857, Rev. Samuel Kelly in 1858, and Rev. Jefferson Hascall, who had long been favorably known as a presiding elder and was with the Laurel Street Church in the latter part of 1861 to fill out the term of Rev. Joseph C. Cromack, who had been appointed in 1860, but had left in August, 1861, to become chaplain of the Nineteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. In 1862, Rev. T. W. Lewis was appointed to the charge but left in 1863 to become Superintendent of Methodist Missions in South Carolina, Rev. James Dean completing his term. After him came Rev. M. M. Parkhurst in 1864, Rev. Samuel Kelly again in 1865, under whom the church reached its highest prosperity; Rev. Angelo Carroll in 1867, under whom the sum of two thousand dollars was expended in church improvements; Rev. William Pentecost in 1869, Rev. H. D. Weston in 1872, Rev. William Pentecost again in 1875, Rev. Fayette Nichols in 1878, Rev. Garrett Beekman in 1880, under whose ministry "the congregation doubled;" Rev. G. M. Smiley in 1883, continuing three years, in the last of which the fortieth anniversary of the church was celebrated; Rev. Ira G. Ross in 1886, and the Rev. Alonzo Sanderson in 1887. Besides his spiritual work, Mr. Sanderson devoted himself energetically to the improvement of the financial condition of the society, and among other measures established a monthly paper called the *Worcester Methodist*, from which about fifty dollars a month come into the parish treasury. The value of the church property, aside from the parsonage, is set at twelve thousand dollars. The membership in 1888 was about one hundred and thirty-two.

Third M. E. (Webster Square) Church.—This church was organized in 1860. Two thirds of its first members came from Park Street Church. Its first pastor was the Rev. Daniel Dorchester who had also been the chief agent in its organization. In 1855 he had

become a member of the Connecticut Senate where he acted a prominent part in various directions. But in later years Dr. Dorchester became greatly more distinguished as the learned historian and statistician of the Methodist Connection. The first religious services of this church were held in Union Hall. The membership, at first small, increased more than tenfold during the first year. Members of other denominations in the vicinity took a lively interest in the enterprise and contributed to its maintenance. In 1863 the Rev. William Gordon became the pastor. To him succeeded, in due order, Rev. William A. Braman in 1864, Rev. William Pentecost in 1866, Rev. Edward W. Virgin in 1867, and Rev. Benjamin F. Chase in 1869. This last pastor was in the midst of a work of great spiritual power, when he was suddenly prostrated by a hemorrhage which, after prolonged illness, terminated his life. His memory long remained fragrant in the church. After him came the Rev. Charles H. Hanaford, in 1870. Under him the long-agitated subject of church-building assumed definite shape; contributions came in from members and from others outside, notably from Albert Curtis and the Messrs. Coes, and the house was erected on a fine site purchased long before, and on the 27th of April was duly dedicated. The cost was about \$20,000. In 1872 the Rev. Pliny Wood was appointed to the charge. After him came the Rev. Mr. Parsons in 1873, Rev. E. A. Titus in 1875, Rev. V. M. Simmons in 1878, Rev. Daniel Richardson in 1879, Rev. J. W. Finn in 1880, Rev. N. Fellows in 1882, Rev. J. O. Knowles in 1883, and Rev. L. W. Staples in 1886, completing his term of three years in 1889.

Grace Church.—The growth of the city and the influx of Methodist families led up to this enterprise. To save these families from wandering into other folds, as well as to help on the religious life of the city, was the burden laid on pious and sagacious Methodists. The decisive push, however, was given by the presiding elder, Dr. Dorchester, in a sermon on the moral condition of our cities preached in February, 1867. This was reinforced by the approval of the Annual Conference in April following. By this body the Rev. J. Oramel Peck, a graduate of Amherst in 1862, was appointed to the pastoral charge of the society, which had already been organized under the name of the "Main Street Methodist Episcopal Church." Washburn Hall was secured for Sunday services and Lincoln House Hall for other meetings. Pluck and push ruled from the first. Said Dr. Dorchester: "A more spirited and liberal company of Christians have seldom been united in church fellowship." The hall was filled to overflowing; the Sunday school quickly became one of the largest in the city; in the first two years the society raised about twenty thousand dollars. Dr. Peck, afterwards distinguished in a wider sphere, was a man of great power, physical endurance, untiring activity and worthy ambition. To him was ascribed in a large de-

gree the instant success of this church enterprise. The edifice was not completed till 1872, under the ministry of his successor, the Rev. Andrew McKeown. The site finally chosen was on Walnut Street instead of Main Street, and the name of Grace Church was substituted for the one first adopted. The cost of the land was ten thousand dollars. In July, 1871, the vestry was completed and occupied for religious services. The church was dedicated in January, 1872, with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Eddy, of Baltimore. The successor of Mr. McKeown was the Rev. J. O. Knowles. He came in 1872 and remained one year, and was then succeeded by the Rev. C. D. Hills, who remained three years. In 1876 the Rev. George S. Chadbourn, afterward presiding elder of the Boston District, was appointed to Grace Church. He occupied his term of three years largely in pushing the church through a period of financial embarrassment. That serious business, however, was relieved by the observance, in May, 1877, of the tenth anniversary of the church, when an eloquent sermon was preached by Bishop Foster. In 1880 the Rev. J. W. Johnson, an Englishman, was appointed to the charge. His pastorate of two years resulted in securing the warm attachment of his people. The Rev. D. H. Ela, D.D., followed him, and continued in charge till 1885. He was eminent alike in preaching and in providing for the payment of the church debt. His successor, the Rev. George Whittaker, will long be remembered with gratitude for his powerful and successful advocacy of the no-license cause in the city. In September, 1887, he was called to the presidency of Wiley University, a Southern college, and the church was left to the strange experience of hearing till the next Conference a succession of preachers not appointed by that authority. But in April, 1888, Grace Church resumed its normal condition under the Rev. John Galbraith, who was then appointed the minister in charge.

Coral Street Church.—In olden time a gentle eminence to the southeast of the "little village of Worcester" bore the Indian name of *Sagatabscot*. There, in 1679, the first white man, Digory Serjent, built his house, and there, in spite of warnings against the red savages, he persisted in living until 1702, when a rescuing party arrived only to find him lying slain in his dwelling and his family carried into captivity. *Sagatabscot* remained bare and open till 1869, when the city began to creep over its slopes and it was christened Union Hill. The houses soon multiplied to such an extent as to attract the attention of the Methodists to the locality. The Rev. Mr. McKeown, of Grace Church, was the first to move, and by him well-known laymen of that and other Methodist churches were enlisted for work there. On the 15th of September, 1871, a church lot was purchased on the corner of Coral and Waverly Streets for the sum of seventy-two hundred dollars. In the same month open-air Sunday services were held on the lot

at five o'clock in the afternoon by the Methodist ministers of the city. Subscriptions toward the enterprise of about nine hundred dollars were there obtained; through the personal solicitations of Mr. McKeown the amount was increased to about eighteen hundred dollars. In January, 1872, a Sunday school with one hundred and fifty members was organized in Scofield's block at the foot of Coral Street. Teachers from other denominations were enlisted, and among the scholars were twenty boys of Roman Catholic parentage. Presently, the presiding elder appeared on the field, conferred with the committee in charge and decided that the mission should be erected into a regular appointment at the next meeting of the Conference. This body assembled in Worcester on the 27th of March, when the Rev. S. E. Chase was appointed the first pastor in charge. From that time a regular preaching service was held in the third story of Scofield's block. The first congregation consisted of twenty persons. On the 23d of April various plans and estimates for a church edifice were presented to the committee, and the result was that a contract was closed for a partial completion of the building at a cost of eighty-eight hundred dollars. On the 8th of May following the church was organized with eighteen members by Rev. L. Crowell, the presiding elder. Hard work and dark hours because of limited means followed this beginning. But through the zeal and labors, notably of Alpheus Walker and N. H. Clark, the building was completed at a cost of thirteen thousand dollars, and on the 16th of April, 1873, was dedicated. In March, 1872, the mission had been named Christ Chapel, but in January, 1883, it received the name of Union Hill M. E. Church. Still another change was made on the 24th of April, 1876, when it assumed the name of Coral Street M. E. Church. Mr. Chase remained in charge for three years and was then succeeded by the Rev. H. D. Weston. In 1875 a vestry was built at a cost of three thousand dollars and dedicated in December of the same year. In the spring of 1878 the Rev. Jesse Wagner was appointed to the charge. His term of service closed in April, 1881, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Austin F. Herrick. About this time serious financial complications threatened the existence of the society. A compromise was at last happily effected, whereby claims to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars were canceled and a solid financial basis secured. In April, 1883, the Rev. Charles Young came in charge and remained till April, 1886, when the Rev. William P. Ray became his successor.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.—The canal and the railroad were the means of bringing Roman Catholicism into Worcester. First came the digging of the Blackstone Canal from Worcester to Providence; this brought many Irish laborers to Worcester and vicinity. The construction of the Boston and Worcester Railroad followed, bringing many more. These people and

their families naturally desired the kind of spiritual guidance to which they had been accustomed. As they found nothing of the kind then in Worcester, they asked Bishop Fenwick, of Boston, to send them a priest. In answer to this application, the bishop sent them the Rev. James Fitton, a recent student of his, then just settled in Hartford, Conn. This led to the inclusion of Worcester in the "missionary circuit" to which Mr. Fitton had also been appointed. He came to Worcester in 1834, and in the spring of that year held the first religious service of the Roman Catholic Church. It was held in the old stone building, still standing, on Front Street near the line of the old Blackstone Canal, the front wall, however, being now of brick. At that time only six or seven families, embracing about twenty-five persons, were enlisted. In the next year the first Roman Catholic church in Worcester was erected on the site now occupied by

St. John's Church.—It was named Christ Church, and was a wooden structure thirty-two by sixty-four feet. This sufficed until 1845, when it was removed to make way for St. John's. Christ Church, after its removal, received additions and became the "Catholic Institute." The corner-stone of St. John's Church was laid on the 27th of May, 1845, with imposing ceremonies, under the episcopal supervision of Bishop Fitzpatrick; and on the 24th of June, 1846, the church was dedicated with still more imposing ceremonies. The dimensions of the building were sixty-five by one hundred and thirty-six feet, and for a long time it was the largest church in the region. The cost was forty thousand dollars. It was ample for the whole Roman Catholic population, which at that time embraced only about thirteen hundred souls. Father Fitton, who may well be styled the father of Romanism in Worcester, left the town in 1843, and returned to Boston, where he was born, and where later on he died. He was a man of some literary parts and the author of several volumes. The Rev. A. Williamson succeeded Mr. Fitton in October, 1843, and remained till April, 1845, when he resigned because of ill health. His successor was the Rev. Mathew W. Gibson, who was characterized as "a man of great energy and power." He remained in the pastorate till April, 1756, and was largely instrumental in building not only St. John's, but also St. Anne's, spoken of further on. After Father Gibson came the Rev. John Boyce, who had been his predecessor's assistant. He died in 1864, while in charge, greatly regretted. He, too, was a writer of merit, "an able writer of fiction," and the author, among other things, of "Paul Peppergrass." His birthplace was Donegal, Ireland, and Maynooth was his *alma mater*. The Rev. Patrick T. O'Reilly, D.D., afterwards bishop of the diocese, was the successor of Father Boyce as pastor of St. John's. From 1857 to 1862 he had been the assistant pastor. In the latter year he removed to Boston, whence he returned to become the pastor of the Worcester church. Upon his elevation to the bishopric, in 1870, his assistant,

the Rev. Thomas Griffin, was appointed to the pastorate of St. John's.

St. Anne's Church.—This church was an offshoot of St. John's. Commenced in 1855, it was completed in 1856, under the direction of the Rev. John J. Power, who became its first pastor. He remained such until 1872, when the Rev. Dennis Scannell was appointed to the place, which he still held in 1888. In 1884-85 came a great enlargement and aggrandizement by the erection of "new St. Anne's." The old church was of wood, and the new one of brick and stone. The old one stood on the low level of the unsightly "meadow," hard by; the new one, placed on a sharp elevation, was made a conspicuous object of admiration for all beholders. The dimensions of the edifice were seventy by one hundred and fifty-seven feet. The auditorium has a capacity for seating one thousand one hundred persons. Twin towers, rising to a lofty height, form a distinguishing feature of this imposing edifice. It is one of the costliest churches in the city.

St. Paul's Church.—This church was formed on the 4th day of July, 1869, and on the same day the corner-stone of the superstructure was laid with appropriate ceremonies. The basement had been completed and served as a place for public worship until July 4, 1874, when the church itself (save the tower) was finished and dedicated. It is a Gothic structure, of cathedral proportions, with a facade of ninety feet in width, and with a length of one hundred and eighty-five feet, and stands upon elevated ground in the heart of the city. It is constructed of granite throughout, and cost two hundred thousand dollars. When its tower shall have been completed, according to the original plan, it will overtop any other structure in the city. This noble edifice owes its origin and completion to the Rev. John J. Power, D.D., the first and only pastor of St. Paul's, and the vicar-general of the diocese.

Church of Notre Dame.—This is the only French Catholic Church in Worcester. The first movement toward its establishment was in 1869. Its name in full is "Church of Notre Dame des Canadiens." The first pastor was the Rev. J. J. Primeau. In 1870 the Methodist Church on Park Street was bought for its use at a cost of thirty-two thousand seven hundred dollars. Here the first Mass was celebrated in June, 1870. At the beginning the church embraced seventeen hundred and forty-three souls, of whom eleven hundred and fifty-nine were communicants. In eleven years the first number had grown to be forty-three hundred, and the number of communicants to be twenty-five hundred, while in 1884 there were over five thousand souls. In 1880-81 the great increase of the congregation required an enlargement of the edifice, and the result was, in effect, a new structure. The plain old building was transformed, by fine architectural touches, into a handsome and spacious edifice, adding much to the surrounding at-

tractions of the historic Common upon which it fronts. The dimensions are fifty-four by one hundred and twenty-eight feet; the cost of the improvements was thirty-five thousand dollars. The pealing of the *angelus* from the massive bell in its tower daily reminds the city of its existence and the faithful of their duty. After Mr. Primeau's retirement the Rev. Isadore Beaudry became in 1882 the pastor, and in the following year he was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Brouillet, who was in charge in 1888.

Besides the church of Notre Dame, Father Brouillet has charge of several French missions, which he established after coming to Worcester. The first of these was,—

St. Anne's.—This mission was established at South Worcester on the 9th of January, 1886. A house was purchased by Father Brouillet at a cost of five thousand dollars, and was converted into a temporary home for the mission.

St. Joseph's was established on the 9th of January, 1887, at the corner of Wall and Norfolk Streets, on Oak Hill, where a chapel was built in that year at a cost of sixty-five hundred dollars. Incipient measures have been taken to add to the number of these missions.

When Father Brouillet came in 1883 he at once proceeded to take a census of the French Catholic population of Worcester, and found it to be eight thousand. According to his careful estimate, this had increased to nine thousand in 1888. Of that number four thousand were communicants.

Church of the Immaculate Conception.—This enterprise was inaugurated in February, 1872, under Bishop O'Reilly and Rev. Thomas Griffin, chancellor of the diocese. The church was organized in November, 1873; the erection of the church edifice was begun in the same year. In the next year the basement was completed and used for worship until December, 1878, when the whole superstructure was finished. It was dedicated by Father Power, vicar-general, with a large body of the priesthood assisting. The building is seventy feet wide by one hundred and twenty-four feet long, and has eleven hundred and fifty sittings. The cost was thirty-five thousand dollars. Rev. Robert Walsh became the pastor in 1874, and has remained such ever since.

Church of the Sacred Heart.—This, the sixth Roman Catholic church in chronological order, is located on Cambridge Street, at New Worcester. On the 2d of July, 1879, the first excavations for the building were made; and on the 14th of September following the corner-stone was laid by Bishop O'Reilly. On the 24th of January, 1880, the parish was organized, and at the same time the Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, assistant at St. John's Church, was appointed its first pastor. The superstructure was finished, and the basement furnished for use on Easter Sunday of the same year. On the 21st of September, 1884, the auditorium was opened for 'public service and the church was

then dedicated. There are eight hundred sittings in the basement and eight hundred and forty in the auditorium. The Sunday school has a membership of six hundred. The organization of total abstinence societies in this parish has been made a conspicuous feature by the pastor. The several societies for young men, young ladies and boys include three hundred and fifty members. The cost of the parish property was about eighty thousand dollars.

St. Peter's Church.—This church stands on the corner of Main and Grand Streets. The corner-stone was laid on Sunday, the 7th of September, 1884, by Bishop O'Reilly, under the supervision of the pastor, Rev. Daniel H. O'Neill. The event was marked by a great military display, with a procession of various orders through Main Street. The vicar-general and the chancellor of the diocese were also present assisting. The building is of brick, with granite trimmings, seventy feet by one hundred and thirty, with a massive tower, ninety-eight feet high. It has a seating capacity for one thousand, but for the present public worship is held in the basement.

St. Stephen's Church.—This church is on Grafton Street, at the corner of Caroline. It was founded in 1887, and is the most recently organized church of this order. The Rev. R. S. J. Burke was the pastor in 1888.

The Roman Catholic population of Worcester, other than that of French descent, was supposed to be about twenty-five thousand in the year 1888.

EPISCOPALIANS.—The parishes of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Massachusetts are organized under a special statute. This provides that the rector or one of the wardens, unless other provision is made in the by-laws, may preside at meetings with all the powers of a moderator; and the wardens, or wardens and vestry, may exercise all the powers of a standing committee. To secure as much uniformity as possible, the "Convention" of this church prints with its annual journals, and recommends for adoption, a standing form of by-laws for the government of the parishes. Among other things this Form provides that the wardens shall be communicants and that all officers shall be baptized men; that the rector, wardens, treasurer, clerk and vestrymen shall constitute "the vestry;" and that the rector shall be chosen by the parish, or by the vestry, when so authorized by the parish. A noticeable feature of this Form, in its latest expression, is, that "any person," subject to the other conditions, may become a member of the parish. In earlier editions of the Form the words used are "any male person." Provision is thus made for the admission of women to a partnership in the management of Protestant Episcopal parishes. This change in the direction of progress conforms also to the statutes of the Commonwealth. In general but not altogether exact accordance with these provisions, the Protestant Episcopal parishes in Worcester have been organized. The oldest, and the mother of the rest, is the parish of

All Saints.—The beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Worcester are reported by the late Judge Ira M. Barton in two letters written in the year 1835, but first printed in the year 1888. From this contemporary and authentic source of information it appears that in the former year Dr. Wainwright visited Worcester "to see as to the practicability of establishing a church here." An arrangement was then made for services in the Central Church, but through a misunderstanding it fell through. This failure was less discouraging than the difficulty in finding persons "to sustain the burden." "No such persons have yet offered themselves," wrote Judge Barton under date of October 2d. A little later the prospect had brightened. Under date of December 13th he wrote: "Regular church services were, for the first time, held in Worcester to-day." At that first meeting there were present "some sixty people." The preacher on the occasion was the Rev. Thomas H. Vaill, then in deacon's orders only. And now the time had arrived when this enterprise took to itself a body and a name by an act of incorporation under the style of the "Proprietors of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Worcester." The act bears date of April 8, 1836, and the incorporators named in the act are Thomas H. Vaill, Ira Barton and Edward F. Dixie. The experiment was fairly begun. For six months Mr. Vaill continued his ministrations and then left "thoroughly discouraged." As the present bishop of Kansas he still lives to look back upon this day of small things. Seven years of silence followed his departure, when, in 1842, services were again begun, never afterwards to be intermitted. On Christmas day of that year the Rev. Fernando C. Putnam held a service in the chapel on Thomas street belonging to the Central Church. Mr. Putnam was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Blackaller.

With Mr. Blackaller as minister in charge, Thomas Bottomly and Charles S. Ellis as wardens and Edwin Eaton as clerk, the first church of this order was well on its foundations. It continued, however, in a low condition until 1844, when the Rev. George T. Chapman, D.D., came and applied his sturdy shoulders to the work of upbuilding. Dr. Chapman had a zeal for his church. Organizing and assisting churches in various parts had been his self-appointed mission, and now the feeble church in Worcester was to feel the good effects of his help. Coming at Easter, he remained in charge of the parish for two full years. At the end of that time he gave place to the Rev. George H. Clark, who became the first regularly chosen and settled rector of All Saints. In January, 1849, Mr. Clark resigned because of ill health, and the Rev. N. T. Bent succeeded to the office. Mr. Bent remained till the spring of 1852, when the Rev. Archibald M. Morrison became the rector. At the end of four years, illness in his family compelled him to lay down his charge. A period of

three years now elapsed in which All Saints was without a rector. In this time the Rev. William H. Brooks and the Rev. Albert Patterson were the ministers in charge. But in December, 1859, the Rev. E. W. Hager became the rector, and so remained till August, 1862, when he resigned his place.

At the close of the year 1862 began the ministry of the Rev. William R. Huntington, which was destined to change the whole face of things for Episcopacy in Worcester. His ministry of twenty-one years was a period of constant and rapid growth. Dr. Huntington found his Church of All Saints feeble and left it strong. He found it poorly housed and left it rejoicing in one of the most beautiful and costly of our churches. He found it solitary and left it the mother of children, born and to be born. And yet, at the close of his ministry, he was moved to say that, "in the whole English-speaking world there is probably not a city of the size of ours in which the Episcopal Church is numerically so weak as ours." That this reproach is now measurably taken away is owing more to his agency and influence than to any other. It was on the 3d of December, 1862, that Dr. Huntington was both ordained and inducted into the rectorship of All Saints. His ministry began in the church on Pearl Street which had been erected in 1846 after plans drawn by Upjohn of New York. Dr. Huntington described it as "a beautiful specimen of rural architecture." It remained as originally built until 1860, when it was altered to gain additional sittings. In the course of twenty-eight years it was four times reconstructed: then, on Easter night, April 7, 1874, it was destroyed by fire. This was the signal for removal and enlargement.

On the 15th of May a committee was empowered to build a church and chapel; on the 29th of December ground was broken at the corner of Irving and Pleasant Streets; on the 13th of May following the first stone was put in place; on the 21st of July the corner-stone was laid; and on the 4th of January, 1877, the finished building was consecrated by Bishop Paddock. Church, chapel and parish building are grouped in one capacious structure. All the walls, including bell-tower and spire to the final, are of red sandstone. The pulpit of the Pearl Street Church, a gift from Emanuel Church in Boston, rescued from the flames and erected for use in the new church, is a memorial of continuity; while encrusted in the interior wall of the tower-porch are stone relics of mediæval architectural ornament, given by the dean and chapter of Worcester (England) Cathedral, as a token of "brotherly regard and church unity."

Having declined various calls from different bodies to important ecclesiastical offices,—one, in 1874, to the office of bishop—Dr. Huntington at length accepted a call to the rectorship of Grace Church in New York, and in 1883 severed his long connection with All Saints'. By his published writings, by his unwearied fidelity to his parochial charge and by his wise ac-

tivity in the Church Conventions, he had come to be a power in his own communion.

Shortly after the termination of Dr. Huntington's service, the Rev. Lawrence H. Schwab became the minister in charge. He was succeeded by the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, who was chosen to be the rector on the 28th of April, 1884, and who assumed the office in September following. Under his ministry the prosperity of the parish was continued. The number of communicants last reported was about four hundred.

Parish of St. Matthew.—In the winter of 1869 a mission chapel fund of \$721.21 was raised from a Christmas sale by the women of All Saints. This was the germ of the parish of St. Matthew. Additions were made to the fund from time to time, and in 1871 a mission was established at South Worcester. An association of communicants in All Saints was formed, with the rector of that parish as trustee, and by them an estate was bought at the corner of Southbridge and Washburn Streets. On this site a chapel was completed in September of the same year, and on St. Matthew's day, February 24, 1875, it was opened for public worship. The Rev. John Gregson, assistant minister at All Saints, was made the minister in charge, and he so remained for nearly a year. After him Mr. Thomas Mackay acted as lay reader until the following October, when the Rev. Thomas A. Robertson assumed the charge and continued in it for a period of nine months. Mr. Mackay then resumed his post, and with other lay readers held services until January 1, 1874, when the Rev. Henry Mackay became the minister in charge. This continued until the spring of that year; then the mission was organized with Henry L. Parker and Matthew J. Whittall as wardens. The Rev. Mr. Mackay remained the minister in charge until July, 1875. In April, 1876, the Rev. Amos Skeele was called to the rectorship, which he retained for several months; but in April, 1877, the church was again without a rector and Sunday services were cared for by the Rev. George S. Paine, of Worcester. To him succeeded the Rev. Alexander Mackay Smith, assistant at All Saints, by whom, it was said, "wonderful work was done." January 1, 1878, the Rev. George E. Osgood became the rector, and in September the church was "renovated" and again opened for public worship. All incumbrances having been at length removed and a deed of the land given by Sumner Pratt, St. Matthew's Church (or chapel) was consecrated on Quinquagesima Sunday in 1880. Mr. Osgood having resigned the rectorship January 16, 1881, on the 8th of April following the Rev. J. H. Waterbury became the rector but resigned in November of the same year. He, however, remained in charge until his death, which occurred in the next spring. In the summer of 1882 land for a parish building was secured on the corner of Southbridge and Cambridge Streets, and in the course of the season St. Matthew's Hall was erected upon it. In August the

Rev. Henry Hague assumed the charge of St. Matthew in connection with that of St. Thomas at Cherry Valley. In February, 1888, the number of communicants was one hundred and seventy-five, and the value of the parish property \$7,500, less an incumbrance of \$1,250. Thus, from a small beginning, with a frequently changing ministry, this parish had slowly grown through a period of nineteen years, until it appears to have come to rest on a permanent foundation. For its success much was due to the fostering care of Dr. Huntington.

Parish of St. John.—This parish was organized as part of a broad and long-cherished plan of Dr. Huntington. A scheme of four missions, embryos of four churches in different sections of the city, named after the four Evangelists, was what he had conceived and steadily aimed to realize. St. John's was the second in the order of the plan. It was begun by the formation of a Sunday-school, March 11, 1883. The first meeting was held in an upper room on the corner of Lincoln Square and Main Street, and the first church service was held by the Rev. Henry Hague, of St. Matthew's, on the 6th of January, 1884. On the 9th of March following, the first regular Sunday service was held by the Rev. John S. Bens, general missionary of the diocese. On the 9th of March the Rev. Edward S. Cross began work with the mission, and on the 13th of April took formal charge. On the 21st of the same month land for a church was bought on Lincoln street; on the 13th of May ground was broken; and July 5th the cornerstone was laid. On the 18th of September, 1884, the parish was organized under the laws of the state. Mr. Cross, the minister in charge, preached his farewell sermon on the 19th of October, and on the 30th of November, in the same year, the Rev. Francis C. Burgess entered upon his duties as the first rector of the new parish. Public worship in the church was held for the first time on Christmas Day. For a time the free church system was tried, but was soon abandoned, yet so as in the hope that under more favorable conditions it might be afterwards resumed. In the first four months of parish life the average congregation and the number of communicants increased two-fold. This growth continued until, in 1887, it was found desirable to enlarge the church in order to gain more sittings. This was accordingly done, at a cost somewhat exceeding \$2600. In 1888 the money to defray this cost had all been subscribed and paid. By this enlargement the whole number of sittings was increased to 308. At the last-named date the church and land were valued at \$17,000, upon which there rested a debt of \$9300. The number of communicants at this time was 209. This year witnessed a new departure for Episcopacy in Worcester by the union of St. John's with the Central (Congregational) Church in the observance of Lent. Services were held alternately in the two churches, conducted alternately by the two ministers.

Clergymen from abroad were also brought in to assist in this fraternal recognition, of whom chiefly to be mentioned are the Rev. Dr. Phillips Brooks and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Herrick, both of Boston. If any ill came out of this unwonted fraternization, it was never publicly reported. On the contrary, the continued prosperity of St. John's seemed to bear witness that this new departure was a safe step in the line of progress.

Parish of St. Mark's Church.—In the order of time this was the third in the scheme of four churches which Dr. Huntington set on foot. But not till some years after he had gone from Worcester did a good opportunity for inaugurating the enterprise present itself. At length the founding of Clark University, in the spring of 1887, became the signal for moving. That great educational project causing a marked advance in the price of real estate in the quarter selected for St. Mark's Mission, spurred on its friends to make haste and secure a suitable lot for church purposes. The purchase of a lot was the only object of the first meeting, which was in September, 1887; but this very speedily led to the formation of a mission by the name of St. Mark's Mission. A place for meeting was secured, and about October 1st a Sunday-school was opened. Public worship was held for the first time on the 23d of October, by the Rev. Alex. H. Vinton, rector of All Saints, other clergymen in and out of the city assisting. After this date the services of the Rev. Thomas W. Nickerson of Rochdale were secured. He continued to officiate until the Easter following, when the Rev. Langdon C. Stewardson took charge of the mission. He came fresh from a three years' course of theological study in the universities of Germany, prior to which he had been for five years rector of a church in Webster. "Under his leadership," says a competent authority, "the mission has made a progress which is believed to be unprecedented in the history of this diocese." The number of communicants, about forty at Easter, had nearly doubled within the next five months. From the beginning the mission was independent and self-reliant. No aid from any outside source was accepted. On the other hand, the mission, in that brief period, had raised out of its own resources the sum of twelve thousand two hundred dollars. With part of this the lot for church and chapel, already spoken of, was purchased on the corner of Main and Freeland Streets. On the 6th of September, 1888, the corner-stone of the chapel to be erected on this lot was laid, a solid silver trowel, given by Mrs. Ellen Lawson Gard, wife of its maker, being used in the ceremony. An imposing aspect was given to the occasion. At five o'clock in the afternoon nine clergymen from the city and other parts, with Dr. Huntington of New York, the originator of the enterprise, at their head, marched down the street in surplices and took their places by the corner-stone. When the ceremonial act was completed, Dr. Huntington made a brief address, admir-

able alike for its substance, expression and tone. "Rarely," said he, "is the building of a church under such assured circumstances. You have a marvelously chosen building site, you are in perfect harmony among yourselves, and your leader you love and trust. What more do you want? Is it the money to complete the building? That is a very doubtful advantage. The very fact that it is lacking is a spur to never-failing effort." Again he said: "We lay this stone in charity. If there are any within the hearing of my voice not of this household of faith" (and there were many) "let them not feel disquieted. We come not as destroyers, but maintainers of peace; not to divide, but to unite. The Episcopal Church sees in itself a great reconstructing influence. . . . There is one object, one purpose, and that the purpose of building up the kingdom of God." The plan contemplates in its ultimate realization a chapel and church of red sandstone throughout.

St. Luke's Church, the fourth and only one remaining to complete Dr. Huntington's quadrilateral of churches, in his own words uttered at the laying of St. Mark's corner-stone, "bides its time."

UNIVERSALISTS.—First Universalist Church.—The first Universalist Society was formed on the 3d day of June, 1841, in accordance with the laws of Massachusetts. So said the Rev. Stephen Presson Landers in his historical address delivered a quarter of a century afterwards. Mr. Landers was the first pastor and had preached his sermon in Brinley Hall on the 2d of May previous. In the summer and autumn ten thousand dollars were subscribed for building a church. The pastor himself subscribed "more than he was worth." A very choice and central site on the corner of Main and Foster streets was bought for a little more than \$1.25 a square foot. But "stagnant water" caused delay. In 1842 a further subscription of more than five thousand dollars was added to the former. Then, early in 1843, ground was broken, and on the 22d of November in the same year the house was dedicated with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Miner, of Boston. On the evening of the same day "was the recognition of our small church," wrote the historian, and also its first communion with thirty-one participants. The pastorate of Mr. Landers terminated on the 16th of June, 1844, when he preached his farewell sermon. His death occurred at Clinton, N. Y., on the 15th of April, 1876, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. On the 12th of March, 1845, Rev. Albert Case was installed as his successor. After somewhat more than four years he left his Worcester charge and engaged in secular business of various sorts. He was also settled again for a time as pastor at Hingham, Mass. He died at the age of about seventy on the 29th of December, 1877. It was noted of him, as a mark of great distinction, that he had, while in the Worcester pastorate, "attained to the thirty-third degree, the highest of the Masonic grades in the world." His successor, the Rev. Obadiah Horstford Tillotson, was

installed on the 27th of June, 1849. During his pastorate the increase of the congregation was such as to require more sittings in the church. To secure that end galleries were constructed in 1851. Mr. Tillotson preached his farewell sermon on the 31st of October, 1852. Meantime he had become a student-at-law and practitioner in the office of Judge Chapin, of Worcester; but finding the pursuit uncongenial, he resumed his former profession, to which he devoted himself for the remainder of his life. On the 19th of June, 1863, he fell a victim to consumption in the forty-eighth year of his age. His successor, coming in April, 1863, was the Rev. John Greenleaf Adams, D.D. After a highly successful pastorate of seven years he gave place to the Rev. Lindley Murray Burrington, who, after a year and four months, was compelled to resign because of long-continued illness. His term of service closed on the 1st of January, 1862. To him succeeded the Rev. Thomas Elliot St. John, who was inducted into office on the 1st of April in that year. With him began a new departure. The church was reorganized by the adoption of a new Declaration of Faith and a Constitution. This had seemed to be necessary because of changes growing out of "removals, withdrawals and forfeitures." Having put the church on this new footing, Mr. St. John closed his first pastorate in June of 1866 to become the pastor of a church in Chicago. After the intervening pastorate of Rev. Benjamin Franklin Bowles, who came on the 1st of October, 1866, and left December, 1, 1868, Mr. St. John resumed his old Worcester pulpit on the 1st of February, 1869, and continued to occupy it till April 1, 1879. Within this period the fine new church edifice on Pleasant Street was erected and occupied. After leaving Worcester, Mr. St. John pursued his ministry in various places until the autumn of 1881, when he accepted a call to the Unitarian Church in Haverhill, Mass. His successor, the Rev. Moses Henry Harris, entered upon his ministry with this church on the 5th of October, 1879. Mr. Harris was a native of Greene, in the State of Maine. He was graduated from the Canton Theological School in 1867, and had his first settlement in the ministry at Brattleborough, Vt., in 1870. From that pastorate of nine years and three months he came to Worcester. In 1885 the "Winchester Confession" was adopted by this church as a Declaration of Faith in place of the Declaration which had been adopted in 1862; the Constitution was also amended and the list of membership revised. The church then embraced one hundred and fifty-five members.

All Souls Church.—"In the spring of 1883 a committee was appointed at a meeting of the First Universalist Church to see if a room could be hired at the south part of the city in which to open a Mission Sunday-school for the extension of our church work in Worcester." This was the beginning of the Second Universalist Church. No suitable room could

be hired; then two friends of the cause, who "could not let the movement die for want of a place, offered the free use of their rooms." Accordingly, at one of these rooms, in the house of Mrs. Martin Russell, No. 10 May Street, the new school was organized on the afternoon of January 27, 1884. On the Wednesday following, a prayer-meeting was inaugurated; this and preaching by Mr. Harris, of the First Church, were maintained alternately throughout the winter. The natural result of this devotion to the work was growth; by spring "more room" was found necessary and this led up to thought of building. Money was not abundant, and Mrs. Lucy A. Stone, seeing the need, gave the land on which to build a chapel. Another act of encouragement was the gift of one hundred dollars by the sister of a former pastor of the First Church. As the women had been thus active in beginning the enterprise, so they were relied upon to carry it forward. Accordingly, "at a meeting to form a parish held on the 31st of July, 1884," Mrs. Stone and Mrs. Russell, were appointed to obtain subscriptions for the purpose of building a chapel. The result of their efforts was a subscription of one thousand three hundred and two dollars. By the last of October the building was begun and before the cold weather could interrupt was completed. In just one year from the time the Sunday school had been organized the chapel was dedicated. This was on the 27th of January, 1885. On the 21st of June following the church was duly instituted. During the summer the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Lee H. Fisher, a student at Tufts College. His services proved so acceptable that he was engaged to continue them till the next annual meeting. On the 1st of April, 1886, the Rev. Frederic W. Bailey entered upon his duties as first pastor of All Souls. Mr. Bailey immediately set about providing for a church edifice. Through his efforts the sum of three thousand four hundred dollars was obtained, with which a lot on the corner of Woodland and Norwood Streets was purchased, and the same was conveyed to the parish on the 20th of March, 1887. How to raise the money for the building of the church was the next and more pressing question. This was happily solved by Mr. James A. Norcross, of the famous firm of Norcross Brothers, builders, by the gift of fifteen thousand dollars in the name of himself and his wife, Mary E., upon three conditions: 1st, That the parish should raise seven thousand otherwise than by incumbrance on the property; 2d, That a certain room in the proposed edifice should be legally conveyed to Mr. Norcross and his heirs; and 3d, that the following inscriptions should be placed on the front of the edifice: "In memory of our Fathers and Mothers who are in Heaven. Our hope is to meet them in that heavenly home;" and "All Souls Universalist Church Edifice." The exact form of the gift was, "all the brownstone required for the exterior of All Souls Universalist Church cut and set in place." It was

assumed that fifteen thousand dollars would cover this expense. Mr. Norcross' proposition was presented on the 9th of November, in a long letter full of details. On the 20th All Souls Parish had a meeting, accepted the proposal, unanimously voted thanks to the donors, and took measures to comply with the first condition. The proposed building is of unique design, of bold architecture and studied simplicity. The main structure is seventy feet square with a round tower one hundred and fifty feet high on the corner of the streets. The principal audience-room is designed to seat about five hundred persons; other rooms adapted for all modern church requirements are embraced within the plan. It will be a central attraction for the important neighborhood in that quarter of the city.

FRIENDS,—“Meeting” and “meeting-house” are characteristic terms among the Friends. The Preparative, or, as it is called in England, Particular Meeting, is the unit. Several of these constitute a Monthly Meeting; these in turn constitute a Quarterly Meeting, and several Quarterly Meetings constitute the Yearly Meeting. The Monthly Meeting, which is the lowest corporate body, takes and holds property through trustees of its own appointing, for the benefit of its Preparative constituencies. All meeting-houses are so held. The Preparative Meeting exercises no discipline over its members. Discipline is administered by the Monthly Meeting upon an overture or complaint from the Preparative Meeting. Any party not satisfied with the discipline dealt out by this body may appeal to the Quarterly Meeting and to the Yearly Meeting in the last resort. There is no salaried minister, no sacrament, no set singing, no voting, no business official except a clerk. The clerk is the one important and sufficient official. He records no votes, since there are none to record; but he “takes the sense” or consensus of the meeting, and makes a minute of that. This sense he gathers from what any Friend may choose to say at the meeting. Having made his minute, he reads it, and if it is approved it stands as the sense of the meeting; and so standing, it is as binding and absolute as a vote elsewhere. In this way the clerk himself is made such. In this way one Friend may become an “approved minister” and another, because of bad behavior, may become “disowned.”

From 1816 to 1837 families of Friends residing in Worcester went up to worship at Mulberry Grove, in Leicester. Later on they obtained leave to hold a Particular Meeting in Worcester. The place of meeting at first was in a room over Boyden & Fenno's jewelry store, in Paine's block. But in 1846 they built their present meeting-house on land given by Anthony Chase and Samuel H. Colton, two leading members of the Society. After this the Mulberry Grove Meeting gradually diminished and finally died out. The Worcester Meeting became a part of Uxbridge Monthly Meeting, of which the Uxbridge and

Northbridge Preparative Meetings were the remaining constituent parts. The Uxbridge Monthly Meeting is held in the three places just named twelve times a year, five of which are in Worcester. In due gradation, Uxbridge Monthly Meeting belongs to Smithfield (R. I.) Quarterly Meeting, and this to the New England Yearly Meeting, which is now held alternately at Newport, R. I., and Portland, Me.

The Worcester Meeting, though small in numbers, has included some of the best known, most worthy and most prosperous of her citizens. The names of Chase, Colton, Earle, Hadwen, Arnold and others have figured prominently in the past history of the city. Anthony Chase was for a generation the treasurer of Worcester County; John Milton Earle was known far and wide as the proprietor and editor of that child and champion of the Revolution, *The Massachusetts Spy*; Edward Earle became mayor of the city. But the Friends of Worcester have special reason to remember the name of Timothy K. Earle as one of the three principal benefactors of the Society. Choosing to be his own executor, Mr. Earle, shortly before his death, which occurred on the 1st of October, 1881, made a gift of \$5000 to Uxbridge Monthly Meeting, to be held in trust for the benefit of Worcester Preparative Meeting. The fund was to accumulate for ten years; then the income was to be used for repairs and improvement of the meeting-house. The surplus above what might be used for this purpose, when it should reach the sum of \$2000, was to be set aside as a fund for rebuilding in case of fire. On the other hand, if the meeting should ever come to an end, the deed of gift provided that the fund should be made over to the Friends' New England Boarding School at Providence. Other gifts from other sources and for other purposes, but of less amounts, are also held in trust for this meeting. The clerk for a quarter of a century, first of the Worcester Meeting, and then of the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting, is James G. Arnold, a lineal descendant, through intermediate and unbroken generations of Friends, of Thomas Arnold, the earliest emigrant of the name and faith into the Providence and Rhode Island Plantations. But it must be said that the present prospects of the body do not justify the expectation that the future will be as the past. The number of members reported is about eighty, and this is less than it has been.

SECOND ADVENTISTS.—The Second Advent movement in Worcester was made in anticipation of the fateful 15th of February, 1843. On Thanksgiving Day in 1842 a meeting was held in East City Hall, at which a committee was appointed to secure a hall and hire preachers. Thenceforward, for a period of time, meetings were held almost every evening. For a part of the time the “Upper City Hall” was occupied as the place of meeting. When the 15th of February came and went and the sun continued to rise and set as usual, the time for the world's crisis was adjourned to a day in April. Disappointment then

led to further adjournments, but as time wore on and showed no sign of coming to an end, the Adventists, who had been gathered out of almost every denomination, gradually consolidated into a regular church organization. For the first seven or eight years no records were kept, because it was held to be inconsistent with the fundamental idea of Adventism. The first record appears under the date of April 14, 1850, and the first important thing recorded was the one Article of Association, which served as the basis of organization. This was in the nature of both creed and covenant. "The personal advent and reign of Christ on the earth renewed," was the distinguishing belief, and the solemn agreement to be governed by the Bible as the rule of faith and practice was the only covenant. Religious services were held in various halls until the year 1866, when a chapel was built and dedicated. The building was erected on leased land on Central Street, at a cost of \$3113.28. The dedication took place on the 14th of June. A succession of elders ministered to the church until the 15th of December, 1870, when Elder S. G. Mathewson was called to serve "one half the time." He remained in charge till October 17, 1875, when he preached his farewell sermon. Of late years preachers have been supplied by a committee chosen for that purpose. In 1883 the chapel was sold, and a hall for religious services secured in Clark's Block, on Main Street. In 1877 the membership was one hundred and forty-five, and one hundred and eighty-five in 1888. The amount of money annually raised for current expenses and care of the poor of the church exceeds \$2000, while contributions are made for missions abroad, and particularly in India.

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.—The church of which the lamented Garfield was a minister is an exotic in New England. It had its origin in Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio in the early part of the nineteenth century. Thence it spread through the Southwest and West until, in 1888, the number of communicants in the United States was reported to be about seven hundred thousand. Six universities, thirty-one colleges and six collegiate institutes provide the denomination with the higher educational facilities, while fifty-nine missions in Japan, China, India, Turkey, Africa and Australia, as well as other missions in various European countries, attest their zeal in the propagation of their faith. The central principle of the denomination is the union of all Christians on the basis of the Apostolic Church with the person of Jesus Christ as the only object of faith. Hence, discarding all sectarian names, they choose to denominate themselves simply "Disciples of Christ." They hold the great cardinal doctrines of the gospel but not in the terminology of the schools. They abjure speculative tenets touching Trinity and Unity but adhere to the "form of sound words" given in the Scriptures concerning the Father, the Son and the

Holy Spirit. Their polity is congregational, but they are not Congregationalists. Their distinguishing tenet is of baptism, but they are not altogether Baptists. They agree with the Baptists as to the mode and subjects of baptism, but differ as to its design. While the Baptists baptize believers because they are forgiven, the Disciples baptize them in order to secure the promised forgiveness. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." The state of salvation follows, not precedes, the baptizing as well as the believing. Baptism will not save if repentance and faith are wanting. Baptismal regeneration they deny. Baptism is the only form necessary for admission into the church; there is no creed nor covenant. No one is excluded from the Lord's Supper, and this is observed every Lord's Day. The New Testament is held to be the sole book of authority; the Old Testament is helpful, but not now authoritative.

Only one church of this order exists in Worcester. It was organized on the 5th of August, 1860, with two elders in charge of its spiritual interests and two deacons in charge of its temporal interests. There was no parish organization, but the church itself was incorporated with trustees annually chosen to hold the property. Their first house of worship was the old Central Chapel on Thomas Street. But the surroundings were unfavorable and they felt hampered in their work. They therefore, in September, 1885, sold that property, and while making ready to build occupied the old Central Church on Main Street as a place of worship. In the next month they purchased a lot on Main Street opposite King, and there proceeded to erect an attractive church edifice at a cost in all of twenty-three thousand dollars. Its dedication took place on the 12th of September, 1886. In the twenty-eight years of its existence, the church has had for its ministers, William H. Hughes, William Rowzee, Alanson Wilcox, J. M. Atwater, T. W. Cottingham, Frank N. Calvin and the present minister, I. A. Thayer, who came from New Castle, Pennsylvania, and began his work in Worcester in October, 1887. To none of these do they apply the epithet Reverend, as the distinction of clergy and laity is not recognized. In 1888 the membership of the church was three hundred and seventy-three and that of the Sunday-school two hundred and fifty.

FREE BAPTISTS.—Two tenets—free will and free communion—distinguish the Free Baptists from other Baptists. They might perhaps be named the Arminian Baptists and the others the Calvinistic Baptists; but those names would not mark the radical distinction growing out of the terms of communion. Enough that each has chosen its own name; "Baptists," pure and simple, and "Free Baptists." This denomination had its origin in New Hampshire somewhat more than a century ago. Benjamin Randall had been a Congregationalist, afterwards became a Baptist, and then, by adopting and preaching the doctrines of the freedom of the will and free commu-

nion, became the founder of the Free Baptist denomination. This was in 1780. Within the century following, churches of this faith multiplied and spread east and west, until now the membership throughout the country is reported to exceed eighty thousand. In the county of Worcester there are three churches, one of which is in the city. The first preliminary meeting here was held at the house of Newell Tyler, on the 14th of September, 1880. Meetings continued to be held at intervals until the 7th of April, 1881, when the church was duly organized with thirty members. It continued to live without parish powers until the 3d of August, 1887, when by-laws were adopted preparatory to incorporation under Chapter 404 of the Acts of that year. On the 1st day of September following the church became a corporation by the name of the "First Free Baptist Church of Worcester." The Rev. A. J. Eastman, who had been the originator of the movement, was installed on the 7th of April, 1887, as the first pastor, and so continued for one year. The second pastor was the Rev. H. Lockhart. His term began on the 1st of May, 1883, and terminated on the 1st of March, 1887. On the 18th of May following the Rev. D. D. Mitchell became the pastor. The place of worship is "Free Baptist Hall," in Clark's Building, 492 Main Street.

AFRICAN CHURCHES—*African Methodist Zion's Church.*—This church was organized in 1846. Its first place of worship was the "Centenary Chapel," which had been erected on Exchange Street in 1840, and which, at a later day, came into the hands of Zion's Church. The house was dedicated for this church in the year of its organization. Rev. Alexander Posey was the first pastor. To him succeeded the Rev. Levin Smith, in 1849. The third and most noteworthy pastor was the Rev. J. A. Mars. In 1854 the house was burned in the great fire of that year. In July, 1855, another house was begun, and by the 25th of September was completed and dedicated. A large part of the money for this expense was collected by Mr. Mars outside the society. After him came a succession of pastors whose names were not obtained.

African Methodist Episcopal Bethel Church.—This church was organized in the summer of 1867 in Lincoln House Hall. Dr. Brown was a leading spirit in the enterprise and continued to manage until a pastor was assigned. The original membership of the church was fourteen. The first pastor assigned by the Conference was Rev. Joshua Hale, whose term of service was two years. After him came in succession twelve pastors, whose names were Mr. Johnson, James Madison, Perry Stanford, Ebenezer Williams, Jeremiah B. Hill, Joseph Taylor, Elijah P. Grinage, D. A. Porter, Charles Ackworth, Mr. Grandy, A. W. Whaley, Mr. Thomas and G. B. Lynch. Then in 1887, Rev. J. B. Stephens was appointed to the charge, which he was keeping at the close of 1888. For a number of years their place of worship was at

the corner of Hanover and Laurel Streets. But in 1887 that property was lost and since then their place of worship has been at 302 Main Street. The number of communicants in 1888 was twenty-five and the number of families eight.

The Mount Olive Baptist Church was a child of the Worcester Baptist City Mission Board. At first and for some years it was maintained as a mission. But the brethren of the mission having repeatedly asked for organization and recognition as an independent church, the Board at length yielded to their wishes. Accordingly, on the 24th of February, 1885, a council of the city Baptist Churches convened in the Pleasant Street Church and after due examination of twenty-two persons constituted them a church with the above name. For a long time the Rev. Charles E. Simmons served them in the gospel without compensation. Then they set about procuring a pastor. On the 24th of March, 1887, at their request, a council convened for the purpose of ordaining Hiram Conway, a student in Newton Theological Seminary, to the Mount Olive ministry. His examination having proved satisfactory, his ordination and recognition as pastor took place on the 29th in the Pleasant Street Church. In the summer of the same year house No. 43 John Street, with the connected lot, was purchased and fitted for public worship at a cost of about one thousand dollars. On the 10th of October, 1888, a membership of forty-one persons was reported.

The number of persons of African blood in Worcester by the census of 1885 was eight hundred and eighty-three; in 1888 the number was thought to be about one thousand.

CHRISTADELPHIANS.—The Christadelphians, or "Brethren of Christ," constitute a small body in Worcester. The order had its origin in the year 1832. Its founder was John Thomas, M.D., of New York, who believed and proclaimed that the true teaching of Christ was for the first time discovered in this nineteenth century by himself. Dr. Thomas became an itinerant, and went through the United States and the British Empire publishing his new-found gospel. Disciples were made and are to be found scattered through this country, Great Britain, Australia and India. Their belief will, perhaps, best be seen by what they do not believe. In their own printed words, then, "Christadelphians do not believe in the Trinity, in the co-equality and co-eternity of Jesus with the Deity, in the existence of Jesus before his conception at Nazareth, in the personality of the Holy Spirit, in the personality of the devil, in the immortality of the soul, in the transportation of saints to heaven and sinners to hell after death, in eternal torments, in baby sprinkling and pouring, in infant and idiot salvation, in Sabbatarianism, in salvation by good works apart from the gospel, in salvation without baptism, in the validity of baptism where the gospel was not understood and believed at the time of its

administration, in conversion apart from the intelligent apprehension of the Word, in the conversion of the world by the preaching of the gospel. They do not believe that the Old Testament has been set aside by the New, but, on the contrary, they base their faith on the writings of Moses, the Prophets and the Apostles comprehensively viewed, and reject everything contrary to their teaching."

To this non-belief they add the belief that "the faith of Christendom is made up of the fables predicted by Paul in 2 Timothy 4: 1, and is entirely subversive of the faith once for all delivered to the saints." They have no pastors, deacons or paid officers, but in the place of them have "serving brethren, presiding brethren and speaking brethren."

The first meeting of the "ecclesia" in Worcester was held in Temperance Hall, on Foster Street, in 1867. In the beginning there were only twelve members. This number increased in a few years to about sixty, then in twelve years fell back to twenty-two. The place of meeting is Reform Club Hall, at 460 Main Street. The sum of one hundred and fifty dollars covers the current yearly expenses.

SWEDISH CHURCHES.—By the census of 1875 there were then one hundred and sixty-six Swedes and Norwegians in the city of Worcester. In 1888 the number was estimated to be over six thousand. For this rapidly-growing part of the population five churches have already been provided. Two of these are Methodist, one is Baptist, one Congregational and one Lutheran. The oldest is the

First Swedish M. E. Church.—Work was begun among the Swedes in Worcester as early as 1876 by the Rev. Albert Ericson of the M. E. Church. By him a church was organized, to which the Rev. Otto Anderson afterwards preached. In the fall of 1879 Mr. Ericson removed to Worcester, resumed his work and remained in charge till 1882, when he was succeeded by the Rev. D. S. Sorlin. In 1883 a church was erected at Quinsigamond at a cost, including the lot, of six thousand seven hundred dollars, and was dedicated on the 31st of March, 1884. In the same year the Rev. C. A. Cederberg was appointed assistant preacher and in the year following the pastor in charge. In 1887 the Rev. Albert Haller was appointed to succeed him.

The Second Swedish M. E. Church was organized on the 9th of April, 1885. This church, a colony from the First, embraced ninety-four members, including twenty-nine on probation. With these came the Rev. Mr. Sorlin, pastor of the First Church, under appointment as pastor of the new organization. On the 1st of September, 1885, the church took possession of the chapel on Thomas Street, which had been purchased from the Christ Church Society for eight thousand dollars. By two successive additions at a cost of three thousand four hundred dollars, a seating capacity for more than five hundred was obtained; nor was this found to be sufficient. The growth of the society had

been so rapid that in November, 1888, there was a membership of two hundred and thirty-five. On the 29th of May, 1887, the Rev. H. W. Eklund of Stockholm, Sweden, became the pastor in charge. His ministry resulted in great spiritual and material enlargement.

The Swedish Ecangelical Congregational Church in Worcester has its root in the Free Church movement in Sweden. This movement began about 1869 under Rev. P. Waldenstrom, D.D., who had been a minister of the Lutheran or State Church. Under his vigorous lead the membership of this Free Church had grown in the course of sixteen years to be one hundred thousand. Some of this communion having emigrated to this country had found a home in Worcester. In May, 1880, a few of these people began to meet for prayer and conference on Messenger Hill, while others met at Quinsigamond and elsewhere. In June, Rev. A. G. Nelson, pastor of a Swedish Free Church in Campello, Mass., came by invitation and held several meetings. On the 15th of August the hall at 386 Main Street, over the *Gazette* office, was hired for religious services. Some old settees were borrowed from the Y. M. C. A., while a small yellow table, still preserved as a memorial of that day of small things, was bought and used for a "pulpit." In this place, on the 6th of September, 1880, the Swedish Free Church was organized, and here, on the 26th, Mr. Nelson held the first Sunday service. In October the Rev. George Wiberg was called from Iowa to become the first pastor. In May, 1881, the church, finding the hall on Main Street too narrow, removed its place of worship to a hall in Warren's Block, near Washington Square. On the 19th of August in the same year a council, finding this Free Church in substantial accord with its own, gave it a cordial welcome to the fellowship of the Congregational Churches. Only one other Swedish Congregational Church then existed in the country, that one being in Iowa. On the 14th of January, 1882, a parish was duly organized in the office of Henry L. Parker, Esq., in Flagg's building, under a warrant issued by him. Membership in the church was made a condition of membership in the parish. In November, 1883, Mr. Wiberg resigned his charge, and on the 1st of December following, Mr. Nelson, the first preacher to the church, became its second pastor. Leaving in July, 1885, he was succeeded by the Rev. Eric Nilsson, who began his work on the first Sunday in August of that year and was dismissed on the 6th of December, 1888. At the same time occurred the installation of the Rev. Karl F. Ohlsson, who had been called from Hedemora, Sweden, to the Worcester church. Its membership was then two hundred and fifty.

As early as 1882 this Swedish church enterprise had enlisted the lively sympathies of the Congregational body of the city, and a movement was then initiated to erect a church edifice. Through a building committee, of which S. R. Heywood was chair-

man and G. Henry Whitcomb treasurer, the money was raised, a commodious edifice erected on Providence street, near Union R. Station, and on the 25th of January, 1885, was dedicated with services by nearly all the Congregational pastors of the city. The cost, including land and furnishing, was nine thousand three hundred and ninety-five dollars, of which the Swedes contributed one thousand five hundred and ninety-five. As they gain financial strength the whole cost will probably be assumed by the parish.

A most active, efficient and leading person in all this enterprise was Dea. John A. Corneli. He had been a Lutheran and been urged by his Lutheran pastor in Boston to forward that interest on coming to Worcester. Being, however, converted at one of Major Whittle's meetings, he had left the Lutherans and united with the Summer Street Church. Afterwards he took a dismission from that church to assist in building up the church of his Swedish brethren. To him both its spiritual and temporal prosperity was largely due.

The Swedish Baptist Church grew out of a movement begun in 1879. In that year Mr. Anderson, a Swede, came from the Union Temple Church in Boston and united with the First Baptist Church in Worcester. Soon he had a Sunday school class of six or eight Swedes. Then he and his countrymen began to hold meetings in the vestry of the First Baptist Church. In 1881, the Swedish Baptist Church was constituted with a body of nine members. The Baptist City Mission Board now came to their help, and board and church co-operated in hiring a hall for religious services in Clark's Block, now Walker Building. In 1882, Rev. Peter A. Hjeltn was called from Sweden to the pastorate. He remained till near the close of the year 1888, and was then succeeded by the Rev. L. Kalberg. The Mission Board had built, in 1855, a chapel on Mulberry Street at a cost, including land, of \$9500. Of this amount the church from the first assumed \$3000; in the end of 1888 that body had become so prosperous that it resolved to relieve the board entirely. In the same year the membership had increased to about two hundred and forty.

The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Gethsemane Church was organized in 1881. In 1882 the Rev. Charles E. Cesander became the pastor. He was succeeded in 1883 by the Rev. Martin J. Englund, who was ordained on the 17th of June. In the same year the church was erected on Mulberry Street at a cost of about \$15,000. The Rev. Osear M. Holmgren was Mr. Englund's successor, being installed in October or November, 1885. The installation of his successor, Rev. S. G. Larson, took place in April, 1888. The Augsburg Confession is the basis of the church organization. The membership in 1888 was about one hundred and seventy.

JEWS.—Polish Jews began to multiply in Worcester about the year 1874. In 1888 the number of souls was thought to be not less than five hundred. There are

among them two incorporated religious societies. The oldest of these made an attempt to become incorporated in 1880, which, through no fault of the society, resulted in failure to obtain what they sought. But in 1888 the society became a corporate body by the name which it had borne from the first,

Sons of Israel.—The method of admission to the synagogue, or church, is by ballot after the candidate has been proposed and personally examined as to his fitness. Five black balls defeat an election. Membership involves an obligation to make certain annual payments, and secures certain pecuniary advantages touching sickness and burial. A prime requisite for membership, whether in the outset or in continuance, is financial integrity. This society has had five ministers. The first was M. Metzger who came in 1880. After him came M. Touvim in 1882; M. Binkovich in 1884; M. Newman in 1885, and M. Axel S. Jacobson in 1887. In 1888 a synagogue was built on Green Street at a cost of \$11,000, including land, and was occupied for religious services in August of that year. About fifty persons are members of the synagogue and two hundred belong to the congregation. The synagogue possesses three rolls of the five books of Moses written on parchment, the finest of which cost \$150.

The second society is named the

Sons of Abraham.—It became incorporated in 1886. Besides Polish Jews it embraced some of Swedish nationality. Those constituting the society went out from the older body because of lack of agreement on certain matters. But their organization and doctrine and way of the synagogue are the same. In 1888 a synagogue of brick was erected by this society on Plymouth Street, and was to be ready for occupation by the end of that year. The cost of this, with the land, was also about \$11,000. In that year the membership was said to be forty. This synagogue, like the other, is the possessor of several copies of the Torah, or Law of Moses, executed in the same costly style, and kept in an ark or chest for use in the synagogue service.

Some half a dozen families of German Jews belong to Worcester, but have their religious affiliations with Boston.

ARMENIANS.—The Armenian nation was great and historical centuries before the Christian era. As early, perhaps, as any Gentile nation, they received the Christian religion; but not till the opening of the fourth century, and in the year 302, did the Armenian Church begin to be established. To St. Gregory, the Illuminator, belongs the honor of being its founder, and hence it is distinctively styled the Gregorian Church. Independent alike of the Greek and the Romish Churches, it resembled them in holding a hierarchy and the seven sacraments. This ancient church, through varying fortunes, has come down to our day and still exists in its native seat. An important city of that country is Harpoot, in the great loop

made by the river Euphrates, and there, early in the century, the American Board of Commissioners established one of their missions. In this way the Armenians came to have relations with Americans and to have knowledge of the United States. From Harpoot and vicinity many of them found their way to Worcester. The special attraction for them in this city was the great Washburn & Moen wire establishment. They began to be employed in that establishment in the year 1882, and in 1888 there were about two hundred and thirty-six on its pay-roll. This particular set towards Worcester was the means of drawing others who came and engaged in other employments. The whole number in the city was last reported at about five hundred. This is said to be a larger number of Armenians than is to be found, not only in any other place in the United States, but also larger than all those in Boston, New York, Brooklyn and Philadelphia together.

It was an obvious duty to provide for these Asiatic strangers edifying religious instruction. Accordingly, about the beginning of the year 1888, the Rev. H. A. Andreasian was invited to come from Harpoot and minister to them in their own tongue. Mr. Andreasian was a disciple of the American missionaries, and had become an evangelical Protestant as towards the Gregorian Church. He had been an ordained minister and preacher at Harpoot for twenty-one years. On receiving the call from Worcester he was given leave of absence from his charge in Harpoot for from one to three years. A place for worship was secured in Summer Street Chapel, and there every Sabbath a large portion of the Armenians in Worcester have diligently attended upon his ministry. There is yet no organized church, and the congregation embraces Gregorian as well as Protestant Armenians. The communion of the Lord's Supper is observed four times a year, and to it are invited "all who love the Lord Jesus Christ." The version of the Bible in use is that published by the American Bible Society in the Armenian language. The singing is congregational, conducted by Mr. M. S. T. Nahigian, who came to Worcester almost before any other Armenian. A serious drawback upon the future of the Armenians in Worcester is the almost entire absence of Armenian women, caused by the refusal of the Turkish Government to allow them to emigrate. The entire congregation on the last Sabbath of the year 1888 consisted of men, and mostly of young men. Mr. Andreasian regarded this as such a serious matter that he was determined to discourage the Armenian immigration, unless the women came also. About fifteen hundred dollars a year have been raised among themselves for church and burial purposes here and contributions to their poor at home. They have manifested their gratitude and a fine sense of the fitness of things by also making a voluntary contribution of two hundred dollars to the funds of the City Hospital.

GERMANS.—In 1875 the number of persons in Worcester born in Germany was four hundred and three. Thirteen years later the number of this nationality was estimated at somewhat more than one thousand. Of these a small portion are of the Roman Catholic faith, but without any separate church organization. The bulk of these are free from all ecclesiastical connection, except—as a leader of this sort put the case—"each is a little church by himself." Formerly, and from time to time, the Protestant Germans essayed to establish a German church, but with more of failure than of success. In 1886 Charles H. Stephan, a layman of German birth, came to the city and was much dissatisfied at finding such religious desolation among his countrymen. He at once bestirred himself to do what he might to remedy the evil. The result of his efforts was that, on the 30th of November, 1886, a company of Protestant Germans was brought together for religious service and worship. This first meeting was held in the Swedish Lutheran Church on Mulberry Street. A mission service continued to be held from that time on until April 10, 1888, when a church was organized under the name of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Ten persons became members by signing the "constitution," and Charles H. Stephan and Walter Lester were elected deacons. The "unchanged" (*invariata*) Augsburg Confession was made the basis of the organization. The two sacraments are baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is uniformly administered to infants a few days after birth by a ternary pouring of water from the hand upon the infant's brow. The Lord's Supper is administered four times a year, under the imperative rule of the Lutheran Church. In regard to this sacrament, Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation is strictly held by this Worcester church; the body and blood of Christ are received under and *with* the bread and wine, but not *in* the bread and wine transubstantiated, as the Romish Church teaches. The minister of the church is the Rev. F. C. Wurl, of Boston, who serves as a missionary under appointment by the German Home Mission, at Brooklyn, N. Y. Preaching is held in the hospitable and catholic Summer Street Chapel every alternate Sunday, while a Sunday school is maintained every Sunday. The average attendance upon the preaching is forty-five and thirty at the Sunday school.

CITY MISSIONS.—The Trinitarian Congregationalists had for many years maintained an unincorporated City Missionary Society. But under the efficient and stimulating lead of the Rev. Henry A. Stimson, D.D., with the hearty co-operation of others, both clergy and laity, a corporation was legally organized and established, December 10, 1883, under the name of the Worcester City Missionary Society. The object of the society was "to promote religion and morality in the city of Worcester and vicinity by the employment of missionaries; the establishment and

support of churches, Sunday schools, mission stations and chapels for the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; for the diffusion of Evangelical knowledge and for the fostering of such works of benevolence as are especially adapted to commend religion to those who undervalue or are ignorant of it." This step rapidly led to a great enlargement of Christian activity and giving in the direction of city missions. Before the incorporation, the sum of \$500 was about the limit of the fund annually raised for the uses of the society. After the incorporation, as appears by the several annual reports, the amount raised was, in the first year, \$2778.23; in the second year, \$3670.69; in the third year, \$3764.81; in the fourth year, \$3886.53; and in the fifth year, \$4006.71. With these means in hand a superintendent and assistants were employed, the city was canvassed, missions were established and preaching in them was maintained. Out of all this three organized churches have grown up, one of which speedily took matters into its own hands, became strong and erected one of the finest churches in the city. The Rev. Albert Bryant has been the efficient superintendent from the beginning. At the close of the year 1888 the society owned three chapels, valued at \$15,000.

In the autumn of 1881, the Baptist Churches took measures for the united prosecution of city mission work. On the 25th of March, 1885, this enterprise took body and form by becoming incorporated under the name of the Worcester Baptist City Mission Board. The object of the association, as declared in the Articles of agreement, was "to promote religion and morality in the city of Worcester and vicinity, the establishment and support of churches, Sunday schools, mission stations and chapels under the general management of Baptists, the employment of missionaries to labor in said city and vicinity for the furtherance of the above-named objects and the advancement of the cause of evangelical religion." The policy adopted was to have all the Baptist Churches represented in the Board and all contribute according to ability. Moreover, it was held to be good policy for each church to have special charge of some one mission, and, if able, to bear all its expenses. The French Mission was reserved from this arrangement and kept under the control of the Board. This mission was organized in 1881, and was placed under the charge of Rev. Gideon Aubin in 1886. Its support, in part, is furnished by the Home Baptist Mission of New York City. Other missions under the charge of this Board are, one at Quinsigamond and one on Canterbury Street, both of which were organized in 1885, and a mission at Adams Square, which was begun in 1886. The amount of property held by the Board and invested principally in three chapels is somewhat less than \$10,000.

In the spring of 1883, a mission of the *New Jerusalem Church*, or Swedenborgians, was begun in

Worcester. Such a mission had been established in 1874, had been continued for nearly four years and had then come to an end. The numbers embraced in the new mission did not exceed a score at the close of the year 1888, and were all women. These provided a place of assembly, which is in Walker Building, and there on stated Sundays the Rev. Willard H. Hinkley, of Brookline, Mass., a secretary of the General Convention, ministers to them as a missionary of the New Church. There is no church organization; the members belong to different churches in Boston and elsewhere. It appears from the New Church "Almanac" for 1889 that the number of societies in America then in "organized existence" was 141; the estimated number of "New Churchmen," 10,178; the number of churches and chapels, 82; and the total number of clergy in active service and otherwise, 113. Swedenborg died in 1772. His doctrines were first introduced into America in 1784; and the first New Jerusalem Church in the United States was organized in 1792, in Baltimore. The first society in Massachusetts was instituted in Boston on the 15th of August, 1818; the whole number in the State in 1888 was nineteen.

Besides the foregoing, there are various other missions, denominational and undenominational, that are independent and self-supporting.

In 1888, the total valuation, by the assessors, of church property, exclusive of schools, parsonages and other parochial property, was \$1,794,900. This amount was distributed among the several denominations as follows: Trinitarian Congregationalists, \$577,300; Roman Catholics, \$451,800; Baptists, \$193,300; Methodists, \$171,500; Episcopalians, \$165,100; Unitarian Congregationalists, \$98,400; Universalists, \$69,300; Disciples of Christ, \$27,600; Swedish Lutherans, \$11,500, and the balance among the smaller organizations. The cost of the New Old South, not yet exhibited on the books of the assessors, would increase the total valuation by more than \$100,000. The real value of the whole would no doubt exceed \$2,000,000.

Our historical review shows that while the largest growth has been in the line of the oldest church, the city has also been greatly hospitable towards other creeds of later advent within its bounds.

In the preparation of this sketch of the Worcester churches the following is a partial list of the authorities and sources of information which have been consulted: Lincoln's "History of Worcester," Lincoln's "Historical Notes" (in manuscript), Smalley's "Worcester Pulpit," Bancroft's "Sermons," Austin's "Sermon on War of 1812," "Pamphlets on the Goodrich and Waldo Controversy, 1820," *et seq.*; "Sketches of the Established Church in New England," Hoffman's "Catholic Directory," Hill's "Historical Discourse," "Journal of Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church," Dorchester's "Early Methodism in Worcester" (in manuscript), Roe's "Beginnings of Method-

ism in Worcester" (in manuscript), Green's "Gleanings from History of Second Parish in Worcester," Davis' "Historical Discourse on Fiftieth Anniversary of First Baptist Church," Wayland's "Sermon on Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Ordination as Pastor of Main Street Baptist Church," Barton's "Epitaphs," Drake's "American Biography," Liturgy of New Jerusalem Church, New Church Almanac; printed manuals of the various churches and societies, manuscript records of same, including records of First Parish at City Hall, and of the church therewith connected (Old South) in the last century, in the handwriting of Rev. Mr. Maccarty; *Worcester Spy* newspaper, ancient copies of Psalm-books, "Twenty-fifth Anniversary Exercises of First Universalist Society," "One Position" of Disciples of Christ, Thayer's "Christian Union." Much information has also been obtained from pastors and other living persons, actors in and having knowledge of what took place. In this way knowledge of what is written about the Swedish, Arminian, German and Jewish ecclesiastical matters were chiefly obtained.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

WORCESTER (*Continued.*)

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M.

THE earliest public library in Worcester of which I have been able to find a trace is that of

THE MILITARY LIBRARY SOCIETY IN THE SEVENTH DIVISION.—The preamble to the agreement signed by the gentlemen who became members of the society recites the fact that "military science is essential to the military character," and states that the Legislature had passed a law which provided for the "creation and encouragement" of a library such as that of which the formation was contemplated, with the purpose of making "adequate provision" for "the advancement of the object of military inquiry, . . . the general diffusion of military knowledge" and "the formation and instruction of military men," to the accomplishment of which objects "the establishment of a military library would greatly conduce."

The subscribers agreed "to associate in the procurement of a library," which was "always to be kept in the town of Worcester, as the most central place." Their first meeting was held April 3, 1811. Major Levi Lincoln, Jr., Lieutenant Gardner Burbank and Dr. John Green were appointed a committee for the "procurement of books."

"John W. Lincoln was" at the same meeting "elected clerk" . . . and "chosen librarian." On June 13, 1811, rules and regulations were adopted by the society. One of those provided that "There shall

be chosen annually a clerk and librarian, both which offices shall be vested in one and the same member." On June 24, 1812, John W. Lincoln was chosen clerk and librarian, and Dr. John Green, Lieutenant John W. Lincoln and Major Isaac Sturtevant were constituted a committee for the procurement of books.

These few facts have been taken from a manuscript volume in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, which contains records of meetings of the military society and documents relating to its organization. The only other fact not yielded by that volume which I have found out respecting the library of the society is that in 1824, Dr. John Green deposited in the library of "The Odd Fellows," an organization to be spoken of presently, thirty-three volumes, which had belonged to the "late military library."¹

THE LIBRARY OF THE FRATERNITY OF ODD FELLOWS belonged to a society which was formed in 1820 or 1821. The date of formation is inferred from a statement made in a manuscript volume in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, which is, that rules adopted in regard to the management of the library of the society at a meeting of the organization held October 20, 1824, had been agreed upon by the members, at that date, in "the fourth year of their oddity and the second session." Among the rules is the following: "The fine for detention shall be six per centum on the first cost of the work per day." At the end of the year 1827 the library appears to have contained one hundred and sixty-three volumes, which were owned by it, and other books which had been deposited in the collection, but did not belong to it, such, for example, as the thirty-three volumes mentioned above, which had been the property of the military library.

The brotherhood consisted of well-known citizens, whose names are familiar to the student of the annals of Worcester. William Lincoln was at one time its librarian, and Isaac Davis served in the same capacity at a later date.

It should be added that the Fraternity of Odd Fellows appears to have had no connection with the organization known as the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, a chapter of which was established in Worcester a number of years after the formation of the Fraternity. The only sources of information regarding the library of the organization which I know of, are three manuscript volumes, which belong to the American Antiquarian Society. One of these, namely, that which contains a list of the books belonging to the library, has just been referred to. The others are: "Rules of the Library of the Fraternity of Odd Fellows" and "List of Books delivered by the Librarian."

¹ See "List of Books belonging to the Library of the Odd Fellows" for the titles of the books deposited in that library by Dr. Green. The volume containing the "Lists, &c.," is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—The gentlemen who wished to be incorporated as the American Antiquarian Society, in the petition which they caused to be presented to the General Court of Massachusetts, stated that one of their number was "in possession of a valuable collection of books, obtained with great labor and expense, the value of which may be fairly estimated at about five thousand dollars, some of them more ancient than are to be found in any other part of our country, and all of which he intends to transfer to the proposed society, should their project receive the sanction and encouragement of the Legislature."

The gentleman referred to in the petition was Isaiah Thomas, who, as editor, publisher and author, had brought together a large amount of valuable literary matter of the kind most suitable for an antiquarian and historical library. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and the American Antiquarian Society was incorporated October 24, 1812. It was organized November 19th of the same year, and at a meeting of the society held in February, 1813, the president, Isaiah Thomas, carried out his intentions by presenting to it his private library. Thus the founder of the society became also the founder of its library. As before remarked, Mr. Thomas' library was valued at five thousand dollars. It should be stated in this connection, however, that a collection of books of the kind which constituted his library, if sold to-day, would bring a sum of money many times larger than that which represented its market value at the time of its gift to the Antiquarian Society.

Many books were given to the society for its library during the earlier years of the existence of the latter, and in October, 1819, it contained nearly six thousand volumes.

It is interesting to note the fact that in the beginning of the activity of the Antiquarian Society it appointed gentlemen of experience and learning in different States of the Union, to act as agents or receivers in collecting books and manuscripts for the library and articles for the cabinet, and that, as a result of this policy, contributions of books, pamphlets and relics of various kinds were forwarded to it from all parts of the country.

Mr. Thomas was unwilling to have the library and cabinet of the Antiquarian Society placed in a large city, fearing that, if so situated, their safety would be endangered by the presence of large fires. Guided also by fears that it was natural for a man to entertain who lived here at the time of the organization of the Antiquarian Society, he would not have them placed on the seaboard, because, in time of war, they would be subjected to more peril there from the ravages of enemies than in an interior town, where, with the modes of locomotion then available, they were much less likely to be disturbed. At his death, in 1831, Mr. Thomas bequeathed to the society such of his

books, engravings, coins, etc., as he had not already given to it, and left to it money to constitute the librarian's and the collection and research funds.

In October, 1872, Mr. Nathaniel Paine counted the number of volumes in a large portion of the library, and made careful estimates regarding the number in the remaining portions. Reckoning ten pamphlets as constituting a volume, he made up his mind that there were about fifty-three thousand volumes in the library at the date mentioned. Taking this calculation as a basis, and adding to the number obtained subsequent acquisitions, and subtracting from the total the number of volumes which have been taken out of the library for purposes of exchange or for other reasons, it appears, according to a statement given to me by the librarian, that at the time of the annual meeting of the society in October, 1888, there were about ninety thousand volumes in the library, calling ten pamphlets a volume, as in the reckoning of Mr. Paine.

The library is very valuable, but in many respects cannot be compared in importance to the antiquary, with such magnificent collections as the Lenox Library in New York City, and the rich private library brought together by the late John Carter Brown, of Providence, and still owned by his family. Certain classes of books, however, are represented here by numerous and noteworthy examples. Thus, for instance, the library contains a large and exceedingly interesting collection of early volumes of the oldest newspapers of the United States. It also possesses many rare works which were printed in this country in the days of its infancy and a number of valuable manuscripts.

The feature which best distinguishes it from other libraries and museums is its unique collection of memorials of the Mather family. There are from three thousand five hundred to four thousand volumes of newspapers in the library. Among these are sixteen of the *Boston News Letter*, the first established newspaper published on this continent. These volumes are not wholly complete, however. The *News Letter* was first issued in 1704. The library also contains several volumes, bearing dates between 1719 and 1753, of the *Boston Gazette*, the second newspaper established in Boston, and specimen volumes of the *Boston Post Boy*, a paper which was first issued in 1734. It has, too, seven early volumes of the *New Hampshire Gazette*, started in 1756, and several of the *Newport Mercury*, established in 1758, the *Connecticut Gazette* and the *Connecticut Courant*, first printed in 1764. Of these the *New Hampshire Gazette* is said to be the oldest newspaper in the United States, still in existence, that has been issued without interruption or change of name since its establishment.

The file of the *Massachusetts Spy*, the first number of which was issued in Boston, July 17, 1770, and the first number of which printed in Worcester bears

the date of May 3, 1775, is nearly complete. This is the oldest existing newspaper in the State of Massachusetts.

The library also possesses volumes of Rivington's *Royal Gazette* and of Gaine's *Gazette*, published in New York while that city was occupied by British troops. The files of the *Polar Star* or *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the first daily paper started in Boston, are nearly complete. That paper was begun in October, 1796, but was discontinued after it had been published for a few months. The present *Boston Daily Advertiser* did not begin its life until March 3, 1813. That is the first daily paper that was permanently established in Boston. There is in the library a large proportion of the books printed in the United States before the year 1700. For example, it contains a copy of the "Bay Psalm-Book," which was issued from the press in Cambridge in 1640, and was the first volume printed in British America, and one of the first edition of Eliot's Indian Bible, the printing of which was finished at Cambridge in 1663.

The library also has a handsome and beautifully-bound copy of the second edition of that Bible, the printing of which ended in 1685, and several rare tracts in the Indian language prevalent in this vicinity. It possesses a large collection of Bibles. Among these there is a fine copy of the folio Bible printed by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester, Mass., in 1791. This was the first folio Bible in the English language ever published in America. Mr. Thomas had a great printing and publishing establishment in this town, and such was the excellence of the work which came from his presses that he won for himself the name of the American Baskerville. The library contains a collection of psalmody and church music which is large enough to deserve mention, and has a good collection of books which were printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Mr. James Carson Breevoort gave to it, a few years ago, a number of early books relating to Japan which he had been engaged for twenty-five years in bringing together. It also possesses accounts of many early voyages and travels, a large collection of almanacs, a valuable and extensive collection of biographical and genealogical works, a noticeably large accumulation of American school-books and of literary matter relating to slavery in this country and to the Civil War.

Among the manuscripts in the library are forty or fifty orderly-books and volumes containing records similar to those in books of that kind. The entries in these works bear various dates between the years 1758 and 1812. The matter in them relating to the period of the Revolution is of especial interest. The library also possesses a large collection of muster-rolls, army-orders and other military papers, with dates extending from 1745 to 1787. It has, also, two diaries of John Hull, mint-master,—one relating to private, and the other to public matters,—his letter-

book for the years 1670-1680, and a manuscript narrative by him of a voyage to Spitzbergen in the year 1613, and an interesting, interleaved Edinburgh almanac of the year 1768, with manuscript notes by Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, who in that year was inducted into the office of president of the college at Princeton, N. J., and who became a member of the Provincial Congress of that State and of the Congress at Philadelphia which promulgated the Declaration of Independence, of which document he is one of the signers.

Dr. Witherspoon came to America in 1768, and a portion of the notes in the almanac were written in Scotland and Ireland and another portion in America. The library has a manuscript copy of the original Connecticut laws of 1650, the Curwen papers of the Salem family of that name; the Cragie manuscripts, written in the last half of the eighteenth century, several bound volumes of letters addressed to Isaiah Thomas, and of copies of letters of his own; William Lincoln's manuscripts, relating to Worcester, an interleaved copy of his history of the town, containing corrections and additions to that work, and Christopher C. Baldwin's papers concerning Sutton.

Among the more elegant manuscripts in the library are an illuminated missal on vellum, written perhaps as early as 1304, a Persian tale or romance which has gilt borders and is illustrated by highly-colored pictures, and a folio copy of the Koran which is adorned by illuminated borders.

The manuscripts in the library have lately been put in order, income from the recently received Alden Fund having been expended in doing the work.

Two large gifts of books have been made to the library within a few years—one in 1879, by the heirs of the late George Brinley, of Hartford, the other under the provisions of the will of the late Joseph J. Cooke, of Providence. In both instances permission was granted to the Antiquarian Society to bid off books to the value of five thousand dollars at the sales by auction of the collections of the benefactors. The books obtained at those sales form a very noteworthy addition to the library of the society.

At an earlier period in its history the library was the recipient of a valuable bequest of books and manuscripts from Rev. Dr. William Bentley, of Salem, (1759-1819). He gave to it, by will, all his German books, such volumes belonging to him as had been printed in New England, the manuscripts which he left that were not written in his own hand, a cabinet with its contents and all of his paintings and engravings.

Mr. William Bentley Fowle, his nephew and sole executor, bequeathed to the Antiquarian Society other portions of the library and literary remains of Dr. Bentley. In the collection obtained from these two sources are nineteen bound volumes of notes containing memoranda on various subjects, thirteen diaries, letters addressed to its owner by prominent corre-

spondents, besides books and other objects of interest. An alcove in the library contains works on Spanish Central and South America; and another alcove, books which belong to the department of Local History. These collections are added to by purchases made respectively from the income of funds provided by the late Isaac Davis and the late Benjamin F. Thomas. The Haven alcove contains books which were bequeathed to the Antiquarian Society by its former librarian and which have been given to it by his widow. The income of the Haven Fund is expended for works which are placed in this alcove.

The library is dependent for its growth and improvement in quality mainly upon gifts, sales of duplicates and exchanges, as the Antiquarian Society has but little money that it can spend in buying books. The work of making exchanges has been carried on very vigorously since Mr. Barton became connected with the library. The fact that the library contained a very valuable and extensive collection of duplicates has rendered this work of great service in securing desirable additions to it. It may be noted as an interesting fact that at least one-half of the gifts come from persons who are not members of the Antiquarian Society.

The average yearly additions to the library for the eight and a half years from October, 1879, to April, 1888, were, I am informed by Mr. Barton, 3622 books, 10,552 pamphlets and 237 volumes of unbound newspapers. Collected in the manner in which this library has been brought together, it naturally lacks completeness in its various departments, and is very much in need of a generous gift of money, the income of which may be spent for books. For instance, while it has an excellent collection of newspapers to illustrate considerable periods in the history of the United States, it needs to procure files, additional to such as it possesses, covering the years between 1830 and 1835 and those of the existence of the Civil War.

The library was much used by George Bancroft in former years in preparing the earlier volumes of his "History of the United States," and has occasionally been consulted by him recently. Mr. McMaster has availed himself largely, and Mr. Justin Winsor to a certain extent, of its privileges, the former in getting ready some of the volumes of his history for publication, and the latter in hunting up illustrations for his narrative and "Critical History of America." It is constantly used by members of the Antiquarian Society and other persons in making historical investigations and for other purposes.

As stated before, the library contains a very valuable collection of memorials of the life and work of the Mather family. It possesses, for example, a large number of important manuscripts in the handwriting of members of that family of distinguished early New England divines. Thus from the pen of Richard Mather, who came to America in 1635, it has the original draft of the celebrated Cambridge Platform,

the text of the platform which was finally adopted and printed in 1648, and other writings which relate to the early ecclesiastical history of the Massachusetts Colony. Of manuscripts written by Increase Mather, who will be remembered as having been president of Harvard College, it owns his autobiography, written for his children; his journal, kept in sixteen interleaved almanacs, of dates varying from 1660 to 1721, and many sermons, essays and letters. The library has a large number of manuscripts which were written by Cotton Mather, the son of Increase, and grandson of Richard Mather. Among them are "The Observations and Reflections of the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather respecting Witchcraft," 1692; "A Brand Plucked out of the Burning," which is an account of Mercy Short, and is supposed to have never been printed, although another "Brand Plucked Out," etc., has been printed; "Triparadisi," a work on a theological subject; "The Angel of Bethesda," an essay on the common maladies of mankind. This is a thick quarto volume which treats of diseases and their remedies, and contains, under the names of diseases, religious sentiments and specifications of simple and easy remedies; valuable diaries, covering different years between 1692 and 1717; many letters written by Cotton Mather and received by him; ecclesiastical manuscripts; notes of sermons and volumes containing quotations. There are in the library manuscripts of other members of the Mather family besides those some of whose writings have just been spoken of. The library possesses a very fine collection of the printed works of the Mathers. It has several hundred volumes and pamphlets published by them. Many tracts, and among them some of the rarest, written by seven different members of the family, were secured at the sales of Mr. Brinley's collection of books. Another interesting memorial of the Mather family in the library of the Antiquarian Society is the greater portion of the working library of the celebrated members of that family. Their library (writes Mr. C. C. Baldwin) was distributed at their decease, with other portions of their property, among their heirs. The bulk of it, however, was secured by Isaiah Thomas and Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker and presented to the Antiquarian Society by them in 1814. The society thus came into possession of about nine hundred volumes which had belonged to Increase and Cotton Mather; and some other books, containing their autographs and those of other members of the family, have in later years been given to it or bought by it. For example, a number of books containing, in their own handwriting, the names of Richard, Increase, Samuel and Cotton Mather were purchased by the society at the sale of the Brinley library.

Hanging on the walls of the library of the Antiquarian Society are the following portraits: Richard Mather (1596-1669), painted from life; Samuel Mather (1626-1671); Increase Mather (1639-1723), painted from life; Cotton Mather (1638-1728), painted by

Pelham; Samuel Mather (1706-1785), painted from life. These portraits were given to the society by Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, of Boston.

There is an interesting collection of historical relics in the rooms of the library. Many of these were presented by Isaiah Thomas and other early members of the society, or procured by its agents in the first years of its existence. Among the objects of interest are numerous curiosities which illustrate the life formerly led by North American Indians, and a small cabinet of valuable coins and tokens, as well as some medals, and a considerable number of specimens of Colonial, Revolutionary and other kinds of paper money.

The excruciated Indian from Kentucky, familiarly known as "the mummy," which at one time formed a conspicuous feature in the museum, was sent to the Smithsonian Institution several years ago.

Mr. Stephen Salisbury has deposited in the rooms of the library a valuable collection of historical relics relating to Yucatan, and has also placed on exhibition there many photographs of scenes and ruins in that State. Through his liberality there has been recently added to the treasures of the society a beautiful plaster cast of the portal of a ruined building at Labna, made from moulds obtained by the personal labors of Mr. Edward H. Thompson, our townsman, who is the United States consul at Merida.

The income of the library is mainly derived from the interest paid on the securities which constitute several of the funds belonging to the Antiquarian Society. In the statement made by the treasurer at the annual meeting held in October, 1888, the total amount of the investments of the society, reckoned at their par value, and cash on hand, the first day of that month, was \$105,410.11. The income of the whole of that amount, excepting about twenty-four thousand dollars, is available for use in the care of the building of the library and society, in the management of the library, and in binding, cataloging and buying books. The annual sum receivable is, however, as before stated, inadequate and so small as to render it impossible for the library to add more than a very few books to its collection by purchases during the year or to pay its current expenses without aid. It awaits and deserves a liberal gift of money. The accommodations in the rooms of the library for persons wishing to make investigations are excellent. The building is well-heated, its study-rooms are bright and pleasant, an air of comfort pervades them and the student is waited upon by attentive librarians. The building, moreover, is substantial and a safe depository of the treasures of the society.

The rooms are adorned by numerous works of art. Among these are portraits of many men who have been prominent residents of New England. Mention has already been made of those of the Mather family. The society has also two portraits of Governor John Endicott (1588-1665), one painted from

an original by Southland, of Salem, and another, which is quite old, although a small and poorly-painted picture. It has, besides, portraits of Governor John Leverett (1616-79), Rev. Thomas Prince (1687-1758), Governor William Burnett (1688-1729), Charles Paxton (1704-88), Loyalist, supposed to have been painted by Copley; Rev. Ellis Gray (1717-53), minister of the New Brick Church in Boston; John Chandler (1720-1800), the "honest refugee," judge of Probate, etc., in Worcester County; Colonel John May, Boston (1748-1812), painted by Gullag; Hannah Adams (1755-1831), author of "History of New England," painted by Alexander; Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft (1755-1839), minister in Worcester 1785-1839, vice-president of the Antiquarian Society 1816-31, painted by Chester Harding; Rev. Dr. William Bentley (1759-1819), minister in Salem 1783, counselor of the Antiquarian Society 1813-20; Robert B. Thomas (1766-1846), editor of the "Old Farmer's Almanac;" Edward D. Bangs, Worcester (1790-1838), secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1824-36. The society owns a portrait of one of the Higginsons. It was at first supposed to be the likeness of Rev. Francis Higginson, minister in Salem in 1629, but is now considered a portrait of some other member of the family, perhaps, of Rev. John Higginson, Rev. Francis Higginson's son. It has a portrait of John Rogers. This is said to represent the martyr, or if not him, a cousin of the same name. The society has added to its collection within a few years a fine portrait, by Moses Wight, of Boston, of Alexander von Humboldt. It also has a miniature, moulded in wax, of James Sullivan, one of the Governors of Massachusetts.

The society has several interesting memorials of the Winthrop family, members of which have always had a conspicuous place in the annals of New England. Among these are a small wooden bust, a medallion and a portrait of John Winthrop, the first governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The society has also a stone drinking-pot, with a "silver lydd," which belonged to Governor Winthrop. In 1888 a sword came into its possession which had been worn by John (known as Fitz John) Winthrop, a grandson of the first John. A great-great-grandson of the latter, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Lindall Winthrop, was the successor of Isaiah Thomas in the presidency of the Antiquarian Society and held the position for ten years. The society owns a portrait of him, painted by Thomas Sully. Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop was the father of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the eminent and venerable head of the family to day, who joined the Antiquarian Society more than fifty years ago and whose name, with that of the distinguished historian, George Bancroft, stands at the head of the printed list of its living members.

The society has a portrait of Isaiah Thomas, its founder and president from the date of its organiza-

tion, in 1812, to 1831. This was painted from life by E. A. Greenwood. It also possesses a marble bust of Mr. Thomas, which was the work of the late B. H. Kinney.

Of its second president,—1831-41,—assisted above, it has a portrait by Thomas Sully. It has no portrait of Edward Everett, its third president (1841-53), only a framed engraving of Wight's full-length portrait. The absence of a suitable likeness of Governor Everett is much to be regretted. Of Governor John Davis, its fourth president (1853-54), the society has a portrait, by E. T. Billings, taken from a daguerreotype, a bust by Henry Dexter, a representation of his head on a medallion and a life-size photograph finished by the use of crayon. It has a fine portrait, by Daniel Huntington, of New York, of the fifth president, the late Stephen Salisbury, who occupied that position for thirty years, from 1854-84. Of its living presidents, Senator George F. Hoar (1884-87) and Mr. Stephen Salisbury (1887), it has as yet no portraits.

The librarians of the Antiquarian Society have been Samuel Jennison (1814-25), William Lincoln (1825-27), Christopher Columbus Baldwin (1827-30 and 1831-35), Samuel M. Burnside (1830-31), Maturin Lewis Fisher (1835-38), Samuel Foster Haven (1838-March 31, 1881; Librarian Emeritus April 1, 1881, until his death, September 5, 1881) and Edmund M. Barton (1883). Of these gentlemen, the society has portraits of C. C. Baldwin and Samuel F. Haven. They were painted respectively by Chester Harding and Edward L. Custer. It also has copies of portraits of Columbus and Vespucci, made by Antonio Scardino from originals of Francesco Mazzola (Parmigianino) at Naples. Of Columbus it possesses likewise a full-length engraved portrait and a likeness by Salviati in the form of a modern Venetian mosaic. It has also a collection of engraved portraits and pictures of other kinds, and busts in marble or plaster of Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, John Adams, Jackson, Clay, Webster, Jared Sparks and others. Its halls are adorned with copies in plaster of two of the statues of Michael Angelo; one from his Christ in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva at Rome and the other from the colossal statue of Moses in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, in the same city.

When Mr. Thomas gave his private library to the Antiquarian Society in the spring of 1813 he was requested to retain it in his possession until a suitable place could be prepared for its reception. Early in the year 1819 Mr. Thomas offered to put up a building at his own expense for the accommodation of the society and its library, and in August of that year a committee was appointed, at his request, to superintend its erection. The work was attended to at once and the central portion of the old Antiquarian Hall on Summer Street was dedicated to the uses of the society Au-

gust 24, 1820. The two wings were added to the main structure in 1832. The building, however, which still stands, although now (January, 1889) used for private purposes, proved too small to house the growing library and was also found to be damp. A new hall was therefore built on the site now occupied after a time. This was completed in 1853. But the rapidly increasing collection of books demanded still ampler accommodations and an addition to the present building was determined upon. That was finished in 1877. In putting up the existing building and adding to it the society was assisted by very generous contributions of money from the late Stephen Salisbury, who, as before stated, was its president for thirty years.

The executive officers of the society are appointed by the council of the society and perform their duties under the supervision of a sub-committee of that body.

The present librarian, as before stated, is Edmund Mills Barton. He had been assistant librarian for seventeen years before he was appointed librarian. Reuben Colton was assistant librarian from April, 1878, to February 1, 1889. At the latter date he resigned the position for the purpose of going into business. Miss Mary Robinson became connected with the library as cataloguer in the autumn of 1881. February 1, 1889, she was promoted to the position of assistant to the librarian.

A catalogue of the books in the library (pp. 571), was printed in 1837 by Henry J. Howland. A card catalogue has been in preparation for several years, and nearly all of the bound volumes in the collection have already been indexed. The society also has in its possession a manuscript catalogue of the books presented to it by Isaiah Thomas. The library is kept open from nine o'clock A.M. to five P.M. every secular day, excepting Saturday, when it is closed at one P.M.

This account of the library of the American Antiquarian Society has been gathered largely from the proceedings of the society. Particular indebtedness should be acknowledged to the recorded researches of Mr. Nathaniel Paine, as they appear in the volumes of the society's publications or in periodicals or separate pamphlets. The history of the Antiquarian Society, as distinguished from that of its library, is given under the head of societies, in another portion of the present work. That is also the case in regard to the other associations whose libraries are described and their histories given in the monograph which I am writing.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY ATHENEUM.—It is stated in the *Spy* of November 4, 1829, that "After the adjournment of the Lyceum on Wednesday last, pursuant to notice given at the close of the address in the meeting-house, a public meeting was held to consider the expediency of adopting measures to establish a public library for the County of Worcester." An association was formed to found a library. The

subscribers agreed to unite "for the purpose of establishing a Public Library in the Town of Worcester, to consist principally of such rare works in Science and Literature as are not usually found in private Libraries." The property of the society was divided into shares of twenty-five dollars each. At a meeting of the members of the organization, held December 16, 1829, it was voted to call the new association the Worcester County Athenæum, and January 6, 1830, Otis C. Wheeler was chosen librarian. At a meeting of directors, held the 2d of February, "William Lincoln and Isaac Goodwin reported that they had leased of Dr. John Green the room in the second story of the new brick building on Main Street, opposite Central Street, for the use of the Athenæum, and recommended that one share of the stock of the Athenæum be conveyed to him in payment of the rent for one year, which report was accepted."

March 4th the directors voted "that the Athenæum will receive the deposit of the books, minerals and property of the Worcester Lyceum of Natural History and pay the expenses of making the cases and cabinets belonging to that association," &c. Some of the property of the last-named society was afterwards stored in the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society, and remained there until, by a vote of surviving members, it was given to the organization now known as the Natural History Society, of whose collections it to-day forms a part. The Athenæum was incorporated in March, 1830, and chose officers, under the act of incorporation, on the 14th of the following month.

It seems to have been, in the main, a circulating library, but that it was not wholly so appears from the following regulations: "The Directors shall cause books to be procured for the library—and as certain books, from their value and beauty, may be liable to injury, or their use may be prevented by circulation, they may require such works to be retained in the apartments of the Athenæum." The librarian was appointed by the directors.

On the 16th of June, 1830, it was "voted that Alfred D. Foster, Frederick W. Paine and William Lincoln be a committee to make a catalogue of the books of the Athenæum," &c., and "that Otis C. Wheeler be Librarian, subject to the direction of this committee." On the 8th of the following December it was voted to execute a lease of Dr. Green's rooms, and on the same day the directors appointed William S. Lincoln librarian "for the ensuing year." January 5, 1832, the directors reported that the library then "contained 2109 volumes, exclusive of the Cyclopaedia and unbound pamphlets."

Owners of shares (proprietors), life subscribers and annual subscribers could take out books from the library. William Lincoln, writing in 1836, stated that about three thousand volumes of what he denominates "general literature" had been collected by the Athenæum when he wrote. The library at that time was

kept in a room appropriated for the purpose in the old building of the Antiquarian Society, on Summer Street.

The Athenæum has for a long time ceased to exist. Most of its books were given to the Antiquarian Society. This was a natural proceeding, as a large proportion of the members of the former society were interested in the latter organization. I find that a book was taken out from the library of the Athenæum at as late a date as 1851.

Nearly all of the information relating to the Athenæum given here has been obtained by me from the following manuscript volumes in the library of the Antiquarian Society: "Rules and regulations, stock and property" and records of meetings; "Waste book"—this is a list, under the names of givers and depositors, of books placed in the library,—a volume in which charges of books taken out from the library were made.

WORCESTER SOCIAL LIBRARY.—In the library of the Antiquarian Society there is a manuscript which is headed "Alphabetical List of the Proprietors of the Worcester Social Library." It is dated May, 1830. I find no evidence that this library was actually established. No mention of such an organization is made by William Lincoln in the "History of Worcester," which he wrote a few years after the date of the manuscript. There were several movements in Worcester about the year 1830 looking towards the formation of libraries. Thus, as we have seen, the Worcester County Athenæum was started late in the year 1829 and incorporated in March, 1830. The Worcester Lyceum, of which I am now about to write, was organized in November, 1829.

WORCESTER LYCEUM.—Anthony Chase, the first secretary of the Worcester Lyceum, in a rough draft of a letter written to the secretary of the Lyceum in Medway, now in the possession of his son, Mr. Charles A. Chase, writes: "Our Lyceum was organized the 5th of November, 1829, though many of the preliminaries were settled previous to that time." This letter was written in 1831. Lincoln, writing a few years later, gives the date of its formation as November 4th. He adds: "The Lyceum" (about 1836) "is possessed of a good chemical apparatus and a well-selected library of about five hundred volumes, beneficially and extensively used by the young artisans and operatives of the village." Persons who have resided in Worcester for forty or fifty years remember that in their younger days the Lyceum was the main dependence of the people of the town for a circulating library, and that it was kept for many years at the residence of Mrs. Sarah B. Wood, on the south corner of Main and School Streets. The entrance to the house was on School Street. Mrs. Wood had a private school for children. The books of the Lyceum were in cases in the school-room, and Mrs. Wood served as librarian on one or two holiday afternoons every week. "By a provision of the constitution" of

the Lyceum, writes Mr. Lincoln, "no alienation of the property is to be made; to secure its preservation during any suspension of the society, the selectmen are authorized to deposit the collections with some incorporated literary institution of the town, to be held in trust and transferred to some new association for similar purposes."

In 1854 or early in 1855 the books belonging to the Lyceum were deposited in the rooms of the Young Men's Library Association, and a union of the Lyceum and the latter society was effected April 12, 1856. Thus the libraries of these two organizations were consolidated.

LIBRARY OF THE YOUNG MEN'S LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—That society was formed in August, 1852, and fully organized in December of the same year. The act incorporating it was signed by the Governor, March 26, 1853, and accepted by the association on the 16th of the following month. Principal purposes of the organization were the establishment and maintenance of a reading-room and library. A reading-room was opened December 31, 1852, and in the following month steps were taken to obtain subscriptions in money and gifts of books to be used in forming a library; \$1300 was secured in cash, and contributions of books to the number of about eight hundred and fifty volumes were received. The library was thrown open to members June 18, 1853. It then numbered seventeen hundred volumes. Persons who were not members of the society were allowed to take books out of the library on the payment of an annual fee of one dollar. It appears from a report made in April, 1854, that during the first nine months of the existence of the library, 8620 volumes were taken out from it by 430 persons. At the date of the report the library contained 1762 volumes. John Gray was the first librarian. His services to the library became of great value at once, and continued to be so till the date of his death.

During the second year of the continuance of the Young Men's Library Association, which ended April, 1855, the Young Men's Rhetorical Society was temporarily merged in the former organization, and its library of about one hundred volumes came into the custody and soon into the full possession of the association. In April, 1855, the library of the association numbered 2126 volumes; 11,000 volumes had been taken out of it during the year preceding that date, which was the first complete year of its life. In December, 1855, the late Dr. John Green placed his large and valuable private library of 4500 volumes in the charge of the association, to be used for purposes of consultation and reference. The arrangements in regard to its care and use were consummated in April, 1856. According to these it was to remain in the custody of the association for five years or for a longer period, should such an arrangement be desired by both of the parties in interest.

April 12, 1856, the library of the Young Men's Li-

brary Association, consisted of two thousand six hundred and ten volumes. On that date the act approved by the Governor, March 15th, of the same year, providing for a union of that association and of the Worcester Lyceum, was accepted by both organizations and the name of the united societies became

THE WORCESTER LYCEUM AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—One year later, April 11, 1857, we find that the circulating library of this organization contained three thousand eight hundred volumes and the reference or Green Library six thousand volumes. April 12, 1858, the circulating department had about forty-one hundred volumes and the Green Library sixty-five hundred volumes. During the year ending with that date the valuable and rapidly increasing library of the Worcester District Medical Association, comprising about twenty-four hundred volumes, was placed in a room in Worcester Bank block, adjoining the rooms of the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association, and put under the care of the librarian of the latter organization. April 9, 1859, the circulating department of the library under consideration contained four thousand three hundred and fifty volumes, and the Green library seven thousand five hundred volumes.

John Gray, the esteemed librarian of the Lyceum and Library Association, died suddenly in the latter part of 1859, and at a special meeting of the Board of Directors held November 25th of that year, the first regular business was to choose a committee to confer with Dr. Green in reference to the selection of a librarian. Dr. Chandler, Albert Tolman and T. W. Higginson were appointed the committee. At an adjournment of the meeting held the next day, that committee reported: "That an interview had been held with Dr. Green, in which he expressed a readiness and desire to present the Green Library to the city, as the foundation of a Free Public Library. That subsequently the committee had visited the Mayor," Honorable Alexander H. Bullock, "who expressed much gratification at Dr. Green's liberality and cordially entered into the plans. The following preamble and resolution were then adopted:

"WHEREAS, Dr. John Green has indicated to a committee of the directors of the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association, a desire to give his library to the city, on such liberal conditions that the directors believe it best the public should receive the gift:

"Resolved, That the Directors recommend that the library of the Association be also transferred to the city, provided suitable appropriations and arrangements are made for its reception." (Seventh annual report of the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association, signed by Edward Earle, president.)

The action of Dr. Green and of the Board of Directors was regarded gratefully by the city government, and after conferences between the representatives of the city and the other parties interested, "On December 16th, at a special meeting of the

Association, called for that purpose, it was voted, on motion of Mr. N. Paine, that the Association accept and adopt the resolutions passed by the Board of Directors, at their meeting held November 25th, and that the Board of Directors have full power to carry out any arrangements that may be necessary under the resolves, including the transfer of the library."

The proposition endorsed in this vote was accepted by the city government December 23, 1859, and the library of the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association became almost immediately the property of the city of Worcester and a portion of the Free Public Library, which was established by an ordinance bearing the same date as the resolves of the City Council in which the gift of the association was accepted.

The manuscript records which contain an account of the organization and early meetings of the Young Men's Library Association are in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. Other manuscript volumes which belonged to the association and its successor, the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association, are owned by the Free Public Library, which also has a bound volume containing all the printed reports of the two organizations and two catalogues—one issued in 1853 and the other in 1859.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—This institution, as stated above, came into existence December 23, 1859. The library was opened to the public April 30, 1860, in the rooms in Worcester Bank Block, which had been occupied by the two libraries out of which it was formed. Those quarters were regarded as temporary, however, since it had been stipulated by Dr. Green in the deed by which he transferred his collection of books to the city that the latter should put up a library building. This stipulation was early complied with, although it is understood that the vote providing for the erection of a building failed at first to pass in the Board of Aldermen. The Mayor, Hon. William W. Rice, exerted himself, however, to secure its passage, and by arguments addressed to one of the members of the board, who had opposed the measure, convinced him that it would be well to favor it, and in this way obtained the support needed for its adoption.

In the first annual report of the directors of the Free Public Library it is stated that prior to its foundation "the want of such an institution had for a long period been felt by the people of the city, and had repeatedly been made the subject of remark in the inaugural addresses of its chief magistrates. So great, however, would necessarily be the expenditure for its establishment, that no mayor of the city had felt authorized to treat the matter with any other language than that of desire and hope."

It had been the wish of some of the gentlemen who formed the Young Men's Library Association that the library which they were bringing together should be eventually merged in a free public library. Thus, for example, Mr. Thomas Wentworth Higginson

devoutly desired such a consummation. Mr. Gray, the librarian of the organization, entertained from the beginning of the library of the association the hope that such a plan would some time be carried out, and clung to it as a cherished wish until his death. The late Mr. Stephen Salisbury, in a letter written to the Council of the American Antiquarian Society January 21, 1852, a date which is earlier by a few months than that of the formation of the Young Men's Library Association, stated that the establishment of a Public Library was then regarded with much favor by the citizens of Worcester and would probably be accomplished with readiness and on a liberal and useful scheme, if suitable apartments for its accommodation were offered. He then went on to say that he would give to the society five thousand dollars, to be used in defraying the cost of a new building for its occupation, on condition that it would grant without rent and under such regulations as might be necessary, until the 1st day of January, 1875, for a Public Library for the citizens of Worcester, the use of the large hall in the lower story of the proposed building, with suitable finish and shelves for books and a room on the same floor sufficient for the office of the librarian. Mr. Salisbury's gift was accepted by the Antiquarian Society with the conditions imposed, but nothing further appears to have been done regarding so much of the subject-matter of his communication as related to the use of rooms in the lower story of Antiquarian Hall for the purposes of a public library. It is an interesting fact, stated by Mr. Barton in a report as librarian of the Antiquarian Society, in which Mr. Salisbury's letter may be found, that the latter gentleman and Doctor Green, when the communication was addressed to the council of the society, were both of them members of that body, and a rational curiosity would be gratified could it be found out whether Mr. Salisbury had Doctor Green's library in mind when he made the proposition just mentioned and reserved to himself, as he did, the right to designate the Public Library that should have the contemplated accommodation.

Whatever the fact respecting this matter may have been, however, the library of the Young Men's Library Association was formed a few months later, Dr. Green's library was soon after placed in its rooms, and both libraries were before long given to the city and formed the nucleus of the present Free Public Library, for the accommodation of which an especial building was put up.

On the 27th day of December, A.D. 1859, Dr. John Green gave to the city of Worcester, by a deed of gift bearing date of that day, a library of about seven thousand volumes "in trust for the free use of the citizens and the public forever, as a library of consultation and reference, but to be used only in the library building." This library had been collected from time to time, during a long professional career, at a cost of not less than ten thousand dollars, with the purpose

of some time devoting it to public uses. Among the terms and conditions of the gift were the following:

"First: The management of the Library, the custody of the books, and the regulations under which they may be used shall be vested in a Board of Directors, who shall be citizens of Worcester, to be chosen by the City Council in a convention of the two branches thereof, two of whom shall, after the first election, be chosen annually and shall hold their offices six years each.

"Third: The City of Worcester shall forever pay the salary of a competent Librarian, to be chosen by the Directors, and shall furnish a suitable Library building for the books to be secure against fire, and to be constructed with reference to the future increase of the Library, and this building shall be kept warmed and lighted at the expense of the city and shall be provided with suitable accommodations for the convenience of those using the books and shall be kept open at all proper hours, according to the regulations of the Directors, for the use of the public.

"Fourth: No plan for a Library building shall be adopted without the concurrence of the Board of Directors.

"Fifth: The foregoing provisions may, during my life, be changed by the joint action of myself and the Directors in any manner which shall not impair the value and public utility of the Library, but they shall not be altered after my decease, nor shall any books, once added to the department established by me, ever be transferred to any other."

The Worcester Lyceum and Library Association gave its library to the city of Worcester in December, 1859, as has been already stated. That library consisted of about forty-five hundred volumes. Dr. Green gave his books to be used as a reference library. The Library Association contemplated the use of most of its books as the nucleus of a circulating library.

The City Council passed an ordinance, dated December 23, 1859, of which the following is the first section:

"The City of Worcester hereby accepts the donations of Dr. John Green and of the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association, and establish the Free Public Library of the City of Worcester."

The ordinance, as originally adopted and in its subsequent revisions, carries out, in provisions for the whole institution, the spirit of the conditions which Dr. Green imposed in regard to the library given by him.

In the first annual report of the directors of the library, presented to the city government in January, 1861, it is stated that "the building is now far advanced in the stages of erection."

It will be noticed that, by the terms in the deed of Dr. Green's gift, the spirit of which was embodied in the city ordinance also, the whole management of the library is placed in the hands of a Board of Directors, and not interfered with by the city government. This will be regarded as a wise provision, as the members of the board are chosen with reference to their fitness for the especial work to be performed. Sufficient supervision of the City Council is implied in the facts that it chooses the directors, and that it has wholly within its control the regulation of the amount of money it will appropriate yearly for the use of the library.

The conditions in the deed of gift require, also, it will be seen, the city to put up a building secure against fire, to keep the rooms frequented by users

comfortable, and to pay the salary of the librarian and other running expenses. In inducing the city to make heavy expenditures in carrying out the object he had in view in giving his library to the city, Dr. Green greatly added to the value of his gift. He may properly be regarded, not only as a public benefactor, but also what he is called in the fourth section of the original ordinance, by which he is made an honorary life director, as the "principal founder" of the library.

The Board of Directors, as constituted by the deed of gift and the city ordinance, is a conservative body. A custom, however, was observed for several years (and that has since been embodied in an ordinance), that no person should be eligible to fill a vacancy in the Board of Directors arising from the expiration of his term of office. The observance of this rule, while aiding to secure a progressive administration of the library, has also been useful in widening the interest of citizens in the institution, by introducing into its board of direction, representatives of various occupations and tastes prevailing in the community for which it was established. The year 1865 is memorable in the history of the library for the foundation of the reading-rooms. A fund of between \$10,000 and \$11,000 was raised for their endowment by subscription among the citizens of Worcester, chiefly through the exertions of Hon. George F. Hoar, at that time an influential member of the Board of Directors. The subscription paper was headed by the late Mr. Salisbury with a gift of \$4000; Mr. Hoar, Dr. Green, and forty other persons contributed \$100 apiece; twenty-five, \$50 each; thirty-eight, \$25 each; and other givers smaller sums. It is interesting to notice that the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association gave \$300 to the Reading-room Fund of its successor. The money raised was carefully invested, and the income of the fund has since been spent in furnishing the rooms with American and foreign papers and periodicals. This income, a few gifts, and \$400 taken annually from the city appropriation, now enable the library to place in its rooms current numbers of two hundred and eighty-nine journals, magazines and reviews.

With the foundation of the reading-rooms the library came substantially into its present form. The Green or reference library, the departments from which books may be taken out for use in homes or elsewhere, and the reading-rooms, constitute the Free Public Library of the City of Worcester.

Dr. Green died in the fall of 1865. According to the sixth annual report of the directors, he, from time to time, between the date of the deed of his original gift and that of his death, gave to the library 4968 volumes, in addition to the seven thousand contributed at the start. He also remembered the library generously in his will. The main provision of that instrument, for the benefit of the library, is described concisely and clearly in the report to which reference has just been made. That report was writ-

ten by Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the much respected president of the Board of Directors, in the year 1865. I make the following quotation :

"The probate of the last Will and Testament of Dr. Green, has made known his bequest to this City of Thirty thousand dollars, to be paid within one year after his decease, to the officer of the City authorized to receive it, and to be held with its future accumulations as a separate fund, designated in the Books of this City as the 'Green Library Fund,' and the Testator states that he 'aims not to gratify any personal feeling of his own, but to set apart and designate the Fund in a manner which shall forever keep it distinct from all others,' 'and which shall enable the people of Worcester at all times clearly to perceive its amount and condition.' He requires that the fund shall be kept, and that the income shall be collected by the authorized officer of the city; and he provides that the investment and management of said Fund shall be under the direction of a Financial Committee of three directors of this Library, annually to be chosen by ballot, and that said Committee shall annually report to the Board of Directors, and their report shall make a part of the annual Report of this Board to the City Council. It is required that three-fourths of the investments shall be made in 'real estate mortgage securities,' and one-fourth in Bank stock; and in taking landed securities, it is the 'desire and request' of the Testator, 'that in every instance first mortgages shall be taken for no larger loan than one-third of the value, of the security; and as to the use and expenditure of the income of said fund, it is directed that one-fourth part of said income shall be added annually to said fund, and that the remaining three-fourths of said income, after repaying any accidental loss that may happen to the principal, shall be expended by said Directors in the purchase of books, to be added to that department of said Free Public Library which was instituted by the Testator, and in repairing and re-binding the books of that department. Provided that when the invested fund shall reach the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars, one-fourth part of the income thereof, shall continue to be forever annually added to the principal, and three-fourths of the income of \$100,000, after replacing any losses of the principal, and neither more nor less, shall be applied to the increase and support of the Department of said Library instituted by the Testator; and the remaining part of the income of said fund, shall be applied and expended by said Directors for the benefit of the whole of said Free Public Library, as well for that part which is kept for circulating or lending, as for that part which was instituted by the Testator."

The principal of the Green Library Fund has met with no loss. It has been increased by the addition of a quarter of every year's income. Five hundred and fifty dollars and eighty-five cents, the proceeds of a trust instituted by Dr. Green during his life, has also been added to the fund. That amounted December 1, 1888, to \$43,117.91. Fifty shares of bank stock, now held by trustees, will eventually come into the possession of the city, to be applied, besides his other bequests, in accordance with the testator's will, for the benefit of the library.

Hon. George F. Hoar, president of the Board of Directors in 1867, in writing the annual report for that year, after reciting provisions of Dr. Green's will, in regard to the library, remarks that, "Upon these provisions a grave, and until within a few years what would have been deemed a quite doubtful question of law arose, growing out of the policy of the law, which prohibits perpetuities." He then proceeds in an able argument to quiet fears which might be entertained. He speaks of the hesitation of the executors of the will of Dr. Green to pass over his bequest to the city, and narrates the action of the city and board of directors of the library. He compliments the family of Dr. Green for just and honorable conduct in facilitating the carrying of his wishes into effect, and states

that the Supreme Judicial Court, upon application, rendered a judgment, so far establishing the validity of the will as to order the fund to be paid over to the city. Mr. Hoar then cites two recent decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and, after a discussion of the points at issue, announces his belief, "that the city may rightfully and lawfully obey the direction of the will, until a fund is accumulated, ample enough to defray all the expenses of the library, and so fulfil the beneficent purpose of the donor." It is well understood that when Mr. Hoar speaks of an ample provision for a library like the Free Public Library, he does not mean a paltry few hundred thousand dollars, but a much larger sum. It is worthy of remark, before leaving the consideration of Dr. Green's will, that he is careful to reiterate in it the terms and conditions contained in the original deed of his gift to the city, executed in 1859.

Here, then, there is in the City of Worcester a reference library, founded and endowed by Dr. Green. It is important to inquire whether the citizens of Worcester use the library which has been provided for them. Reports of the directors show that it was but little used for several years. They express regret that this was so, and it appears from their fifth annual report that the establishment of the reading-room resulted from a movement to increase the usefulness of the Green Library. It was thought that a reading-room would add to and bring out its value. Many of the newspapers and periodicals taken are bound, and the volumes placed on the shelves of the reference library. They thus add to its value. Readers of magazines and papers have curiosity awakened which they seek to satisfy by the use of atlases, encyclopedias and other works of reference. A taste for reading and the habit of reading are promoted by a reading-room; a desire to study often follows. A reading-room in this way brings out the value of a reference library. At the start the Green Library reading-room was not properly heated; this defect was remedied by the introduction of a steam-heating apparatus.

A step in the right direction was made by the directors in procuring a large collection of the best dictionaries, encyclopedias, etc. It was impossible for them to do all that they wished, for they could not get money enough, in the earlier days of the library, to enable them to carry out their plans. They did what they could with the means at their disposal. Still, the reference library was not much used. In 1871 there came a sudden growth in its use. This use increased rapidly in succeeding years. It is now very large. How has this increase been effected? It has been brought about by the use of very simple means. It was thought that the reason why people did not use the library was that they needed assistance in using it. A new librarian was appointed, and he was allowed to render such aid as was desired by frequenters of the library. Then, all

persons in the city who had questions to ask to which they might hope to find answers in books were cordially invited to come to the library and propound them. It was made a rule that everybody should be received with courtesy and made to feel that he is an owner of the library, and that its officers are bound to give a reasonable amount of time to finding answers to his questions. The youngest school-children, the humblest citizens, were to be received cordially, and an impartial courtesy extended to all. The plan worked admirably. It has been a cardinal principle that the officers should manifest a persistent determination not to allow an inquirer to leave the building without getting—if a possible thing to find it—an answer to his question. When books needed in answering questions are not found in the library, efforts are at once made to buy them. If their purchase cannot be afforded, or if they cannot be bought in time for present uses, pains are taken to find out whether they do not belong to some other library or to some individual accessible to the questioner, or they are borrowed by the librarian from some institution within the city or in some other place. Time is spent in doing such work as this,—the time, too, of persons whose service is somewhat costly. But this time is well spent. The personal relations of an accomplished librarian with users of a library are productive of great advantage. Few users of a reference library know what books to go to, to get answers to questions which they have to ask. Many need help in finding out and stating the exact question which they wish to have answered. The librarian or an assistant steps forward and helps them to give a definite shape to their inquiries, and then refers them to some master of the subject to which their inquiries relate. He gives them the best books, and keeps them from the productions of dabbles in knowledge.

Formerly, when the reading-room of the reference library was not filled with persons who had come to it for instruction, entertainment was sometimes offered to such as desired it in the form of stories and bound volumes of illustrated papers. That custom has long been discontinued, however, the legitimate uses of the library for study and serious reading having grown so large that there is no room for mere pleasure-seekers. That the efforts to build up a large use of the reference department were successful was evidenced at once by the statistics given in annual reports. From those it appeared that 7321, 12,408, 15,672, 20,550 and 22,833 persons, respectively, had books given them during the first five years of the new order of things, or helped themselves to books to be used in answering their inquiries, or to give them enjoyment. A very large proportion of these recipients of information and enjoyment received answers to serious inquiries. While, too, care has been taken to supply the wants of humble inquirers, the officers of the library have been equally

solicitous not to neglect the demands of more advanced students. While a half-hour has been readily spent in finding out for a curious boy how dates can be plucked from the top of the tall palm-tree, whatever time was needed has been cheerfully given to the scholar whose questions required reference to philosophical transactions or a Greek anthology, or to the public instructor in preparation for a lecture or review article. A reference library that is not used becomes very unpopular. Where such a library is so administered that a large constituency gets advantage from it, all will recognize it as a public benefit, and citizens unskilled in the niceties of scholarship will, in consideration of the benefit they themselves derive from the institution, be willing that money should be spent in supplying the wants of scholars. During the last ten years 51,674 volumes have been used annually on the average in the Green Library for purposes of reference, study and serious reading; 61,424 volumes were given to users for those purposes in the library year just closed, namely, that from December 1, 1887, to November 30, 1888.

The Free Public Library has become distinguished for the aid which it has rendered to schools. Every effort has been made there to help teachers to do their work, and especial facilities have been afforded them in pursuing studies. They have also been assisted constantly in their exertions to add to the pleasantness and profitableness of study by the children under their charge. Many of the teachers in Worcester have been very successful in awakening an interest in reading among their pupils and in raising the standard of reading among them. They have done this mainly by starting an interest in subjects, and then supplying books from the library to satisfy the curiosity aroused.

Immense numbers of books have been used in this way by the teachers, for their own benefit and that of their scholars. Space cannot be afforded here to describe the methods in use in the Public Library. They have been set forth from time to time in the pages of the *Library Journal* and in pamphlets containing papers and addresses of the present librarian.

It is enough to say in this place that the plans adopted in that library have led to results such as have approved themselves to the managers of libraries in other communities, and have been copied or adapted to local emergencies by a very large number of institutions in the cities and larger and smaller towns of the United States, and have attracted attention in foreign countries, and to a certain extent been introduced into England.

It will be remembered that among the "terms and conditions" imposed by Dr. Green in the deed by which he transferred his library to the city, is one which provides that the books shall "be used only in the library building." This provision was extended in his will to the use of all books bought with

money left by him and placed in the department which bears his name. It has sometimes been thought that the reference library would be more useful if the books in it could be taken to the homes of users. Now, however, the restrictive provision is, I think, generally believed to be a wise one by persons who have thought much about the matter. There was more reason formerly than exists now for anxiety on the part of citizens to have the books put in circulation. In the earlier days of the library the additions of books made to the circulating department were wholly inadequate to supply reasonable demands of users. The directors knew that this was so, and bought as many books as they could with the money at their command. Now the circulating department is generously cared for, and it is very seldom that a citizen feels it a hardship not to be able to take home books belonging to the Green Library. There are two weighty reasons why those books should not be taken away from the library building,—first, it is desirable that investigators should always find them at hand for consultation; second, books which are put in circulation become dirty and mutilated. Mr. Salisbury speaks forcibly on this head in the fifth annual report of the directors. He says of the measure of allowing books in the Green Library to be taken to the homes of users, that it “would be like killing the goose that laid the golden egg. For a time the use of the books would be stimulated and increased, but when they should become defaced and worn out by use, it would require to keep the library interesting and attractive, a larger expenditure than the majority of citizens would approve, and the most liberal givers might hesitate to place valuable books in a heap of rubbish.”

The Free Public Library is mainly dependent for its support upon an annual appropriation made by the City Council from money raised by taxation. This appropriation was very small at first. It continued small for several years. The directors saw that it was very important that more money should be placed at their disposal, and persistently urged the claims of the library for liberal support. Their efforts gradually bore fruit. The city began to grow also, and a greater readiness to spend money on improvements to manifest itself. With increased expenditures in other departments of the government, the annual appropriation of the library began to grow.

The sum of money given to it the first year of its existence was \$4000. The library had, besides that amount, \$88.26, which had been collected for fines and obtained in other ways. For the last ten years (1878–79, to 1887–88), the average annual municipal appropriation has been \$11,729, and so much of the money paid for dog-licenses as is applicable to library purposes. The amount received in that way has increased from \$1931.05 in 1870, the first year in which it came to

the library, to \$4006.89 in the last library year, 1887–88. In that year the municipal appropriation was \$14,500. The dog-law may be found in the public statutes, chapter 102. Examine especially sections 84, 98 and 107. Under the provisions of that law, in all the counties of the State, except Suffolk County, the money raised in towns by payments for licenses issued to owners of dogs, after a portion has been retained by the city for general purposes, and deductions have been made to cover the depredations of dogs among sheep and other domestic animals, must be appropriated by the towns to the support, either of public libraries or of the common schools. With appropriations now enjoyed \$6500 a year can be spent for books and periodicals. For the purchase of books the library has also available, it will be remembered, the income of the Green Library fund. The income of the reading-room fund, likewise, swells its resources and gives it means of buying periodicals and papers. A considerable sum, on the average over \$500 a year, is received from the collection of fines, the sale of catalogues and other miscellaneous sources. The average yearly receipts of the library from all sources during the last ten years have been \$17,530. During the library year just closed the receipts were \$21,905.87. These were received in the following amounts from the several sources of income: municipal appropriations, \$14,500; Green Library fund, \$1772.87; reading-room fund, \$462.48; dog-licenses, \$4006.89; fines, etc., \$563.63.

At the date of its foundation the library had 11,500 volumes in its two departments. A third department, known as Intermediate, has since been established. At the date of the last annual report, December 1, 1888, the number of books in the library was 73,669, divided as follows among its three divisions: Green Library, 22,255; Intermediate Department, 17,520; Circulating Department, 33,894. The average home use of the library for the last ten years has been 128,123 volumes. The use during the last library year was 142,449 volumes.

The average annual use of books for home purposes, for reference, study and serious reading in the library building and for use on Sunday during the last ten years has been 182,009. That use during the library year just closed was 206,290. The average daily use of books on secular days last year was 665. This number does not include, of course, the immense use of magazines, reviews and papers in the reading-rooms.

During the last complete year of the existence of the library of the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association, the precursor of the Circulating Department of the Free Public Library, 9,742 volumes were given out for home use. During the eight months spoken of in the first annual report of the latter organization, 31,454 volumes, or a daily average of 153, were delivered to users for the same purpose. Thus a great increase of use followed the change of

the library from a private to a public institution in which privileges were made free. The increase is also indicated by the fact that 3,200 applicants for cards to be used in taking out books received them during the first eight months of the library's existence. If we place side by side, however, the number 31,454 and that representing the use of books in the Free Public Library last year, namely, 206,290, a great growth is shown in this respect in the twenty-nine years of the library's life. The number of books lost and not paid for during the last library year was 16. The average annual loss for the past ten years has been 12. On the average, 254 volumes have been yearly withdrawn from the library because worn-out or for other reasons during the same decade.

The library of the Free Public Library has been selected with careful reference to the actual wants of its users. The standard of works placed in its circulating department has always been high and for many years has been raised gradually every year. The aim of the officers of the library has been to give to it a certain completeness in all branches of knowledge that the citizens of Worcester take an interest in. In a community such as Worcester it is has proven useful to bring together a large collection of books relating to chemical and physical science and their applications, and the library has therefore secured many valuable sets of periodicals representing progress in those fields and of the transactions and proceedings of learned scientific societies and a large number of important works on mechanical and other applications of science. It has also bought numerous sets of periodicals and individual publications relating to the fine arts and their applications to industrial pursuits. While then the library has aimed to supply existing wants, it has been led in doing this to make a specialty of procuring works of the classes just enumerated.

At the start the library used for its circulating department copies of the catalogue of the Lyceum and Library Association. In 1861 a catalogue of the circulating department of the Free Public Library was issued. A list of additions was printed in 1867. Another catalogue of all the books in the same department was issued in 1870, and a supplement to that in 1874. In 1884 the present printed catalogue was published. It contains all the books which readily circulate that belonged to the library September 1, 1883, and consists of one thousand three hundred and ninety-two pages. It is intended to print a supplement to that catalogue during the present library year (1888-89). The library issues from time to time lists of additions to all departments of the library in sheets of four pages.

The library has outgrown its present quarters, and the city has bought a lot adjoining the one which is occupied by the existing building, and will, it is anticipated, begin the current year to put up on it a new building to be used in connection with the edifice now standing.

In the Green Library room there is a fine portrait of the founder of the reference library, which was painted by direction of the city government after Dr. Green's death, by the late William H. Furniss, of Boston, and a statue of Dr. Green, in plaster, by the late B. H. Kinney, of Worcester.

The librarians of the Free Public Library have been Zephaniah Baker (from February 17, 1860, to January 11, 1871), and Samuel Swett Green (from January 15, 1871).

The Free Public Library was the first public library in New England to open its doors to visitors on Sunday. On that day the reading-rooms of the library are open from 2 to 9 P.M. No books are given out in the circulating department to be taken home. The periodicals and papers can be freely used. Books are procurable also for use within the building from either department of the library. This experiment began in 1872. It appears from the yearly reports of the librarian that the number of persons who used the reading-rooms Sundays in the year 1872-73, for one Sunday less than the whole year, and yet for fifty-two Sundays, is 5,706; for 1873-74, 7,179; and for 1874-75, 10,142. The average annual use for the last ten years is 13,867. The librarian is present for two hours on Sunday afternoon to render assistance to inquirers seeking information from books. Two attendants remain in the rooms during the hours they are open, to see that they are kept comfortable, to preserve quiet and to aid readers. Those attendants are persons who do not serve the library on secular days, but who come to it only on Sundays. In regard to the character of the reading done on Sundays, it may be stated that it is mainly of magazines and papers. Some persons, however, engage in study every Sunday. The average number of volumes given yearly to readers on Sundays during the ten years just passed is 2,211. The number given to them during the last library year is 2,417. Since Elm Park has been opened and Lake Quinsigamond has become readily accessible, while the number of readers has remained about the same as before, the proportion of serious reading has greatly increased, as mere pleasure-seekers have lately to a large extent sought recreation at those popular resorts.

LIBRARY OF THE WORCESTER DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY.—It has been stated that books given by Dr. Elijah Dix to the County Medical Society, the immediate predecessor of the existing medical association, formed the nucleus of the library now belonging to the Worcester District Medical Society. The statement seems to be incorrect, however. Dr. Dix promised to give to the earlier society books of the value of fifty pounds. Its thanks were voted to him, a librarian was chosen, a list of books was made out and forwarded to him, and committees visited him three times to confer regarding the matter, but no books appear to have been received by the society. The Worcester District Medical Society was

founded in 1804, but does not seem to have collected many books for a considerable number of years. Dr. Thomas H. Gage, in an address to the society delivered in 1862, states that "the first movement of which any fruit now remains, which may, indeed, be considered the beginning of the library, was the appointment of Drs. Oliver Fiske and John Green, in 1813, to obtain subscriptions and solicit books from profession and from laity to found a medical library." The junior member of the committee, who had been in practice four years when appointed to serve in that position, afterwards became the founder of the Free Public Library. Dr. Gage remarks that the committee met with success in its efforts. That could not have been great, however. Dr. Leonard Wheeler states that the librarian seems to have been "merely a personified hope of books until 1822." In 1822 that officer was authorized to receive from the Massachusetts Medical Society the quota of books which it was willing to lend to this district. The loan appears to have been practically a gift, for the general society never had any intention of reclaiming the books. In 1823 the District Society passed an order for printing its by-laws and a catalogue of its library. It began at that time also to have a committee for purchasing books. Few works could have been bought, however, in those early years, for, as Dr. Wheeler remarks, the whole amount of money received by the treasurer for the four years ending in 1828 was less than ninety dollars, and out of that sum refreshments had to be procured for the members of the society and some printing paid for.

In 1825 Daniel Waldo is thanked for "his very splendid and liberal donation of books." At that time the library contained, perhaps, one hundred volumes. The first recorded enumeration of books does not appear until 1836, when the number of books in the library was stated to be one hundred and twenty-eight. Many of those, the librarian reports, were "very valuable works." He adds, however, that the volumes were but little used, and Dr. Wheeler states that "most of them would seem to have remained unmolested for years excepting by worms." In 1843 Dr. Joseph Sargent reported that the library contained over two hundred volumes and that he found it in a room over Mr. Harris' bookstore, where it was little used.

A very important event in the history of the library was now impending. In 1845 a bequest of six thousand dollars was made to the society by Daniel Waldo, the income of which was to be used in buying books for the library. In 1851 Dr. Charles W. Wilder, of Leominster, left five hundred dollars, by will, to the society. The income of that bequest and of another of one thousand dollars, made by the late Harrison Bliss, of Worcester, in 1882, for library purposes, as well as that of a small investment known as the Available Reserve Fund, is spent for the benefit of the library. The amount which the library

committee has at its disposal annually is about four hundred and fifty dollars. As the society has no rent to pay for its rooms and the other expenses of the library are very small, most of that sum is used in buying books.

In 1861 the library contained two thousand two hundred and thirty volumes. It is estimated that in 1878 it possessed about four thousand five hundred volumes, and in January, 1886, it is stated to have had five thousand eight hundred and twenty-six bound books. One hundred and eighty-two duplicate volumes were included in that number. The value of the library at the last-mentioned date was estimated as eight thousand dollars. The library is in rooms in the building of the Free Public Library. Books may be taken from it for home use by members of the Worcester District Medical Society and by other members of the Massachusetts Medical Society resident in Worcester County. Its books may be used for purposes of reference within the building of the Free Public Library by all persons who are entitled to use the reference books of that institution, subject to the discretion, however, of the librarian of the Free Public Library. The medical library is an excellent working collection of books published in the English language and has undoubtedly done much to raise the standard of medical practice in Worcester and its vicinity. It is somewhat deficient in periodical literature, although much has been done during the last ten years in supplying that deficiency. It still lacks and much needs a large collection of pamphlet literature.

The library has been carefully rearranged within a few years and a card catalogue, which is kept up to date, has been prepared. About five hundred volumes are taken home by physicians annually, and the library is consulted for purposes of reference, it is estimated, about one thousand times in a year. The present librarian is Dr. A. C. Getchell. The library is prosperous and well managed.

Most of the information used in preparing the sketch of the District Medical Library was found in a manuscript address by Dr. Leonard Wheeler, delivered in May, 1878, and now owned by the library. An earlier address by Dr. Thomas H. Gage, delivered, as stated above, in 1862, has also been consulted to advantage. That address, in manuscript likewise, belongs to the library of the District Medical Society.

LIBRARY OF THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—The first public meeting which took into consideration the subject of the formation of the Worcester County Mechanics Association was held November 27, 1841. A constitution for the new organization was adopted December 11th of the same year, and on the 5th of February, 1842, its first board of officers was elected. July 2d, of the latter year, a committee was appointed "to confer with the trustees as to the expediency of establishing a library, and also to report some plan to the association

for effecting that object." That committee reported the 20th of the following December. The report was accepted, and it was voted "That the association do adopt the report and circular made by the Committee on the Library, and that the sum of two hundred dollars be expended in the purchase of books for the commencement of a library for the association, and that a committee of three be chosen to be associated with the committee of the trustees on the library and to carry into effect the suggestions contained in the report." February 7th, in the following year, a further sum of one hundred dollars was appropriated for the benefit of the library, and seven days later, the 14th of the month, a room and book-cases were provided for its use. April 13, 1847, it was reported that the library contained six hundred and seventy volumes. At the present time, January, 1889, it possesses more than nine thousand volumes. Most of these have been bought; a few hundred, however, have been presented to the society for its library.

The library has been selected with the purposes of supplying popular needs and a variety of tastes, and has a large collection of scientific books and of works relating to the applications of science to the industrial and particularly the mechanic arts.

A reading-room was established in 1864. That is supplied with many reviews, magazines, scientific and other papers.

The library and reading-room can be used only by members of the Mechanics Association and their families. Both are extensively used. They are maintained by an annual appropriation by the trustees of the association. The amount of that the present year is \$1500.

This sketch embodies information furnished from the records and reports of the Mechanics Association by its treasurer, William A. Smith, Esq.

LIBRARY OF THE WORCESTER COUNTY LAW LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The association organized June 21, 1842, under the provisions contained in Chapter 94 of the Massachusetts Statutes of 1842. For a history of the laws which have been made by the Commonwealth respecting law library associations, further references may be made to the General Statutes of 1860, Chapter 33, and to the Public Statutes of 1882, Chapter 40. See also the Statutes for 1882, Chapter 246, and those for 1885, Chapter 345.

Before the establishment of the present library there appears to have been somewhere in Worcester a meagre collection of law books, which the court and bar were at liberty to consult. Little is known, however, regarding the earlier library.

The existing collection is one of the best working law libraries in the country. The books in it are nearly all recent purchases, and they have been carefully selected with reference to the actual needs of occupants of the bench and members of the bar. The library contains complete sets of all the reports

of the United States Courts and of the courts in the different States and Territories of the country and in England and Ireland, and a very full collection of books which treat of English and American law in all its branches. It is also rich in English and American periodical law literature. Additions are continually made to the library. It has been of great advantage to the institution, that for thirty years it has been zealously cared for by Hon. Thomas L. Nelson, who is now the judge of the United States Court for the district of Massachusetts. It is well known that for twenty years Judge Nelson has been almost alone instrumental in securing means for building up the library and in selecting books to be added to it.

Fees paid by clerks of courts into the county treasury up to the amount of two thousand dollars are payable to the treasurer of the Worcester County Law Library Association. To this source of income must be added fees received by the county treasurer from clerks of courts, which have been collected by the latter, in the processes of naturalizing foreign-born men, and occasional special grants from the county commissioners. That board is allowed by law to make such grants, in its discretion, to the Law Library Association from moneys in the treasury of the county. The cost of the services of an assistant librarian and minor running expenses of the library amount to about six hundred dollars annually. The remainder of the income, which is a somewhat variable amount, but always a handsome sum of money, is available for the purchase of books. The library has received one gift which deserves mention. It consisted of eight hundred volumes, which were given to it by the will of the late Charles D. Bowman, Esquire, of Oxford, in 1858. There are now more than eleven thousand volumes in the library. When an addition was made to the South Court-House, in 1878, a large room was provided in it for the use of the library. That room is now occupied by it. The library is open the secular days of the week between the hours of 9 A.M. and 1 P.M. and from 2 to 5 P.M. Every inhabitant of the county is entitled to use the books of the Law Library, subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by the association which manages it, with the approval of the Supreme Court. The present librarian is T. S. Johnson, Esquire.

Several portraits of eminent, past and present, members of the Worcester County bar adorn the library room. Of those which have been given to the association and accepted by it, the portraits of the following judges, all deceased, hang in that room: Pliny Merrick, Benjamin F. Thomas, Charles Allen, Dwight Foster, the first two and the last having occupied seats on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, and the third having been chief justice of the Superior Court. Beside these portraits are others of the late Peter C. Bacon, and of United States Senator George F. Hoar. In the library room there is also a photograph from a portrait of Charles Devens, one of

the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court. Portraits of Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General of the United States under Thomas Jefferson, and of his son, Governor Levi Lincoln, and of Governor Emory Washburn have been placed on the walls of the courtroom in the stone court-house, and a portrait of Ira M. Barton, formerly a judge of Probate, hangs in the Probate Court-room, in the same building. These belong to the Law Library Association.

The information contained in the foregoing sketch has been obtained from William T. Harlow, Esquire, clerk of the Worcester County Law Library Association, and from another officer of the society.

LIBRARY OF THE WORCESTER COUNTY HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—The Horticultural Society began to collect a library in the year 1844, four years after its formation and two years after it became a chartered organization. The library is in the building of the society, 18 Front Street, which was dedicated in the autumn of 1852, and is called Horticultural Hall. Before it was moved to that place, in 1861 or 1862, it had for many years been kept in the office of Mr. Clarendon Harris. The library began in a humble way under the fostering care of Doctor John Green, the first president of the society, Frederick W. Paine, Isaac Davis, Samuel F. Haven, William Lincoln, Anthony Chase, Samuel H. Colton, Clarendon Harris and others, and has grown gradually to its present size of about two thousand bound volumes. It also contains six hundred pamphlets and unbound periodicals.

The works in the library treat of horticulture in all its branches. It also contains two hundred volumes relating to agriculture. While the library owns many books of historical interest, its strength lies in works on horticulture and agriculture which have been published during the last forty years. It has a good collection of sets of English, French and American periodicals that belong to the department of horticulture. The library has been carefully selected with reference to the wants of its users. Books may be taken to their homes by members of the society. About three hundred volumes are taken out yearly. Probably twice as many are consulted in the library room every year.

Although, strictly speaking, none but members can use the books of the Horticultural Society, it should be added that the library is administered in the spirit of general helpfulness and that information can really be obtained from it by all persons who need it. The large room which it occupies is used as a reading-room, and that is supplied with the current numbers of leading horticultural magazines and papers of England and America. The library is inferior to that of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in Boston, but is still one of the best collections of its kind in the country. An annual appropriation of three hundred dollars is made by the Horticultural Society for the maintenance and growth of the li-

brary and for providing periodicals for the reading-room.

The late Judge Francis H. Dewey recently left to the society a fund of one thousand dollars, the income of which is to be used for buying books for the library. The librarians of the society have been Anthony Chase, 1844 to 1851; Clarendon Harris, 1851 to 1862; Edward W. Lincoln, 1862 to 1871; George E. Francis, 1871; Edward W. Lincoln, 1872 to 1874; William T. Harlow, 1874; John C. Newton, 1875 to 1879; Charles E. Brooks, 1879, present incumbent.

The information embodied in this sketch has been obtained from Mr. Brooks, the librarian, and Mr. Edward W. Lincoln, the secretary and enthusiastic friend of the Horticultural Society.

LIBRARY OF THE WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—The association was formed in 1858, but did not begin to collect a library until five years later. Before 1863 it hired such musical works as it had occasion to use from publishers and others. It now has a very valuable musical library. It possesses more than sixteen thousand volumes of oratorios, cantatas and other large choral works, which have been brought out by the association at its concerts and festivals. It has scores and orchestra parts for about twenty such musical compositions. Besides the larger works it owns nearly five thousand copies of chorus selections from various authors, in sheets. The collection of the Worcester County Musical Association stands in New England next to that of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston in the size and value of its library of choral works, and probably exceeds greatly in those respects every other musical library of a similar kind in this section of the country. Mr. George W. Elkins is the present librarian and has held that position for many years.

LIBRARY OF THE WORCESTER CHORAL UNION.—The Worcester Mozart and the Worcester Beethoven Societies united November 16, 1866, under the name of the Worcester Mozart and Beethoven Choral Union, and the new organization was incorporated, with the name of the Worcester Choral Union, March 31, 1871. The act of incorporation was accepted in the following year, and officers were chosen September 9, 1872. The present librarian is Mr. G. Arthur Smith. The library consists of three thousand one hundred and fifty-four volumes and pieces of music. No additions have been made to it for several years, and at the present time (February, 1889) it is packed in boxes and stored in the basement of one of the churches of Worcester.

The facts given in the last two sketches were furnished to me respectively by Mr. A. C. Monroe, secretary of the Worcester County Musical Association, and Mr. G. Arthur Smith, the present librarian of the Worcester Choral Union.

LIBRARY OF THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—The Society of Antiquity was formed in 1875. It began to collect a library two years later.

That became at once available for the use of members of the society, but it was not opened to the public at stated hours, according to the plan observed to-day, until 1883. The library possesses six thousand one hundred and seventeen volumes, and seventeen thousand three hundred and forty-two pamphlets. A considerable portion of it consists of town histories, genealogies, and works treating of other subjects of especial interest to persons making investigations of the kind which members of such an organization as the Society of Antiquity would wish to engage in. The library grows almost wholly by gifts. The largest and most valuable of those which it has received is the library of the late Rev. George Allen. That was bought with money raised by subscription, by Hon. George F. Hoar, and presented to the society. The largest sums of money were subscribed by the late Mr. David Whitcomb, and by Mr. George Sumner. Mr. Allen's library numbered twenty-three hundred volumes and a like number of pamphlets. Besides containing books of other kinds, it "has been pronounced by competent authority to be one of the best representative collections of the New England theology of the olden time ever brought together" in this vicinity. This gift was received in the spring of 1884. Early in the following year Mrs. Charlotte Downes, of Washington, D. C., presented to the society the library of her late husband, Mr. John Downes. Both Mr. and Mrs. Downes had, at an earlier period, been residents of Worcester. The "Downes collection," as it is called, comprises four hundred and seventy-nine volumes, fifty-eight pamphlets, besides a noteworthy accumulation of six hundred and thirty-one almanacs, broadsides, papers, manuscripts, etc., which had been brought together by its former owner during the passage of a long life. It contains copies of twelve different editions of the "New England Primer," among them a copy of the original work issued in 1779, and a number of publications of Isaiah Thomas for children and other persons. The Society of Antiquity needs a fund, the income of which may be expended in the care and management of the library, and in buying books for it. The books now in the library are largely used. They are roughly classified as they appear on the shelves, but the library has not, as yet, either a printed or a manuscript catalogue. Members of the Society of Antiquity are provided with keys to the door which opens into the library rooms, and people generally can use the books at certain hours in the week, which can be found out by reference to the City Directory.

This sketch embodies information obtained from the printed Proceedings of the Society of Antiquity and from Mr. Franklin P. Rice, an influential member of that society.

LIBRARIES OF COLLEGES, SCHOOLS, &c.—In the library of the *College of the Holy Cross* there are about 15,000 volumes. These, writes the librarian, are

"arranged, for the present, in three principal rooms: the Theological, the Historical and the Academic; with a fourth apartment for miscellanies." He adds that as the library "is mainly intended for the use of the Faculty," and is made up of works which were bought with regard to the needs of the college and of several collections of books which have been bequeathed to it by Catholic clergymen, "theological and literary works" predominate in it. The library possesses an interesting black-letter Bible, in Latin, dated 1487, works by a group of the *literati* of the period of the Renaissance, copies of early editions of some of the English classics and other noteworthy volumes. While the students in the college have access to the general library "by means of their professors," they have special libraries to use, that are owned by societies to which they belong.

The library of the *Worcester Polytechnic Institute* contains 1,560 bound volumes and 1,200 pamphlets; that of the *State Normal School, Worcester*, 7,105 volumes (2,396 reference-books and 4,709 text-books); that of the *Worcester High School*, fully 2,000 volumes, exclusive of the text-books belonging to the city of Worcester; that of the *Worcester Academy*, 500 carefully-selected volumes; and that of the *Highland Military Academy*, 1,000 volumes. Other public and private schools also have small libraries. In the rooms of the *Superintendent of Public Schools* there is an interesting and somewhat extensive collection of text-books and of works which treat of schools and education.

LIBRARIES OF HOSPITALS, &c.—In the *Worcester Lunatic Hospital*, a State institution, there is a patients' library of about 1,900 volumes; 200 or 300 volumes are added to it yearly. These are bought with the income of money left to the hospital by Miss Abigail Wheeler and Miss Sarah C. Lewis. The bequest of the former amounted to \$4,600, that of the latter to \$1,300. The library is divided among different classes of books in about the following proportions: Fiction, 42 per cent.; Travels, 7 per cent.; History, 12 per cent.; Biography, 11 per cent.; Science, 2 per cent.; Poetry, 4 per cent.; Religious works, 2 per cent.; bound magazines, 20 per cent. The hospital has a medical library of about 300 volumes.

The *Worcester Insane Asylum*, also a State institution, is not provided adequately with books, having only about two hundred volumes in all for the use of physicians and patients. The trustees have no fund in their charge, the income of which may be spent in the purchase of books, but they have lately voted a small appropriation to be used in founding a library for patients. The superintendent is allowed to buy medical books in the exercise of his discretion, and the hospital is gradually acquiring a working library of books relating to the specialty of insanity.

The *City Hospital* has a medical library of about two hundred volumes and a collection of plates. It

has the income of the Curtis fund, one thousand dollars, and of the Sargent fund, five hundred dollars, to use in making additions to this library.

The patients' library consists of about two hundred bound volumes of miscellaneous contents, and has thus far relied in its accumulation upon the voluntary contributions of friends. The hospital has the nucleus of a library for nurses. At present this contains only about a dozen volumes and some pamphlets, but the superintendent expresses the hope that it may soon be increased. It is intended that this library shall be made up very largely of works which treat of nursing and the care of the sick.

The *Worcester County Homeopathic Medical Society* has a library of about one thousand volumes.

OTHER LIBRARIES.—The *Worcester Natural History Society* has a little library of three hundred and ninety bound volumes and about a hundred unbound volumes and pamphlets. The library which it uses at the camp in summer is additional to the one in its rooms, and consists at present of one hundred and fifteen volumes. A reading-room, supplied with magazines, is open to members of the society.

The library of the *Chamberlain District Farmers' Club* is usually included in a list of Worcester libraries. It consists only, however, of about fifty volumes of agricultural reports, reports from agricultural colleges and experiment stations, and United States consular reports.

There are a few libraries in Worcester, intended for grown-up persons, which are connected with Protestant religious societies in the place. The most important of these, perhaps, is the *Bangs Library* of the old Second Parish. This library was founded by Edward D. Bangs, who will be remembered as having been for several years Secretary of State in this Commonwealth. Mr. Bangs was a member of the Second Parish, and at his death left to the society the "sum of four hundred dollars, as a perpetual fund for a parish library, the income of which is to be applied to the purchase of useful books, particularly such as may be adapted to the religious and moral improvement of the young." The late Stephen Salisbury, also a member of the society, left to the Second Parish the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, the income of which is used in buying books for the Bangs Library. The library consists at present of 1020 volumes.

The Library of the Jail and House of Correction contains five hundred volumes. It is made up of stories, histories, biographies, religious works and a selection of books made with especial reference to the wants of Roman Catholic prisoners.

There is a collection of books in the rooms of the city clerk at the City Hall, which, as well as other libraries in different offices in that building, is valuable for municipal purposes. It is unnecessary to state that there are Sunday-school libraries belonging to different churches in Worcester. Mr. Jonas G.

Clark has given a somewhat large collection of books to the university which he has founded in Worcester. Very little is known, as yet, regarding the library, which still remains in Mr. Clark's possession. It is certain, however, that it contains many valuable works and numerous specimens of choice binding.

This chapter is devoted to giving a history and description of public libraries. It may not be improper to state here, however, that in the library of the late John B. Gough, the temperance orator, now in the possession of his widow, there is, perhaps, the best collection of the illustrations of the late George Cruikshank to be found in the world. Mr. Gough always hailed from Worcester when traveling and had his letters directed to him here, although his late residence, now occupied by his widow, is in the adjoining town of Boylston.

Among the libraries belonging to Catholic institutions there are, besides the library of the College of the Holy Cross, which has been described already, the "Sodality Library" in the Catholic Institute which belongs to St. John's Parish and consists of twelve hundred volumes, miscellaneous in character, which are used principally by members of the Sodality and of St. John's Guild, but which others who wish to do so may read; the library in the school-house on Vernon Street, which is called the Sunday-school library, and which is also owned by St. John's Parish. This consists of two thousand volumes on various subjects, but selected with reference to drawing out and developing moral qualities in the young, and is used mainly by attendants at Sunday-school, although free to other who may wish to use it; a library of one hundred and fifty reference and other books in the rooms occupied by the school of the highest grade in the same school-house; the Sodality library in the Convent of Mercy, on High Street, which consists of nine hundred and fifty volumes of histories, biographies, devotional works, tales, etc., for the use chiefly of grown-up persons; the library of St. Anne's Church, which contains five hundred volumes of a miscellaneous character and that of the Young Ladies' Society connected with the Church of the Sacred Heart, which consists at present of three hundred volumes.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY.

BY EDWARD B. GLASGOW, A.M.

I.—PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

It appears from the ancient records of Worcester that an ineffectual effort "to provide a writing master

to instruct the youth" was made at a town-meeting held in December, 1725. Worcester was then, as it might be said, but just established; for though some lands had been granted in this vicinity as early as 1657, various accidents, including the two wars of "King Philip" and Queen Anne, had prevented any permanent settlement until 1713.

The persons who had failed to obtain the writing-master in 1725 were not dispirited thereby; for a few months later, at a town-meeting, it was voted that the selectmen provide a sufficient school. Nevertheless, the end was not yet accomplished. In December, 1726, the question being raised again at a town-meeting, it was decided not to have a school. The great question would not, however, settle itself in so easy a manner. It arose once more in May, 1727, and a committee was named to provide a school-master for one year. This would seem a substantial settling of the matter; and in January, 1728, as we find it recorded, the town granted sixteen pounds, ten shillings to pay the schoolmaster, but it also then authorized the assessment of other moneys to meet a penalty. The committee of May, 1727, had not attended to its duty, and no school had been set up; but the men of Worcester, hard-headed and positive, after the fashion both of Puritan and Saxon, were not thus to be trifled with. Certain citizens made complaint, and the town was "presented" by the Grand Jury for not providing a school. In consequence, the inhabitants of Worcester had to pay the charges of the legal process, viz., two pounds, eight shillings, six pence. This drastic remedy for neglect seems to have worked a cure; for thereafter the records, by direct or indirect mention, show that a school or schools were habitually maintained.

By the year 1731, there being then one hundred householders, as it is believed, it would seem that the needs of the town in respect to schools had much increased. Not only a schoolmaster was provided, but it was voted that a number of "school dames, not exceeding five," should be employed for the benefit of the small children in the remote parts of the town. This was the beginning of a custom, not then nor for many years afterward legalized, of employing women as teachers. It was supposed that a school-master could be a man only, and that the term, as found in the laws, had no inclusive meaning as regards the feminine side of humanity. But common sense and the general convenience at last wrought a change in the interpretation of the law. The early schools of course were migratory, going here or there as circumstances might permit, having no fixed place and no exclusive building. The town seems to have thought itself rich enough in 1733 to build a school-house, and provision was made for a very modest structure, "twenty-four feet long, sixteen feet wide," to be placed near the centre. The committee in charge of this matter moved with such slowness, that full five years passed before the building was raised;

and, meanwhile, the formerly effective remedy of presentment by the grand jury was again tried, but for a somewhat different reason. In 1736 the town was presented for not maintaining a grammar school, and in 1738 the prosecution was still continuing. We do not learn how many pounds, shillings and pence the neglect cost the town this time, but apparently the honest tax-payers were much stirred up, for they voted May 15th of the last-named year that a school-house be erected "as soon as may be," at a place indicated on John Chandler's land. This little democracy had, however, like all democracies the world over, the custom of often changing its mind; accordingly, a month later, it was voted that the school-house be built at another spot, viz.: between the court-house and the bridge below the fulling-mill. Here, at last, at a point east of the old court-house, in what is now Main Street, the much-desired school-house was erected.

With the advance of the town in material prosperity, the desire to improve the schools went along apace. The sums appropriated seem of course petty to us, who are accustomed to the lavish expenditure of these days. In 1745 the sum allowed seems to have been one hundred and ten pounds, which, in purchasing power of the necessities of life—for the luxuries had not yet reached the colonies—might be said to equal five times that sum at the present day. In a community of one hundred and fifty households such a sum, *i. e.*, £550, or \$2750 would not now be thought a mean appropriation for public education. In this year also a somewhat complete scheme of operation for all the schools was reported by a committee, consisting of Jonas Rice, Daniel Heywood, Benjamin Flagg and Ephraim Curtis, whose plan was of such public-spirited sort as to warrant the giving here of their names. Their proposition was that the families living in the out-kirts should have the use of their own school money as paid by them, and that the families in the centre should make up, by subscription or in some other way, a sum which, with their share of the tax, should be sufficient to maintain a grammar school (what we now call a High School) in the centre. It was proposed also that the families remote from the centre might send any of their children to the grammar school without paying therefor, and the outlying families were divided into rows, quarters or skirts, as they were indifferently called. No action in the way of approval was taken upon this report. It was doubtless too liberal in its scope to meet the favor of men who, in order to live at all, must live with a degree of economy that closely approaches penury. Yet it had an effect, for we find the town two years later voting to allow the quarters that shall keep schools their proportionate share of the tax, and two years later yet, in 1749, a committee, raised for the purpose, reported several localities in the out-skirts where school-houses might be suitably built.

Thus things went on in the new settlement with

slow but manifest improvement. We may imagine the situation, if we will. In a valley not far from a mile wide, and on a ridge of land lying parallel therewith, was scattered the new and straggling town. It was as nearly as may be a homogeneous community, there being little intermixture of other strains with the original English type. As early, indeed, as 1718, some families of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had come to settle in the new town—a class of people whose characteristics were not unlike those of the previous settlers, though their traditions and point of view were distinctly different. It would seem that these two sets of people should have readily assimilated; and indeed, after a few of the more strenuous Presbyterian families had moved away to New Hampshire, being provoked thereto by the destruction, under cover of night, of their partly-built meeting-house, the remainder grew together with the rest of the settlers, and were among the most useful of the citizens. With the exception of this admixture, the town of Worcester was as purely English as any in old England, and so continued well into the present century. That it was a community deeply religious is true; it but it was a religion not of the Puritan type, however harsh was its exterior. To be industrious, orderly, decently religious, with education enough, seems to have been their notion of a good life, as different from our modern freedom as from the too close-fitting habits of the Puritan days. The forest that topped the hills was primitive, the intervals were virgin to the plough, the world was far away, whether of fashion or governmental authority. Labor and thoughts of peace made up the daily round, except as occasionally some straying Indian, begging for a bit of food, led to a recital of the dangerous times of old. So the village thrived, its peaceful annals unbroken by any greater disturbance than the petty differences of the town-meeting.

When the summer of 1755 came on, the minister, the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, bethought him, as usual no doubt, to go to the Commencement at Harvard College. This annual pilgrimage, as to a Mecca, every good minister, especially if a son of Harvard, made as a matter of course. Beside his errand of pious reverence to the shrine of culture, the reverend minister had another commission of particular moment. The grammar school at Worcester needed a teacher, and Mr. Maccarty was given authority to find a suitable person. Among the graduates of that summer was one, who seems to have attracted the approving notice of the Worcester clergyman, for he forthwith engaged him for the post. This youth of twenty was no other than John Adams, afterward President of the United States, and the first of a family distinguished for essential greatness. What Mr. Maccarty thought of the young man whom he had employed, and whom he had frequent opportunities afterward to observe, would be interesting to know; what young John Adams thought of the Reverend Mac-

carty, as well as of several of his chief parishioners, may be read at length in the diary and letters that form part of the second volume of his works, edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. It is not amiss to delay in the course of our sketch, in order to speak briefly of these things. Mr. Adams says of himself that he was "somewhat remarked as a respondent" at the Commencement, and that he was not twenty years of age when he set out for Worcester to be a Latin master. He was sent by the selectmen to board with Major Nathaniel Greene, in whose house he found a book on moral philosophy. He soon learned that the principles of deism had made some progress in this vicinity, and was gratified thereat, for he himself had grown in a liberal soil. However dull the town may have been, he seems to have found men to his taste among the inhabitants. Major Greene told him—in a prosy way—that the matters of the divinity and resurrection of Jesus Christ are very mysterious. Doubtless, Adams was too polite to do more than yield assent to his elder, but he entered in his diary that "mystery is a cover for absurdity." At Major Chandler's they talked of religious things also, and seemed to be agreed that liberal thoughts and good men are the world's need. When he took tea with the eminent lawyer, Attorney-General James Putnam, the talk turned again on such things, and Mr. Putnam remarked that the early Christians seemed to him enthusiasts,—an opinion upon which the diarist makes no comment. The occupation of teacher, no doubt, drew upon the spirits of the future great man. Writing to his friend Cranch in Boston, he speaks of the dreadful solemnity of the pedagogue on his throne, of the cringing multitude before him, and declares himself glad when he can escape from the scene to smoke his pipe in quiet. The trade was not to his mind, and it is no surprise to find that he shortly began the study of the law with Mr. Putnam. It appears that he continued to be the schoolmaster for three years, when, having been admitted to the practice of the law, he removed from Worcester to Boston.

During several years following the mastership of John Adams things pertaining to schools in Worcester went on, as we may suppose, in a somewhat humdrum fashion. There was a committee for the Centre, and another for the quarters, and what was necessary got itself done in some way. In November, 1759, the inhabitants of Baggachoage (Packachoag) petitioned for the privilege of hiring a schoolmaster, to be approved by the selectmen, so that they might have school kept all the year. It does not appear whether the petitioners proposed to tax themselves an additional sum for this purpose. If they did, so reasonable a request could hardly be negatived. It is, however, not unlikely that the town was fearful of allowing what might be a precedent for all the other quarters, and preferred to snub the over-topping Baggachoage people. At all

events the proposition did not meet favor. The time was approaching, however, when private enterprise was to come to the assistance of the public in matters of education. Such a period is inevitable as a community grows prosperous. Certain of the more conspicuous citizens, men of cultivation, according to the standard of the day, desiring, no doubt, better advantages for their families, as well as the common good, asked and received, in the year 1763, permission to erect a school-house on the town land where the selectmen might approve. Among the petitioners were James Putnam, referred to above, and the distinguished Judge John Chandler. A building was accordingly set up on a part of the land held for ministerial uses, eastward from Main Street, and not far southerly from what is now Foster Street. It was a modest building, having but two rooms in its single story. It is difficult to think that, as a specimen of educational architecture, it was any great improvement on the little school-house between the court-house and the bridge. Such as it was, it was, doubtless, sufficient, and by the judicious control which its proprietors exercised, the confidence of the townspeople was gained. We find the evidence of that in the following record :

1769, March 17th. A Com. on Schools report: That they have proposed to the proprietors of the Grammar school that the town allow said proprietors £16 the current year, said proprietors engaging that the said Grammar school shall be free for all persons in said town desirous of learning the languages (who shall) be admitted by said proprietors to have the same privileges and upon the same terms in said school, as the children of said proprietors, which proposals the said proprietors have accepted—and your committee are of opinion that the method of keeping English school in said town (should be) each part of the town draw the money they pay toward the whole sum raised the current year, and each have their proportion of the interest money belonging to said school—to be kept in the several parts of the town in such season of the year as shall be agreed on by the major part of said quarter. Your committee have divided the town into eight parts:

Centre of the town.	Stone's Quarter.
Tatnick.	Stowell's Quarter.
Smith's quarter.	Capt. Curtis' Quarter.
Bagnchoage.	Capt. Flagg's Quarter.

This report was favorably received, and the division into parts or quarters was thereafter followed as proposed. The system thus inaugurated was the same, substantially, as was urged twenty-four years before, by the committee of Jonas Rice and others. From the terms used, we may infer that a Grammar School meant then the same as we now understand by High School. The "grammar" was that of Latin and Greek, referred to as "the languages," and the English, or non-language-teaching schools, were distinctly set off from the Grammar School. This was, of course, the popular and ordinary use of the terms. The words "high school" were probably not then used, except in a pleasant derision; and they are not found in the laws of the Commonwealth, in their present meaning, until a very recent time. Common usage has given them a special and accepted significance; and the term "grammar school" has been

degraded to its present use, and made to mean the same as English school in the records just quoted.

The troublous times of the War of the Revolution being now not far distant, the signs of coming disturbance were only too apparent to reflective minds.

Life, however, went on with that calmness, which is so marked a characteristic of English-speaking communities. The farmer ploughed, the artisan wrought, the trader continued his trading. Town-meetings, often of a peppery sort, were held as usual, and in none of them was the care of the schools slighted. Moneys were appropriated, committees named; the Grammar School and the rest were matters of concern, while all men talked of war and feared the worst. The customary annual appropriation for schools was, as it had been for a generation, about £100.

The student of the faded books of Town Records remarks, however, that in 1778 the sum of £200 was set apart for this purpose.

Before he has found himself a reason for this sudden doubling of the amount, he is surprised to observe that in the next year £600 are appropriated. In 1780 the amount increases, without comment, to £3000, and in 1781 the munificent sum of £4000 is appropriated. This extreme lavishness in a country village is inexplicable, until we remember that these sums were payable in the swiftly depreciating Continental money. The appropriation, thus expanded forty times in volume with the years of war-time, suddenly becomes again, in 1782, a plain £100.

Peace was at hand; the Continental money, instead of appreciating, had become entirely worthless, and presumably the £100 were made up of hard money that had been hidden away in stockings and corners by the thrifty villagers.

It is probable, nevertheless, that no little disorganization crept into the schools during these years of uncertainty and the critical times that followed. The town was presented once more by the grand jury, in 1785, for not maintaining a Grammar School. The semi-public Grammar School, erected on town land in 1763, was doubtless in operation; but some unreasonable tax-payers would insist on the town giving them Latin and Greek in its own schools.

To meet the wishes of these complainants, or, more strictly speaking, to save the town further trouble, it was decided that the committee should agree with the proprietors of the Grammar School now keeping; bargain with them, in fact, to instruct all who might come at the town's charge. No mention of further presentment of the town occurs; and we may infer that, henceforth, Worcester had always a public school at which any aspiring youth might fit himself for Harvard College, according to the requirements then made. These may be found in "The Laws, Liberties and Orders of Harvard College" as follows:

"When any scholar is able to read Tully, or such like Latin author, *extempore*, and make and speak true Latin in verse or prose, *suo, ut aiunt, Marte*, and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, then he may be admitted into the College; nor shall he claim admission before such qualification."

The constant desire for proper means of education led to the building, some years before the close of the last century, of another and more pretentious school-house. That before referred to as owned by an association of proprietors was of too small capacity, and, indeed, had now been put to other uses than it was meant for. A new undertaking was engaged in, not unlike the former. Elijah Dix, Joseph Allen, Levi Lincoln, John Green, Palmer Goulding and other citizens, having formed a stock company, erected a building, which contemporary writers describe with much appearance of pride. It stood on the west side of Main Street, at a point some two hundred feet north of what is now the head of Central Street, and on the spot covered by the Chadwick Building. The structure had two large rooms below, one for a grammar and the other for an English school; while above was one large hall, intended for occasions of display and exhibition. In the great hall there was a fire-place at each end, and on the roof was placed a cupola and bell. This building, smaller than thirty that Worcester has to-day, became the boasted "centre school-house." In 1801 the proprietors sold it to the inhabitants of the Centre District, by whom it was used for more than forty years.

During the first quarter of our century the affairs of the schools went on somewhat listlessly, yet with apparent increase of usefulness. The moneys appropriated grew from thirteen hundred dollars in 1803 to twenty-five hundred dollars in 1824, but there was evidently need of the intelligent control of a special or expert committee. Such committees as were from time to time raised were in earnest, but their sphere was limited and their advice held cheap. Thus the committees frequently advised that the grammar-school should be no longer a "moving" school, but fixed; but so practical a suggestion was long disregarded, and the peripatetic policy seems to have been followed until 1810 or later. In fact, the administration of the schools was a part only of the general management of town affairs. The selectmen, or such special committee as might be named, directed all things. Under this system the schools were likely to and did receive the same attention as any other town matter required by the general laws. Some thoughtful persons must have seen the need of expert control of the schools, and must have often reflected that the democracy of the town-meeting were not likely to permit any interference with the domain of their selectmen. If A, B, C or X could order the matters of the town roads, the town pound, or the town pump, why could he not also direct the schools? To this

question silence was the easiest answer. A community usually escapes from a period of mediocrity by some seeming accident that puts the right persons in authority. So it happened in Worcester, and the occasion which led directly to a most important advance, arose at a school-meeting of the Centre District, held in 1823. A committee was constituted to report in general what the schools required. The membership of this committee was of an order much beyond the common. There were Samuel M. Burnside, a lawyer of distinction; Rev. Aaron Bancroft, a learned minister, father of the historian; Levi Lincoln, also a lawyer and a man marked for greatness; Otis Corbet and Samuel Jennison. These gentlemen were able to agree on a report of important character and to secure its adoption by the people of the district. The essence of their report lay in the third recommendation as follows:

In the third place, Your Committee recommend, that a board of twelve overseers be chosen annually by ballot, whose duty it shall be, in conjunction with the Selectmen, to determine upon the qualifications of instructors and to contract with them for their services; to determine upon the attainments of scholars to be admitted into said schools respectively; to prescribe the course of instruction therein, and all necessary rules and regulations for the government thereof; to determine upon all complaints of instructors, of parents or of scholars, which may arise in relation to said schools, or either of them; to visit and examine said schools respectively, at stated periods during the year; to encourage, in every suitable manner, both instructors and scholars in the performance of their relative duties; and to make a report in writing annually to the District, of the condition of said Schools during the period of their office.

The recommendations of this committee, being once put into effect, made the schools and their management by overseers almost a co-ordinate branch of the government with all the other affairs of the town as ordered by the selectmen. Samuel M. Burnside, chairman of this committee, being sent a few years later to the General Court, laid before that body a scheme for the control of schools similar to this, embodying it in a general law. The Legislature passed the bill, and thus was established that *imperium in imperio*, which the school system of the Commonwealth is to-day.

The limits set for this sketch will not permit any detailed statement of the operations of the schools. The eminent men who constituted the committee of 1823 became forthwith, with one exception, members of the Board of Overseers. That abounding interest in the public weal which had inspired their recommendations equally animated them in the application of the system. From year to year their names appear in connection with school affairs, but more particularly those of Aaron Bancroft and Samuel M. Burnside. In 1825 the good minister, desirous no doubt of a little innocent pageantry, which should at once arouse the youth and please the eye of the elders, proposed that there should be an annual address before the assembled schools, each with its teacher at its head. It was to occur at the end of the scholastic year, was to be in some church, was to be on the importance of education, and should be followed by

prayer. The proposition was acceptable to the overseers, and the first of a long series of addresses was made by Mr. Bancroft himself. The address in the following year was by Mr. Burnside. This agreeable mode of ending the year's work continued for some ten years, during which time several of the most eminent citizens of Worcester did duty as orators of the day. In the number were the Rev. Alonzo Hill, Isaac Davis, Alfred D. Foster, John S. C. Abbott, Stephen Salisbury, Ira M. Barton and William Lincoln. A custom so innocent and profitable might well have been continued indefinitely, but it is probable that the increasing number of pupils made it inconvenient to assemble them in one place. At all events, the annual address seems to have been last given in 1836, at which time there were said to be twelve hundred pupils in the schools. The sum expended for school uses in that year was about five thousand dollars, and the number of teachers was thirty.

The Centre School-house, in due time, was found too small for the uses required of it. It was decided, therefore, to erect a separate building for the grammar or Latin department. Accordingly a brick school-house, the first one in town, was built in 1832 on Thomas Street, at the corner of Summer Street. This was, specifically, the "Latin school for boys," the girls yet receiving their higher tuition, which did not in general include the languages, in the Centre School-house.

The pupils of the Latin school who yet remain have very tender recollections of Charles Thurber, who was the principal during several years ending in 1840. He was a true teacher of the type of fifty years ago, severe, exacting, learned, yet withal lovable. Elbridge Smith, a later principal, was also a revered teacher, and remained with the Latin school until, and after, it was merged with the coming High School.

It was a very important step in the history of the Worcester schools when, in 1844, it was decided at a town-meeting to establish a "High School," in the modern sense, sufficient for the needs of one hundred and seventy-five pupils, and intended for the use of the whole town. Many persons had doubted the expediency of affording to girls the same advantages of a classical education as were given to boys. That doubt was laid aside by this time, and a building was projected on a liberal scale, to be styled the "Classical and English High School," and used for both sexes. Twelve thousand dollars were appropriated for the purpose, and a suitable structure was raised at the west corner of Walnut and Maple Streets. It was a brick building, with a basement for general uses, and two stories above, with three large rooms on each floor. Those on the first floor served for the English High School, those above for the classical department. This school met the wants of the growing city for almost a generation; but in the years of unusual prosperity that followed the War of the Rebellion it

was found too small. The building was, therefore, moved, as it stood, across Walnut Street to the north side, where it yet remains in use as a grammar school. Many of the most cherished recollections of the men and women now of ripe age in the city are tied up with this old building. Elbridge Smith, coming from the Thomas Street Latin School, was the first principal. Of those who served as principals or assistants, mention may be made of several who afterward became distinguished. Such are Nelson Wheeler, later a professor of Greek in Brown University; George P. Fisher, now professor in Yale University; James M. Whiton, eminent as a Greek scholar, and Daniel H. Chamberlain, Governor of South Carolina in the troublous times of reconstruction.

In 1848 the town of Worcester, leaving its village life, became a chartered city. There were then fifty-two teachers, something less than three thousand scholars, and the annual expenditure was about fifteen thousand dollars. All the powers and duties of the several school districts and their overseers now passed into the control of a School Committee, of which the mayor is, *ex-officio*, the head.

The present High School building was dedicated to public use in the year 1871. The need of greater accommodation having long been apparent, it had been suggested that the old building be taken for other uses and a suitable structure erected. After some years of delay the matter was approved by the School Committee, and their report, accompanied by a petition signed by more than a thousand citizens, was laid before the City Council. This body, by its committee on education, forthwith entered on the duty of erecting a building which, it was hoped, would answer the public needs for many years. The old building, as has been said, was removed, and the new one put on the same lot, but a few feet farther west. The city was then passing through an era of great prosperity, and the views of the committee in charge of the work were of a liberal order. It is not to be doubted that the comprehensive mind of the then mayor, James B. Blake, largely shaped the plans that were adopted. By a happy fortune the preparing of a design was entrusted to Mr. H. H. Richardson, who, though then but little known, was soon to achieve fame as America's great architect. He was the junior of Gambrell & Richardson, architects, of New York. In this early work the breadth of treatment and leaning toward the classic, so characteristic of Richardson's later productions, are easily observable. To relieve the expansive front he proposed a square clock-tower, which, rising to nearly twice the height of the main building, should end in a very graceful and slow-tapering spire. Four smaller spires, set on the corners of the chief structure, gave correspondence to the whole work. The material being brick, various colors were introduced, and to some extent a whitish sandstone, that harmonized well with the rest. This striking design

was accepted, and the work committed to builders, the Norcross Brothers, who have since carried to completion many of the most remarkable works of this gifted man. The designer and the builder, the mind and the head, thus fitly came together. The building has three floors, on the upper of which is a large hall used for assembling, for general purposes, all the pupils. There are, beside this, nineteen lofty and well-lighted recitation or lecture-rooms, with proper accommodation for five hundred scholars. At the present writing the number in attendance is much beyond that, and it is plain that before many months other arrangements will need to be made. The original division into a classical and an English department is observed, and the course of study is such that a graduate is quite competent to make unlimited advance thereafter in the way of self-culture without recourse to any college. The modern languages receive special attention both as literatures and colloquially, and the instruction in physics, the general sciences and mathematics, is justly regarded as very good. From the classical department the pupils go with honor to a dozen different colleges. The present principal, Alfred S. Roe, an alumnus of Wesleyan University, has had charge of the school during eight years, and has the aid of an able corps of teachers. They are twenty-two in number,—nine men and thirteen women,—sixteen being graduates of college, and all of some collegiate training.

The interest of the people in the High School is well indicated by the many gifts which liberal citizens have made from time to time for the purpose of adding to its efficiency or beauty. At the opening of the old High School building, in 1844, Stephen Salisbury purchased, for the use of the pupils, a set of philosophical apparatus that was very complete for the time. In 1859 Alexander H. Bullock, afterward Governor of the Commonwealth, established a fund for the purpose of giving medals annually to proficient students. This fund was later, by consent of the donor, changed to a fund for the benefit of the library and the purchase of apparatus. When the present building was dedicated other free-minded citizens gave a clock for the tower, a bell, bronze fountains and works of art. Of late years, too, the custom has become established for retiring classes to put on the walls, or in the lobbies of the building, some portrait or bust of famous men, of the ancient or modern days.

Many other noble gifts have been added, and a fine memorial tablet placed on the walls, testifying to the service of the High School boys in the armies of our country.

The present situation of the schools may be briefly described. The city owns over forty buildings, used exclusively for school-keeping, ranging from the elaborate High School to the humblest suburban school-house. These are valued, stating it roundly, at one million dollars. More than three hundred

teachers are employed, and the total enrollment of pupils is over fourteen thousand. The expenditure for school purposes last year was two hundred and forty thousand dollars, being about one-fifth of all the taxes paid in the city. These figures are drawn from the annual report of 1887.

The care of the schools is vested, as before said, in the mayor and a committee of twenty-four persons. Each ward of the city has three members in the committee, the term of office being three years. One member is chosen by ballot at the annual election, in each ward, and thus no more than a third of the committee are new to the work at any one time.

Certain standing sub-committees are named by the mayor in January of each year. These consist of five or six persons each, and have certain special matters left to them. Thus, there are at present five standing committees,—i.e., on school-houses, on books and apparatus, on teachers, on appointments and on finance.

There are also minor committees of visitation, named by the committee on appointments, whose duties are specially to visit and oversee the doings of the school to which they are assigned. Thus, in theory, at least, every school has frequent visits by its special committeeman, and is also open to the calls of any and all members of the committee. Both the minor and the standing committees report their doings and recommendations to the full committee, at a stated monthly meeting.

It would appear readily, from the foregoing, that the citizens chosen to these honorable and responsible duties are in daily close touch with the schools. But it is a truism that in these busy and material days few citizens are found able, even if willing, to give their time freely to the public concerns. It is therefore fortunate that the Commonwealth has provided a medium between the School Committees and the pupils, in the person and office of a superintendent of schools. The appointment of such an agent, being first authorized by law in 1854, has become habitual in all the larger towns of the State. Three men, before the present incumbent, have held that office in Worcester, viz.: Rev. George Bushnell, in 1858; Rev. J. D. E. Jones, during seven years up to 1865; and Col. B. P. Chenoweth, during two and a half years following the late war.

The present superintendent, Albert P. Marble, Ph.D., entered upon duty in October, 1868. He is a graduate of Colby University, and is, at present, president of the National Educational Association. During the twenty years of his service the cares of the office have more than doubled with the increase of the school population.

There was a time, fresh in our memory, when the duty of a committeeman, after the teacher had been engaged and sent to his work, was to attend at intervals, look important and ask a few hard questions. Everything else took care of itself.

To-day the superintendent of schools in Worcester is the chief of a great bureau of administration. He is a director of hundreds and thousands who unite in work as he orders.

Far from being able frequently to visit one teacher after another, and supervise his or her particular mode of teaching, he must sit in the centre, and see that the great business goes on in all its departments. The danger is, that a "machine" will be created, and individuality of teacher and pupil be everywhere impaired. Such a result is especially to be feared where, as here, the schools being of necessity graded, the pupils go from one to another by stated examinations. A distinct effort to avoid this evil, and to promote originality rather than system, has been a characteristic of the present superintendence of the Worcester schools. Among the means to this end have been the frequent assembling of teachers in conference, the urging upon them of private culture and the finding for pupils subjects of study or reading supplementary to the usual books, and designed to enliven their mental frame. In the matter of examination for promotion, while there is a formal exercise of that nature in the schools, both teacher and pupil are aware that the final test is the judgment of the teacher, based on daily notice of the pupil during the term past. Thus the much-complained-of strain of examination day, and the weeks before, is to a large degree avoided. Thus, too, the schools become a field of training for the many, and the average scholar, apt to be slow, is not made to suffer that the few brightest may shine forth.

A most useful adjunct to the public schools is found in the State Normal School. This is one of several schools established in different parts of the Commonwealth, in order to teach the teachers the art of teaching. It is doubtless true in this art, as in that of poetry, that the greatest is born, not made. Nevertheless, as it is possible to teach the elements of the poetic art, so it must be to show the moderately well-equipped scholar what it is to teach, though nature may not have given him the grand secret for himself. The State Board of Education, by a resolve (of the General Court), which went into effect in June, 1871, were authorized and required to establish a Normal School in the city of Worcester; and the trustees of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital were authorized and required to convey, for this purpose, a tract of land of not more than five acres, to be located by the Governor and Council, within certain limits. An appropriation of sixty thousand dollars was made, upon condition that the city of Worcester should pay the Board of Education, for the purposes named in the resolve, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. This condition was promptly complied with. The tract was located by the Governor and Council September 2, 1871, and a few days later the conveyance was made by the trustees of the hospital to the Board of Education and its successors, in trust, as directed.

The Normal School was opened to pupils in September, 1874, the present principal, E. Harlow Russell, then assuming charge. The tract of land taken was a part of what had been called Hospital Grove, on a hill of considerable height, and with ledges of rock cropping out here and there. The stone for the building was quarried on the spot, and a massive and sufficiently imposing structure prepared. From any part of the grove one looks down on the bee-hive of Worcester, where, within a stone's throw, every kind of industry, in wood or iron, is pursued, and from the top of the building an extensive view may be had, ranging over several neighboring towns. The inner arrangements of the building are of a specially convenient and liberal sort, being devised by the principal, according to comfort and good sense.

The Board of Education, in 1880, declared the object of the school as follows:

The design of the Normal School is strictly professional, that is, to prepare in the best possible manner the pupils for the work of organizing, governing and teaching the public schools of the Commonwealth. To this end there must be the most thorough knowledge, first, of the branches of learning required to be taught in the schools; second, of the best methods of teaching these branches; and third, of right mental training. The time of one course extends through a period of two years, of the other through a period of four years, and is divided into terms of twenty weeks each, with daily sessions of not less than five days each week.

The studies of the two years' course are such as properly to fit the ordinary scholar for usefulness in the lower grades of the public schools, and a diploma to that effect is awarded. The four years' course being much more comprehensive, the student is required to take up Latin and French, with the privilege of German and Greek. During both courses very special attention is given to the science of education and the art of teaching, and the graduate goes forth a well-fitted teacher for any school whatever. The required age for admission, in young men, is seventeen years; in young women, sixteen years. If the applicant proposes to teach in the Massachusetts schools, his tuition and all text-books are free; otherwise there is an annual fee of thirty dollars. The principal is assisted by seven accomplished teachers, and the number of pupils in the last year was almost two hundred. Since the opening of the school there have been three hundred and forty-five graduates. A feature of the Normal School, which attaches it closely to the city public schools, is the apprenticeship system, so called. This is described in the annual catalogue, as follows:

The student, after three terms, or a year and a half in the Normal School, is allowed to go into one of the public schools of the city of Worcester to serve as assistant to the teacher of that school; to take part in the instruction, management and general work of teaching under the direction of the teacher; and even to act as substitute for the teacher for an hour, a half-day or a day, at the discretion of the latter and with the approval of the superintendent. One student only at a time is assigned to any one teacher; but each student serves in at least three grades of schools in the course of his term of service, the duration of which is six months or half a school year. After finishing his apprenticeship the student resumes his course at the Normal School, spending another half year there before receiving his diploma.

Regarding this system, it is not, of course, claimed that it is new. On the contrary, it is drawn from the experience of European countries. In its application here it has fully met expectation, and receives the constant approval of the School Committee. It should be said that the apprenticeship is voluntary—but those who look forward conscientiously to teaching are glad usually of the opportunity to see what they can do.

The anniversary of the Normal School, with its accompanying address, is one of the most interesting occasions that the round year offers to Worcester residents. Among those who have made formal addresses have been William T. Harris, LL.D., Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, President G. Stanley Hall, now of Clark University; Charles Dudley Warner, Professor E. S. Morse, of Salem, and John Fiske, of Cambridge. Thus is the graduate, as he takes leave of the still home of delightful study, cheered on his road to culture by the persuasions of ripe minds and bright wits.

II. INCORPORATED INSTITUTIONS.

COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.—The inspiration to the founding of this institution came from the Right Reverend Benedict Joseph Fenwick, second bishop of Boston. It had long been a wish cherished by him to establish within his domain an institution for higher secular culture. The opportunity seemed to be at hand when, in 1842, the Rev. James Fitton, who had built a seminary for young men on the slope of Packachoag Hill, in Worcester, offered to give what he had there, with sixty acres of land, to the bishop. The site and the offer were altogether such as were desirable, and steps were at once taken towards the carrying out of the great project. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus, being asked to assume charge of the enterprise, did so in the autumn of 1843. Rev. Thomas F. Mulledy was appointed president, and temporary occupation was made of the old seminary and other small buildings, pending the erection (which was at once begun) of an imposing structure of brick and granite. With few students, and amid much financial distress, the work was urged forward. In 1846 the founder, Bishop Fenwick, dying, his body was brought and laid in the small cemetery, almost within the shadow of the college. In 1849, a class being almost ready to graduate, it was thought well that a charter of incorporation be asked from the State, so that the customary degrees might be granted. The application was refused when laid before the General Court, but another expedient presented itself. The young men being certified as worthy of a degree, in whatever department, the Georgetown College, in the District of Columbia, granted them the corresponding degrees, and so continued to do for many years.

In the year 1852 the college met with a misfortune which came near ending its career, the buildings

being almost entirely destroyed by an accidental fire. The loss was said to be fifty thousand dollars, with no insurance. Not enough remained of the buildings even to shelter the students, so that one hundred of them were billeted in various friendly houses in the city on the night following the fire. This calamity led to a temporary suspension of the college, and many feared a permanent abandonment of the enterprise; but such was not the mind of its faithful friends. They came promptly to the rescue, money was contributed, new buildings begun, and in October of the year following Holy Cross was again ready to receive its students. During the fourteen months that had passed since the fire the students had scattered into many other institutions, and the number that returned was small. The opening was really a beginning, as if on a new foundation. The college, however, thrived and grew, though slowly, and began to gain, as an institution, the favorable regard of many who were not Catholics. Among these was the great Governor, John A. Andrew. He visited the college in 1862, and attended the annual Commencement of the year following. It would appear that he was much impressed with the value of the training given, for he personally suggested to the faculty the wisdom of again applying for a charter of incorporation. The Legislature of 1865, when a charter was asked for, was found to be of different mind from that of 1849, and the much-desired instrument was obtained without opposition. It gives the faculty power to confer all such degrees as are usually conferred by colleges in the Commonwealth, except medical degrees.

The present situation of things at Holy Cross may be briefly described. One vast brick building, three hundred and twenty feet long, contains the lecture and recitation rooms, the library, chapel, dormitories for two hundred students, and the necessary apartments for the president and faculty. The president, Samuel Cahill, S.J., is assisted by a corps of twenty professors and instructors. The schedule of studies is in accord with that usually approved by the Society of Jesus, the course being ordinarily completed in seven years. The student is made familiar with the best Latin and Greek authors, while, side by side with these studies, goes a course in mathematics, extending to the highest branches. The modern languages receive special attention, as well as history in its manifold relations. In the last year of a student's stay he is especially trained in rational philosophy and the natural sciences. It is obvious that the product of study, as here pursued, is an exact and careful scholar, of high general culture. As might be naturally supposed, a considerable share of the graduates turn towards the priesthood, yet far the larger part are found to engage in the secular professions and in the varied employments of the day, whereby wealth and station may be secured.

THE WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE.—This

institution originated in a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, given by John Boynton, of Templeton, in Worcester County. His purpose was to found a school, free to all residents of the county, wherein young men might learn, in addition to the ordinary subjects of study, some or all of the useful mechanic arts. The project commended itself to other men of philanthropic mind, and especially to the Hon. Stephen Salisbury and the Hon. Ichabod Washburn, both of whom added large sums to the original gift. The citizens of Worcester united also in a liberal subscription, so that, at length, the endowment amounted to nearly a half-million dollars. The institution was incorporated in 1865, and the work of preparation so pushed on that in November, 1868, the doors were thrown open to students. The charter gave the name of the institution as "The Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science;" but this somewhat cumbrous title, however expressive of the founder's intention, was changed in 1887, by special act of the Legislature, to that given above. Two theories were entertained as to the proper scope of the school. Should it be chiefly a school of the manual arts, adding thereto some knowledge of the scientific side of industrial processes? Should it, on the other hand, be a school of science, adding, however, a sufficient manual knowledge to enable the student intelligently to direct or engage in industrial processes? Probably most persons expected the former theory to be adopted, and looked forward to the production of a class of skilled workmen, but the second view prevailed with the governing body of the institute, and remains to-day the policy of the school.

Charles O. Thompson, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and a specialist in chemistry, returning from an examination of the best European polytechnic schools, was placed at the head of the faculty. He proposed a three years' course of study, afterward extended to four years, with a standard of scholarship higher than most young men who at first came for instruction could attain. The proportion of graduates was therefore small during several years, and some persons doubted if the aims of the principal were not unreasonable. Fortunately his views prevailed, though the future of the Institute was for several years a matter of grave doubt. As the grade of scholarship required became known, more capable students presented themselves, and the weaker stayed away; so that at length the high ideal was met, and the graduates began to be everywhere allowed the first rank among men of scientific ability. Professor Thompson retired from the post of principal in order to assume the organization of a similar institute at Terre Haute, Indiana, from which post he was soon unhappily removed by death. He was succeeded by the present principal, Homer T. Fuller, Ph.D., who assumed duty in 1883. The institute has now fifteen professors and instructors, and one hundred and fifty students. The buildings, used exclusively for in-

struction and practice, are four in number. Boynton Hall contains the offices of administration, the chapel, lecture, recitation and drawing-rooms. In the Washburn machine-shop, work is practically done in wood and iron, certain machines of which the institute has the control being sold to all parts of America. The Salisbury Laboratory, a new building, contains the mechanical, chemical and physical laboratories, and the lecture-rooms connected therewith. This building is a gift to the institute by Stephen Salisbury, who has also devoted to public uses a considerable piece of land, the Institute Park. In a fourth building is the magnetic observatory, with special appliances for isolation and accuracy. The established course of study is mainly scientific, with competent instruction in the modern languages. Those students who purpose to become mechanical engineers are taught practically the art of construction, being required to devote a specified part of their time to practice in the machine-shop.

Schools like the Polytechnic Institute are obviously a result of the material development of our country. The world is over-grown with wealth, and all the wealth only stimulates to the discovery of new ways of adding to the accumulation. Mines must be opened, ores reduced by new methods, the secrets of chemistry laid open, bridges built where our fathers would have deemed it impossible, mountains burrowed, and canals constructed that the navies of continents may pass by short-cuts from one ocean to another. That all this may be best done, requires just the kind of man that may be found in the institute graduates. "Studies," said my Lord Bacon, "serve for delight, for ornament and for ability." At the institute, it may be said that they serve for ability. The careless young man, whose parents want him to get a taste of cultivation, finds this school uncongenial. The ordinary levity of student life has little lodgment, and ability to do has more weight than all other considerations. The graduate goes forth a capable director in the special industry he has chosen for himself, a good chemist, engineer, constructor, a captain of industry.

THE CLARK UNIVERSITY.—Though favored much above most cities with the means of culture, Worcester is about to add to the existing institutions one of the greatest promise, not only for her own citizens, but for the country at large. Mr. Jonas G. Clark, a wealthy and liberal-minded man, announced two years ago his intention to establish a university, and to endow it to the extent, at least, of one million dollars. In response to a petition signed by him, and by Charles Devens, George F. Hoar, Stephen Salisbury, John D. Washburn, William W. Rice, Joseph Sargent, Frank P. Goulding and George Swan, a charter of incorporation was granted to the Clark University, with all the powers usually given. In May, 1887, the Board of Corporators was organized, with Jonas G. Clark, president, and John

D. Washburn, secretary. Steps were at once taken toward carrying out the project, and at this writing two very large brick buildings are almost finished, on land conveniently located in the southern part of the city. It is expected that students will be received in the autumn of 1889. Professor G. Stanley Hall, late of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, has been chosen president, and is now visiting, for the purposes of observation, various universities in several countries of Europe. What final shape as regards its scheme of work the Clark University will take, has not been made known. It is, however, presumed that the first object of the corporation will be to establish what the name signifies in its highest meaning, to wit: a school of liberal culture for men who have already completed the ordinary college course, or have otherwise acquired an equivalent thereto. With that accomplished, the establishing of under-graduate courses will be easy, if considered desirable.

The Hon. Charles Devens, justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth, presided on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the principal building, October 22, 1887. The communication, then read, from the founder, contained these words:

Broad in its scope, liberal in its methods and comprehensive in its teachings, . . . we dedicate this University to Science, Letters, Art and human progress, in their best and most valuable forms.

The Hon. George F. Hoar, in making the chief address, spoke, in part, as follows:

A university . . . is a place where the highest instruction is to be obtained, . . . where libraries are to be found, which show the existing boundaries of human knowledge, and workmen and apparatus are found fitted and employed to extend them. These institutions have ever been among the most beneficent forces in American history. . . . The University is the natural ornament, the bright, consummate flower of democracy. It is the greatest of all levellers. . . . It is devoted to no sect or creed or statement of doctrine in which human presumption has sought to imprison the free spirit of truth, and to bar its onward pathway.

For the fulfillment of the purposes of founder and trustees, thus definitely expressed, the city waits with brightest hopes.

THE WORCESTER ACADEMY.—This school was projected, two generations ago, by persons of the Baptist faith, who desired an educational institute under their own control. After much conference, it was thought well to leave the organization with certain trustees, who in 1832 bought fifty-nine acres of land, with a building thereon, worth in all ten thousand dollars. This land lay, as then described, one-half mile south of the village; as the city now is, it was east of Main Street, and on the high land extending from Lagrange to Hammond Streets. In 1834 the institution was incorporated under the name of the "Worcester Manual Labor High School." Operations were begun then in earnest, and we learn by the catalogue of 1836 that there were in that year one hundred and thirty-five pupils in all, living in or attending the school. Isaac Davis was the

president of the trustees, a post which he held until age and infirmity forbade him. Otis Corbett was then secretary, and Ichabod Washburn treasurer. It was intended that the pupils should, by manual labor, pay a part of their living expenses; but no labor, except on the farm, was convenient, and as the prices for all things furnished were very low, the school was in continual financial straits. In 1846 the Legislature permitted the name to be changed to the "Worcester Academy," and the notion of manual labor was then abandoned. In that year there were one hundred and eighteen students, who were charged for board \$1.30 to \$1.50 per week, according as they did not, or did, use tea and coffee. The total necessary expenses of a term of eleven weeks were from \$23 to \$29. Such were the statements of the annual catalogue.

Under the new name things went on somewhat as before. In 1850 the total of pupils for the year was one hundred and seventy-six, and preparations were made for a new building of brick, one hundred feet long and four stories high. But the work only involved the academy more deeply in debt, and a proposition to change the location met with favor, more especially as it had a savor of financial gain. It was proposed to sell the lands of the academy, now appreciating in value, and buy, with the proceeds, the old Antiquarian Hall, it being then for sale. This was done in 1854, and the school was moved without delay to the new place, on the corner of Belmont and Summer Streets. The academy had thus, as said the catalogue of 1856, a sufficiently-equipped building, all paid for, and twenty-five thousand dollars beside, profitably invested.

Under the new state of things more was doubtless expected than came to pass. The pupils no longer lived in the academy, but where it suited them, in or out of town, and thus, perhaps, the *esprit de corps* was, to some extent, injured. Young women were also then admitted to the academy, a policy which, in a modified degree, is pursued to the present day. But the affairs of the school went on with reasonable efficiency until the time came for a more important change than the last. A large building and some acres of land were for sale on Providence Street. This had been (1850-53) a medical college, but afterward was used, first, for a ladies' collegiate institute, and then, during the war, for an army hospital. The trustees of Worcester Academy, having always a prudent financier in their president, bought this property in 1869 for the sum of forty thousand dollars.

The academy was forthwith moved to that spot, and there remains. The institution has never lacked benefits from its friends, although it has had times of severe pecuniary stress. To-day it is on a prosperous basis, the result of gifts made or pledged for its use, by friends in many parts of New England. Aside from the Hon. Isaac Davis, the most constant

friend and contributor to the academy's funds has been the Hon. Joseph H. Walker, now president of the trustees. The present principal, D. W. Abercrombie, A.M., a Harvard graduate, has had charge since 1883. There are now eight teachers and one hundred and thirty students, most of whom live in the buildings. The academy has two courses of instruction,—a college preparatory and a scientific, in both of which the various liberalizing studies of our modern days are carefully pursued.

Although the school is supposedly under denominational control, it is contended that no limited views prevail in the management. The teachers are chosen from the graduates of several colleges, and the young men are likewise fitted for many different institutions. In view of its age and usefulness, the Academy is justly regarded with pride and interest by the citizens.

THE WORCESTER MEDICAL INSTITUTION.—This medical college was incorporated in 1849, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Calvin Newton, a well-known divine and physician. In 1850 and 1851 imposing buildings (now the Worcester Academy) were raised on land given by John W. Pond, and a full course of instruction was established. The training was of the eclectic, Thompsonian or botanic order. There were fourteen graduates in 1851, and the future was bright, but difficulties arose that need not be detailed here, and the college ended its existence in a very few years.

LADIES' COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE.—This institution received a charter from the State in 1854. Its early status is not clear to one who investigates at this distance. It was held up as a project worthy the notice of wealthy philanthropists in February, 1855, though, doubtless, then a scheme only. The Rev. E. A. Cummings, signing himself "financial secretary," published a pamphlet detailing what was proposed, but which allows us to believe that the Collegiate Institute was not founded as yet. A later prospectus shows that the trustees had acquired the lands of the defunct medical hospital, of which possession was taken in 1856. Here was then set up a fully organized women's college, with power to grant degrees. It was, to some extent, befriended, if not directed, by persons of the Baptist faith. In 1857-58 there were in all one hundred and fifty pupils, for whom an elaborate course of study, linguistic and other, was provided. In 1860 the annual catalogue contained a cry for funds, as the income did not meet the outgo. Notwithstanding the appeal, matters did not improve with the institute, and it appears to have been closed soon after. The property entered upon a period of legal complications, from which it emerged to be bought by the trustees of the Worcester Academy, as before said.

OREAD COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE.—In 1848, Eli Thayer, having been before a teacher in the Manual Labor High School, established a seminary for young

ladies. The name, Oread, was fancifully adopted from Virgil's line, "*Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades*" (*Aen.* I, 500), and had special reference to the woody hill on which the building was placed. The institution was incorporated four years later, with power to grant degrees, and presently gained a high standing in the community. Its patronage and affiliations were mainly with the Baptist denominations, but with no purposed sectarian bias. The studies pursued were of a liberal order, with much that made for true culture. The Oread flourished for many years, and its doings were a conspicuous part of the social life of the city. After a varied history it at length fell into a stage of less prosperity, and the school has been of late discontinued. The picturesque building—a castellated structure of the olden time—still dominates from its height a good part of the city; but its lawns and groves are giving place to rows of modern brick houses.

III.—PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

Schools, under private management, and with various degrees of excellence, have existed from time to time, during a century past.

The antiquary, delving into musty records, will learn of Thomas Payson's seminary for young ladies, in 1791, and of the school that this same person undertook in 1795, "near Dr. John Green, Jr." He will find, also, that in 1805 Mrs. Nugent had an academy for young ladies. It appears, too, that in 1828 Samuel M. Burnside, spoken of before, projected a law school, but with what success is not clear. It is probable that his prospectus, preserved among the treasures of the American Antiquarian Society, was the beginning and end of his project.

In the year 1831 Rejoice Newton, Levi Lincoln, Isaac Davis, Pliny Merrick, Thomas Kinnicutt and others—eleven in all—wishing to establish a school for young women, bought the old Chandler mansion on Main Street, nearly opposite the head of Park, where now a large business block stands. A school was opened the next year, under care of Mrs. Wells, who was succeeded by John Wright. The undertaking, however, came to an end in a very few years, and left little trace of its usefulness. But the details of any of these projects, if at hand, would not overmuch interest us.

There are, to-day, several private schools, but only one which justly calls for mention here. Caleb B. Metcalf, M.A., who had for several years been master of the Thomas Street Grammar School, left it in 1856 to establish, on Salisbury Street, a school that presently developed into the Highland Military Academy. The institution yet flourishes, with promise of long usefulness, Mr. Metcalf having of late yielded the active control to Joseph Alden Shaw, M.A., head master. The scholars received, being usually from twelve to sixteen years of age, live in the buildings and are under supervision. An established course of study prepares

them for entrance to any college or similar institution, or for a general business life. The object of the military department is to teach habits of promptness and a good carriage.

More than one thousand pupils have gone out from this institution, and they may be found in every State of the Union, exemplifying, in all lines of life, the training received at the academy.

Of the many institutions in the city not properly scholastic, but which aim at special culture in one way or another, it is not necessary to attempt detailed mention.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

SOCIETIES, ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS.

BY MR. NATHANIEL PAINE.

To give a detailed history of the many societies, literary, social and political, which have existed in Worcester would necessitate the occupying much more space than the limits of this history will admit.

In the period just before the War of the Revolution, impatience at the demands made by the British Government, and its infringement upon what men then thought were the rights of all men, caused the formation of a political society, which, though short-lived, had a marked influence upon municipal affairs which was far-reaching in its effects.

Many years after, when these rights were fully established, societies were formed for mutual protection against the ravages of fire, and for aiding each other in bringing thieves to justice. Then came societies for the literary and educational improvement of the people by the distribution of books, and by courses of lectures upon scientific subjects illustrated by suitable apparatus.

Societies and associations for philanthropic and benevolent purposes, as well as representative orders or chapters of the numerous secret societies of the county, are also established here. Churches and schools are represented by many societies, associations or clubs for special purposes in their line of work. Book clubs, athletic clubs and those especially for social purposes are also numerous.

With so large a number it is to be regretted that so few can be spoken of in detail, but it is the hope of the writer that the brief notices here presented may prove of some historical value.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SOCIETY, the earliest not of a religious nature, formed in Worcester, of which any record has been handed down, was organized December, 1773, by the leading Whigs for discussion and consultation upon the civil and re-

ligious affairs of the town. Its principal purpose was undoubtedly to influence and, as far as possible control the action of the loyalist party, which consisted very largely of the wealthy and influential men of the town. At a meeting held January 3, 1774, a committee, appointed at the house of Asa Ward the 27th of the previous month, reported a code of by-laws which was adopted. The committee, consisting of Nathan Baldwin, Samuel Curtis and Timothy Bigelow, in presenting the rules and regulations for the government of the society, prefaced them with the following preamble, setting forth the reasons for its formation and the objects in view: "Whereas, at this present time, the good people of this country in general (and with respect to some particular circumstances, the town of Worcester in particular) labor under many impositions and burdens grievous to be borne, which we apprehend would never have been imposed upon us if we had united and opposed the machinations of some designing persons in this Province, who are grasping at power and the property of their neighbors; for the prevention whereof, and the better securing our liberties and properties, and counteracting the designs of our enemies; we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do by these presents incorporate ourselves into a society by the name of the American Political Society, and to meet at some public-house in Worcester, at least once in every month, to advise with each other on proper methods to be pursued by us, and each of us respecting our common rights and liberties, civil and religious; and for the regular ordering and conducting our said society in their meetings, they shall choose some one of the members of said society as a chairman," etc. The by-laws adopted indicate that it was to a certain extent a secret society, the first article reading as follows: "That no discourse or transaction in any of our meetings shall be communicated or divulged to any person or persons not belonging to our said society, by any ways or means whatever (such only excepted as are allowed to be made public by the unanimous vote of our said society), and if any person or persons shall be guilty of a breach of this article, he or they be punished with expulsion from our said society." The ninth and tenth articles, which are as follows, are in the same spirit: "9th. That every member of our said society shall have full power to dismiss himself from said society in the following manner, viz.: by informing them in any one of their meetings, in writing, that he will inviolably keep all the secrets of said society as faithfully as if he still belonged to it himself, and as they desire, but that he desires a dismissal by a vote of said society, and that it may be entered on the journal of the transactions of said society that he was dismissed by his own desire. 10th. That each particular member of this our said society, reposing special trust and confidence in every other member of the society, looks upon himself as bound, and hereby binds himself by the ties of honor, virtue, truth,

sincerity and every appellation that is dear to him in this life, faithfully and truly to keep and perform for himself each and every of the articles herein mentioned and expressed to all intents and purposes."

At one of the meetings in February, 1774, the question as to the propriety of choosing any person to any office, who was not a professed friend to constitutional liberty, was discussed. April 4th there was an interesting meeting, over thirty members being present. Among the questions discussed and acted upon was that of preparing instructions to the representatives to the General Court, to be chosen the next month. It was also voted at this meeting that "this society will each one bear and pay their equal part of the fine and charges that may be laid upon Messrs. Joshua Bigelow and Timothy Bigelow, for their refusal to be empaneled upon the Grand Jury, at our next Superior Court of Assize for the county of Worcester, if they shall be chosen into that office, and that their refusal is founded upon the principle that they cannot consistently with good conscience and order serve if Peter Oliver, Esq., is present on the bench as Chief Justice or Judge of said Court, before he is lawfully tried and acquitted from the high crimes and charges for which he now stands impeached by the Honorable House of Representatives, and the major part of the Grand Jurors for the whole county join them in refusing to serve for the reasons aforesaid." Matters of town and church government were often discussed. At the meeting of May 2, 1774, the matter of Rev. Mr. Maccarty's salary was debated, as to whether an additional sum of twenty pounds, which had been allowed him, should be taken off for the year. June 10th, by a unanimous vote, it was agreed "not to purchase any English goods until the port and harbor of Boston shall be opened." At a town-meeting held on the 7th of March, 1774, the fourth article of the warrant was "for the town to consider and act and vote as they may think proper, upon a petition of twenty-seven citizens of the town, that some action be taken in relation to the act of Parliament giving a privilege to the East India Company to export teas to America, subject to duty, for the purpose of raising a revenue for his Majesty." The request was referred to a committee consisting of William Young, Josiah Pierce and Timothy Bigelow (all members of the Political Society), to take it into consideration and report in two hours. The committee promptly reported a long preamble with three resolutions, the substance of which was, "that the inhabitants refuse to buy, sell or in any way to be concerned with India teas of any kind until the act imposing a duty be repealed, and also to break off all commercial intercourse with those persons, in this or any other place, who should act counter to these resolutions," etc., etc. This action of the town called forth a protest from the loyalists against accepting the report of the committee, which was rejected by the meeting. The protest was, however, entered upon the records by Clark Chandler, the

town clerk, who was a loyalist, and this action on his part occasioned much excitement. When it became known to the members of the Political Society that the obnoxious protest had really been entered on the town records they were very indignant, and at once proceeded to show that they were, and upon a petition of Joshua Bigelow and others, a town-meeting was called the 22d of August, 1774, to consider the matter. This meeting was adjourned to the 24th of the same month, at which time it was voted, "That the town clerk do, in the presence of the town, obliterate, erase or otherwise deface the said recorded protest and the names thereto subscribed, so that it may become utterly illegible and unintelligible." That this vote was most thoroughly carried out, an inspection of the town records will give ample evidence, the obliteration being so complete that it is "utterly illegible and unintelligible." In 1776 it was found that the society was having too much influence in controlling the town-meetings, which occasioned an opposition to it, and it was finally dissolved in May of that year. It had, however, been a power for good in the community, and many of its members were useful and honored officers of the town, as well as doing efficient service in the War of the Revolution.

WORCESTER FIRE SOCIETY.—This ancient society was organized in January, 1793, and is still in existence, observing its old rules and regulations adopted at the outset although the service for which it was founded has long since been superseded by the appliances of modern inventions for the protection of property from fire. Its founders, says the preamble to the by-laws, "influenced by a sense of social duty, formed themselves into a society for the more effectual assistance of each other, and of their townsmen, in times of danger from fire." Among the original members were Joseph Allen, John Green, Stephen Salisbury, Sr., Daniel Waldo, Jr., Abraham Lincoln, Edward Bangs and Isaiah Thomas. Neither the records nor the newspapers of the day give the reasons for its formation. Probably the immediate cause was the destruction by fire on the 4th of January, 1793, of the weaver's shop of Cornelius & Peter Stowell, situated at the corner of what is now Park and Washington Streets. The by-laws adopted are almost word for word, like those of a "Masonick Fire Society" instituted at "Gloucester (Mass.) August 18th, 1789," which were printed at the press of Isaiah Thomas & Co., at Boston, and that also may have suggested to Mr. Thomas the idea of forming a similar society in Worcester. Meetings are held quarterly at some hotel and at the annual meeting, in January, an oration and poem are usually delivered. Reminiscences of the members, from its foundation to the election of Dr. George Chandler, in 1864, have been published, which give many items of local history, and indicate the prominence of its members in town affairs. From 1795 to 1831 the office of town treasurer was held by a member of this society, and

from 1790 to 1831, one or more of the Board of Selectmen. Since then a majority of the mayors of the city have also been members. It has also furnished three Governors of the State, United States Senators and Representatives, and an Attorney-General of the United States.

The number of members is limited to thirty, thus making it a somewhat exclusive society and this fact probably induced some gentlemen, who were unable to become members, to form other societies of a like nature.

THE MUTUAL FIRE SOCIETY was formed in July, 1822, but remained in existence only a short time. The Social Fire Society, formed in 1840, was also given up after a few years. Both these societies were organized on the same plan as the older society, but they seem to have lacked the elements of success that characterized the first.

THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF MUTUAL AID IN DETECTING THIEVES was instituted in November, 1795, and keeps up its organization, although the objects for which it was formed are now much more effectually provided for by the city and State authorities. The first meeting was held at the tavern of Captain Daniel Heywood, November 2, 1795, Benjamin Heywood being moderator, also chairman of a committee to draw up rules and regulations. These were adopted at a meeting held November 16th, with a preamble setting forth the general objects of the society, which was as follows:

WHEREAS, the practice of stealing has become so prevalent of late that it has become necessary for the well-disposed to unite in the most effectual measures for protecting their property against those hostile incursions: We, the subscribers, do therefore associate together for the purpose of more effectually recovering any property that may at any time be stolen from any member of this society, and of mutually aiding each other in bringing offenders to condign punishment, hereby engaging to comply with the following rules and regulations.

From the records it would appear that no other meeting was held till January, 1801, and that at a meeting in February of that year the name of the society was fixed upon as "The Society of Mutual Aid against Thieves,"¹ and the admission fee fixed at six shillings. At the meeting of January 10, 1803, an assessment of "one shilling was made on each member to keep his dollar good," the sum of nineteen dollars and forty-seven cents having been expended in pursuing the thief who had stolen Captain John Pierce's horse, etc. At this meeting the first pursuing committee was chosen, who were "to hold themselves in readiness, at the shortest notice, to pursue any thief or thieves who may have stolen any property from a member of this society." The present treasurer and clerk is George M. Woodward; there is also a board of twelve directors and a pursuing committee of the same number. Although the organization is still preserved, the meetings are not held with any regularity, and it seems to be of but little interest to the members, save for its antiquity.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, although not local in its membership, has its buildings and collections at Worcester, where it was founded in 1812. The first steps for its formation were taken at a meeting held at Sykes' tavern, in Worcester, by Isaiah Thomas, Nathaniel Paine, William Paine, Levi Lincoln, Aaron Bancroft and Edward D. Bangs. These gentlemen petitioned the State Legislature for an act of incorporation under the name of the American Antiquarian Society, with "such privileges and immunities as are usually granted by acts of incorporation to other public societies established under the laws of the Commonwealth.

As one of the inducements to the granting of these privileges, "they beg leave to state that one of their number² is in possession of a valuable collection of books, obtained with great labor and expense, the value of which may be fairly estimated at about five thousand dollars, some of them more ancient than are to be found in any other part of our country, and all of which he intends to transfer to the proposed society, should their project receive the sanction and encouragement of the Legislature." The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and the act of incorporation was approved by Governor Caleb Strong, October 24, 1812. The preamble to the act of incorporation was as follows:

WHEREAS, The collection and preservation of the antiquities of our country, and of curious and valuable productions in Art and Nature, have a tendency to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge, aid the progress of science, to perpetuate the history of moral and political events and to improve and interest posterity: Therefore be it enacted, etc.

The persons named in the act were gentlemen eminent for their learning and ability, who stood high in the confidence of the public; there were, besides, the petitioners already mentioned, Levi Lincoln, Jr., Samuel M. Burnside, Francis Blake, Isaiah Thomas, Jr., of Worcester, and Harrison G. Otis, Timothy Bigelow, John T. Kirkland, Josiah Quincy, Thaddeus M. Harris and others of Boston and vicinity.

The first meeting of the corporators, called by an advertisement in the *Massachusetts Spy*, addressed to the "American Society of Antiquaries," was held at the Exchange Coffee-house, in Boston, November 19, 1812, ten gentlemen being present. At this meeting an organization was made by the choice of Isaiah Thomas as president; William D. Peck, vice-president; Thaddeus M. Harris and William Jenks, corresponding secretaries; and Samuel M. Burnside, recording secretary. Another meeting was held in February, 1813, at which by-laws were adopted, and Dr. William Paine was chosen second vice-president; Levi Lincoln, Jr., treasurer; and Timothy Bigelow of Medford, Aaron Bancroft and Edward Bangs of Worcester, George Gibbs of Boston, William Bentley of Salem, Redford Webster and Benjamin Russell of Boston, counselors. At this meeting the president, in accordance with a previous intimation,

¹ Since modified to the present name.

² Isaac Thomas.

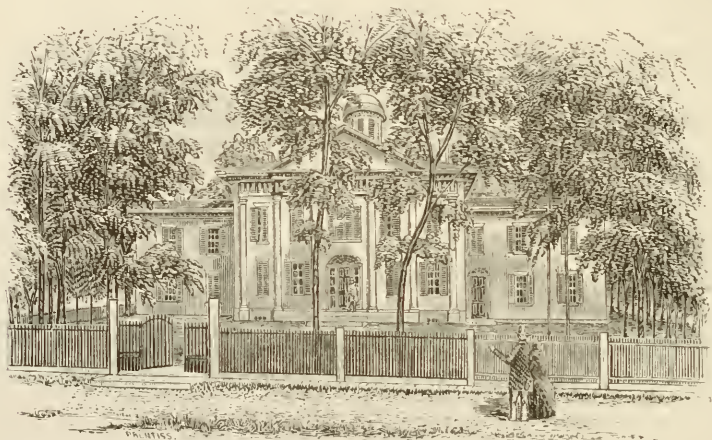
presented to the society his collection of books, "estimated at four thousand dollars, after making the usual deduction of twenty per cent. from the appraised value."

The first anniversary of the founding of the society, being also the anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, took place at the Exchange Coffee-house in Boston, October 23, 1813. On this occasion an oration was delivered at the "Stone Chapel" by Rev. Professor William Jenks, of Bath, Maine.¹

In 1817 active measures were taken to procure funds to defray the expense of erecting a building for the library and cabinet by appointing committees to solicit subscriptions. Some difficulty was experienced in the attempt to raise the necessary money to carry out the plans for building and it was not till early in 1819 that the society were relieved from their anxiety in the matter. At that time Mr. Thomas,

ally at the Exchange Coffee-house, but occasionally at the Marlboro' Hotel, Tremont House and Concert Hall. At one of the early meetings it was voted "that as the capital of the commonwealth generally offers the best means of ascertaining the real character and standing of such persons as may be proposed for membership in this society, and as the society are desirous that the utmost circumspection should be used in the admission of members," etc. . . . "that action on the nomination for membership should only take place at a meeting in the town of Boston." This vote was soon after repealed, and thereafter nominations were made through the Council and acted upon at any regular meeting.

In February, 1819, a committee, appointed to prepare an address to the members, setting forth the society's objects and conditions, declared the institution to be, in all its concerns, *national*, although it



OLD ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY HALL.

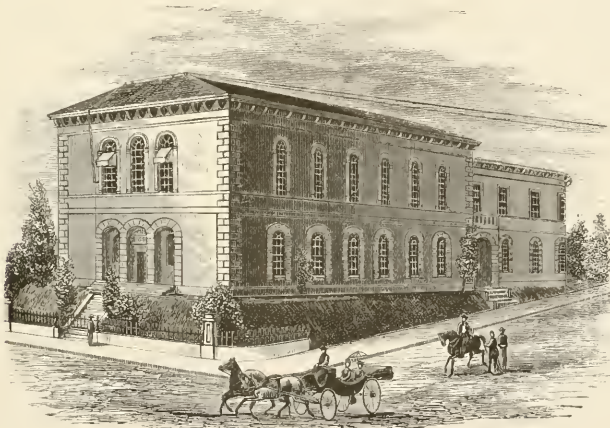
the founder and president of the society, offered to build at his own expense a suitable edifice for the reception of its valuable collections. This offer was gratefully accepted and in August of that year a committee was appointed at the request of Mr. Thomas to superintend its erection. The building was erected on Summer Street, in Worcester, was of brick, thoroughly built, and at the time, was considered well adapted to the purposes for which it was intended. An address at the dedication was made by Isaac Goodwin, August 24, 1820, in the Second Parish Church (Rev. Dr. Bancroft's). Till 1832 the annual meetings were held in Boston, usu-

ally derived its charter and its national appellation from the Legislature of Massachusetts. They say "This local authority was resorted to from doubts having been expressed whether Congress had the power to grant a charter without the District of Columbia. Its members are selected from all parts of the Union. Its respectability is inferred from its numbers and from its comprising men of the first standing and intelligence in the nation, and some of the first distinction in other countries. The objects of this institution are commensurate with the lapse of time, and its benefits will be more and more accumulating in the progression of ages. . . . The chief objects of the inquiries and researches of this society, which cannot too soon arrest its attention, will be American Antiquities—natural, artificial and literary."

The building on Summer Street having been found

¹ At the fiftieth anniversary observed at Worcester in October, 1863, Dr. Jenks, then of Boston, delivered an address on the "Duties of the American Antiquary," at which time only four of the original members of the society were living.

to be too small and too damp for the proper preservation of the rapidly accumulating collections, the present hall on Main Street was built in 1853. It is favorably situated in a locality free from dampness and is believed to be substantially safe from fire, besides being much better adapted than the first to the purposes of the society. Owing, however, to the rapid increase of the library—particularly of the department devoted to newspapers—it was found insufficient in size, and more space was soon required. The Hon. Stephen Salisbury, then the president, had anticipated this need, and presented a lot of land on Highland Street, in the rear of the building, and also provided funds for the erection of the addition, which was completed in January, 1878.



NEW ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY HALL.

Dr. Thomas, while president, had defrayed a large portion of the society's expenditures and begun the foundation of a permanent fund for its future support. At his death, in 1831, he bequeathed to the society the rest of his books, engravings, coins, etc., as well as money to constitute the Librarian's and the Collection and Research Funds. These funds have gradually increased and others have been founded for the support of various departments of the society's work. There are now twelve different funds, amounting in the aggregate to over one hundred thousand dollars, of which twenty thousand dollars was a bequest from Hon. Stephen Salisbury.

Regular meetings of the society are held twice a year, the annual meeting for the choice of officers being held in October, in their hall, at Worcester, and the semi-annual meeting at Boston, in April, at the rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. At these meetings, besides the regular reports of the council and librarian, upon the general

affairs of the society (and which also usually treat upon some special topic of antiquarian study and research), papers from other members and discussions of subjects of interest are always in order.

The library of the society, which now numbers over eighty thousand volumes, representing most departments of literature, being especially rich in early American publications, is fully noticed in the chapter on libraries. The collection of manuscripts is large and of great value and interest, including some of a very early date. They are conveniently arranged for reference and partially catalogued so that they can now be consulted with comparatively little trouble. It is not practicable, in the brief limits of this notice, to describe with particularity any special department.

Suffice it to say the society have reason to regard the manuscripts in their possession as not by any means the least valuable of their collections. There is a cabinet of Indian and archaeological specimens of great interest to the antiquary, especially those from Yucatan and Central America.

The collection of engraved portraits, political broadsides and caricatures is of interest and value, as is the cabinet of coins and medals. The walls of the society's halls are adorned with portraits of former officers and eminent men of the past. The society have published six volumes of transactions under the name of "*Archæologia Americana*," which are devoted to archaeological and historical subjects—volumes five and six being a reprint of Thomas' "*History of Printing in America*," from the edition of 1810, also containing a list of books printed in what is now the United States previous to 1776. Since 1849 the proceedings of the society at its annual and semi-annual meetings have been regularly printed, and include, besides the ordi-

nary reports of the officers, valuable antiquarian and historical papers. The president of the society elected in October, 1888, is Stephen Salisbury, (Jr.); Vice-Presidents, George Bancroft, LL.D., George F. Hoar, LL.D.; Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D.; Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, Charles Deane, LL.D.; Recording Secretary, John D. Washburn; Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine; Librarian, Edmund M. Barton. By the provisions of the by-laws adopted in October, 1831, the number of American members of the society can at no time exceed one hundred and forty, but there is no limit to the number of foreign members.

THE WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER.—One of the earliest temperance organizations in the county was instituted in Worcester, March 18, 1812, William Stedman being president, and Daniel Waldo, secretary. The certificate of membership, signed by the president and secretary was inserted in a small 12mo volume entitled, "Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States. Published for the Worcester Washington Benevolent Society. Boston. Printed by Jos. T. Buckingham, Winter Street, 1812." The volume was embellished with a portrait of Washington. This society, while of a charitable nature, was more especially interested in the cause of temperance, and in December, 1813, issued a circular signed by Nathaniel P. Denny, Joseph Goffe, Daniel Waldo, Isaac Goodwin and Bezaleel Talt. The object of the circular was to set forth the evils arising from the distillation of grain in the State, and to suggest the propriety of petitioning Congress "to levy a tax on domestic spirits, so heavy as to afford a rational prospect of diminishing the consumption."

The annual meeting of the society was held on the anniversary of the first inauguration of Washington as President of the United States, at which time an oration was delivered. Among the members who delivered orations were S. M. Burnside and John Davis. The organization was kept up till August, 1836, when it was dissolved, and a committee recommended that the funds be transferred to the "Worcester Agricultural Society;" the record of its transactions was also presented to the same society.

THE WORCESTER AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY was incorporated in February, 1818, and organized at a meeting held March 11th, by the choice of Levi Lincoln, Sr., president; Daniel Waldo and Thomas W. Ward, vice-presidents; Theophilus Wheeler, treasurer; Levi Lincoln, Jr., corresponding secretary, and Abraham Lincoln, recording secretary.

The first Cattle Show and exhibition of manufacturers was held October 7, 1819, which appears from the records of the society to have been very successful; the secretary's estimate, however, that "about two thousand attended the services in the meeting-house," must be taken with some grains of allowance. The pens for cattle, sheep and swine to number of

sixty or more were erected on the northerly side of the Common, and the "household and the domestic manufactures were exhibited in a building kindly granted by Hon. Nathaniel Paine, and the specimens were numerous and excellent." The address (which is one of the features of the Cattle Show, retained to the present day) was delivered at the Old South Church by Levi Lincoln, Jr., who for so many years after was identified with the society. After the exercises in the church the society marched to Eager's Hotel, where a dinner was served to the members and invited guests. Another feature, which was inaugurated soon after, and which was in vogue for many years, was a grand ball in some public hall. In closing the records of the proceedings of their first exhibition, Edward D. Bangs, the secretary, says, "Thus passed a proud day for the County of Worcester. May many more such days be continued by the present and future generations." In 1852 the society purchased the land now occupied by them opposite Elm Park, and in September, 1853, held the first exhibition there, when, for the first time in the history of the society, an admission fee was charged for non-members. The present building was erected and first occupied by the society for exhibitions in September, 1854. Of late years the annual fair or Cattle Shows have been often held at the society's grounds in connection with that of the New England Agricultural Society. The officers of the society for 1888 were: J. L. Ellsworth, president; Calvin L. Hartshorn and Ledyard Bill, vice-presidents; and L. F. Herrick, secretary and treasurer.

THE FRATERNITY OF ODD-FELLOWS, a literary, not a secret society, was organized about the year 1820, as appears from a record of their proceedings at a meeting held in October, 1824, "it then being the fourth year of their oddity." At this meeting rules and regulations were adopted, which would seem to apply only to the use of a library. Among the members who were the most active and influential men of the town may be mentioned the names of Emory Washburn, John Davis, Thomas Kinnicutt, Isaac Davis, Isaac Goodwin, Stephen Salisbury, C. C. Baldwin, Henry and Gardiner Paine, James Green and William Lincoln. The fifth anniversary of the formation of the society was celebrated December 8, 1824, at which time an oration and poem were delivered by members of the fraternity. In 1827 the society celebrated the 4th of July with an oration by Thomas Kinnicutt and a poem by Richard H. Vose.¹ The society ceased to exist many years ago; but there is no record of the date.

THE WORCESTER LYCEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.—From the manuscript records of this society, now in the possession of the Worcester Natural History Society, it appears that the first session was held January 1, 1825. William Lincoln, the early histo-

¹ In the chapter on "Libraries" will be found a more extended notice of this society.

rian of Worcester, and Christopher C. Baldwin, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, presented a form of constitution for consideration, which was adopted. The following paragraph from the preamble sets forth the objects of the society: "That scientific knowledge and human happiness are closely and intimately connected is a principle established by all experience. For the continued improvements in the arts we are indebted to the constant advances in sciences, medicine, manufactures, and the numerous processes of industry have derived their present perfection from the investigations of the laws of nature. Botany and mineralogy have furnished to the physician his most efficient arms and his most powerful antidotes to resist the attacks of disease; they have given to the agriculturist and the artist the means of conducting their operations with success," etc.

After a page or two more of the preamble, follows the constitution itself, consisting of twelve sections and twenty-two articles. The first officers were Dr. John Green, president; Dr. B. F. Heywood, vice-president; Frederick William Paine, treasurer; William Lincoln, recording secretary; C. C. Baldwin, corresponding secretary, and Charles Wheeler, librarian and cabinet-keeper. Among the members elected at the first meeting were John M. Earle, Clarendon Harris, George Allen and Samuel Jennison, the first named being soon after appointed curator of botany. The society appears to have held meetings from time to time till November 28, 1829, at which time the record stops. As no mention is made of this society in the "History of Worcester" by its accomplished secretary, we are led to suppose that the organization was not long kept up.

THE WORCESTER LYCEUM.—In 1827 Mr. Josiah Holbrook (to whom the Massachusetts *Spy* gave the credit of establishing lyceums in this country) issued a seven-page pamphlet, entitled, "American Lyceum of Science and the Arts, composed of Associations for Mutual Instruction, and Designed for the General Diffusion of Useful and Practical Knowledge." It was printed in Worcester by Samuel H. Colton & Co., and contained articles for the government of societies or lyceums, to be formed in different towns as branches of an American Lyceum. These lyceums were designed to diffuse knowledge in all departments of science, to "procure books, apparatus for illustrating the sciences, and collections of minerals or other articles of natural or artificial production." There were also "considerations" advanced to show the usefulness and advantages of such associations. It was probably at about this time that the Worcester County Lyceum was established, although the exact date cannot be ascertained. In October of 1829, however, a meeting of this society was convened at Worcester to hear an address from Emory Washburn upon educational matters. At this meeting, presided over by John Davis, with Ira M. Barton as secretary, discussion was had upon our common-school system,

also in relation to making maps and plans of the towns in Worcester County. Mr. Holbrook was present and exhibited several maps, and stated his intention to present one to each Lyceum in the county. This meeting was attended by prominent citizens from various towns in the county, who discussed, besides the matters above referred to, the expediency of adopting measures to establish a public library for the county, and a committee was appointed to devise a plan for such a library. This committee reported at an adjourned meeting, held at Thomas' Coffee-House, December 10, 1829, but it does not appear that any decided action was taken. This may have been for the reason that in November of the same year the Worcester Lyceum was duly organized, on which occasion an introductory address was delivered by Hon. John Davis, and some forty or fifty persons signed the constitution. It seems likely that the new society was made up very largely from the Worcester members of the Worcester County Branch of the American Lyceum, and it was represented in the meetings of the last named by delegates. Of the forty or fifty gentlemen who constituted the Worcester Lyceum in 1829-30, but six are now (1888) known to be living, viz., William S. Lincoln, Henry H. Chamberlin, George M. Rice, Henry W. Miller and Joseph Pratt, of Worcester, and Dr. John S. Butler, of Hartford. The first officers of the Lyceum were Rev. Jonathan Going, president; Anthony Chase, secretary, and an executive committee, consisting of Frederick W. Paine, Moses L. Morse, William Lincoln, Ichabod Washburn and Thomas Chamberlin.

The principal object of the Lyceum was to provide a course of lectures each year; a circulating library for the use of purchasers of season tickets to the lectures was also established. During the earlier years of the Lyceum from eighteen to twenty lectures were given in each course, which extended from October to April; later, six or eight only. The original price of tickets for the course was one dollar for persons over twenty-one years of age, seventy-five cents for those between eighteen and twenty-one years, and fifty cents for those between the ages of twelve and eighteen. In the course for 1839-40 there were twenty-two lectures given, of which fourteen were by citizens of Worcester, it being understood that the latter gentlemen were to receive no compensation for their services. A debating society was also formed, classes organized for study in various branches, and chemical apparatus purchased. In 1855 the Lyceum transferred their library to the Young Men's Library Association, but still continued its course of lectures till, by an act of the Legislature, approved March 15, 1856, it was fully merged into that association.

WORCESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—This society was incorporated February 19, 1831, John Davis, Samuel Jennison, Isaac Goodwin, William Lincoln and Joseph Allen being the persons named in the act. In a circular issued by the society, the

purpose of its formation was stated to be "collecting and preserving materials for a complete and minute history of the County of Worcester, . . . to ascertain those facts that will tend to develop the origin, advancement and present state of our public institutions and social relations, the geographical limits and appearance of our territory," etc.

This circular was sent to residents in the county, and called for such facts as might be in their possession relative to the subjects of inquiry. John Davis was the first president and held the office for many years. In October, 1831, the centennial anniversary of the establishment of Worcester County was celebrated by the Historical Society, an address being delivered by John Davis. The society ceased to exist many years ago, but the exact date of its dissolution cannot now be ascertained.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY ATHENÆUM was established as a stock company in 1830, the shares being twenty-five dollars each; and rules and regulations for its government were adopted December 16th of that year. The first board of officers consisted of Rev. George Allen, president; Rev. John Nelson, vice-president; Fred. W. Paine, treasurer, and William Lincoln, secretary. The object of the society, as indicated by a subscription paper prepared for signature by those who were to become members, was to form a public library in the town of Worcester, to consist principally of such rare works in science and literature as were not usually found in private libraries. The Athenæum had a room in the second story of Dr. John Green's block on Main Street, opposite Central Street. In March, 1830, the library of the Worcester County Lyceum of Natural History was transferred to the Athenæum, and the same month the society was incorporated, and in April elected officers under the charter. After a few years the Athenæum deposited its library in the hall of the American Antiquarian Society, and ceased to be an active corporation.¹

PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY.²—Founded in May, 1834. Dr. S. B. Woodward, of the State Lunatic Asylum, was elected president; Stephen Salisbury, vice-president; Isaiah Thomas, secretary; Dr. Wm. Paine, treasurer; and Dr. John Green, Dr. O. H. Blood and Christopher C. Baldwin, directors. Meetings were to be held monthly, and the object of the society was to investigate the science of phrenology and ascertain its nature and the foundation there may be for it in truth. One of the directors, in writing of the society, says of the first meeting for organization: "Like all new converts, we are full of fury and enthusiasm, and we may think ourselves fortunate if we escape being rank lunatics." The society probably existed but a short time, and but lit-

tle can be found of its history. The immediate cause of its formation was probably the arrival in the United States of Spurzheim, the eminent Prussian phrenologist, whose lectures in Boston and other cities attracted the attention of educated men to the science he so ably presented.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—The first steps taken for its formation were in the fall of 1840, and on the 19th of September of the same year it was organized by the choice of Dr. John Green as president; Dr. S. B. Woodward and Stephen Salisbury, vice-presidents; Benjamin Heywood, L. Lincoln Newton and J. C. B. Davis, recording secretaries; and William Lincoln and Dr. Joseph Sargent, corresponding secretaries. In May, 1841, a constitution and by-laws, reported by William Lincoln, Stephen Salisbury and William N. Green, were adopted, and in March, 1842, the society was incorporated, and became one of the permanent institutions of Worcester. In 1850 the society purchased the lot of land on Front Street now occupied by them, and began the erection of their hall, which was completed in time to hold an exhibition there in the fall of 1851. The first exhibition of fruits, flowers and vegetables was in 1840, at the time of the annual Cattle Show, and was in the hall of the Society of Friends, on Main Street, opposite the Waldo mansion. The exhibition was considered a great success, and for many years after was given at the same time as that of the Agricultural Society. Of late years exhibitions have been given weekly, except during the winter months.

The present officers of the society are: President, Henry L. Parker; Vice-Presidents, Stephen Salisbury, George E. Francis and H. F. A. Lange; Secretary, Edward Winslow Lincoln; Treasurer and Librarian, Charles E. Brooks. There is a good library of some two thousand volumes, a notice of which will be found elsewhere.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS' ASSOCIATION.—The first meeting to consider the question of forming a society in the interests of the mechanics of Worcester was held at the town hall November 27, 1841. This meeting was presided over by Ichabod Washburn (who afterwards became the benefactor of the association), and Albert Tolman was the secretary. The objects of the association were stated to be "the moral, intellectual and social improvement of its members, the perfection of the Mechanic Arts and the pecuniary assistance of the needy." A committee of fifteen, of which Anthony Chase was chairman, was appointed to prepare and report a plan for organization, and they reported at a subsequent meeting, but were not fully agreed as to the qualifications of members. A constitution was, however, adopted, which limited active membership to those engaged in some mechanical pursuits. An organization was effected February 5, 1842, by the election of William A. Wheeler, president; Ichabod

¹ For notice of the library of the Athenæum see chapter on libraries.

² The information in regard to this society was obtained from the MS. diary of C. C. Baldwin.

Washburn, vice-president; Albert Tolman, secretary; and E. G. Partridge, treasurer. The formation of a library for the use of members was early begun, and courses of lectures established; for an account of the success of the first-named, reference is made to the chapter on libraries. The first lecture was given in February, 1842, by Elihu Burritt "the learned blacksmith," and in the same year a course of lectures on geology, by Dr. Charles T. Jackson, of Boston. Courses of lectures have since been given during the winter months with few exceptions, and for the last few years, owing to the great increase in the membership of the association, two courses are given each winter. In 1848 the first exhibition or fair was held, and there have been others held from time to time since. The association was incorporated in 1850, and authorized to hold \$75,000 of real estate (afterwards increased to \$200,000), and personal estate to the value of \$25,000, since increased to \$50,000.

The need of a building for the use of the association early became manifest, and in May, 1854, the offer of Ichabod Washburn to give \$10,000 towards the purchase of land and the erection of a suitable building made it possible. By the aid of other subscriptions the association were enabled to purchase the lot of land on Main Street, formerly owned by Daniel Waldo, and to begin the erection of a building, which was completed and dedicated with appropriate ceremonies in March, 1857. There are two halls in the building—the smaller one being called Washburn Hall, in honor of the first benefactor.

Mechanics' Hall, then and now the largest in the city, has a seating capacity of about 2000, and has proved to be none too large for the public demands. In 1864 over 200 liberal-minded citizens subscribed about \$9000 for the purchase of an organ, to be placed in Mechanics' Hall, and in the fall of that year the fine instrument now in the hall, made by Messrs. Hook, of Boston, was completed and appropriately dedicated. It has proved a most valuable addition, and has been largely instrumental in making successful the Musical Conventions yearly held in Worcester.

In 1864 an Apprentices' Drawing School was formed, for instruction in mechanical and architectural drawing, which is said to be the first school of a like nature established in the country.

A summer school for boys, under the auspices of the association, was opened at the Polytechnic Institute, July 12, 1887, and has fully proved its usefulness. A similar school had been conducted in the association building for some years previous. The officers for 1888-89 are Robert H. Chamberlain, president; Ellery B. Crane, vice-president; William A. Smith, clerk and treasurer.

VERY REVEREND FATHER MATHEW MUTUAL BENEVOLENT TOTAL ABSTINENCE SOCIETY was organized November 4, 1849, with Rev. M. W. Gibson

as president, and incorporated in 1863, for the purpose of promoting the cause of temperance in Worcester. The immediate cause of its formation was the visit of Father Mathew to Worcester in October, 1849, on invitation of the mayor and other prominent citizens. The officers of the society in 1888 were: Richard O'Flynn, president; William Brown, vice-president; Timothy Murphy, treasurer; and John A. Garvey, secretary.

Other temperance organizations are the St. John's Catholic Young Men's Temperance Guild, organized in 1883; Worcester Reform Club, organized in 1876; Woman's Christian Temperance Union (two societies), organized 1874-78; Worcester Temperance Club, organized in 1878; Sons of Temperance (two divisions), organized 1865-82; Worcester Temple of Honor; Slow But Sure Lodge of Good Templars; Helping-Hand Lodge; Worcester District Temple, No. 3, organized in 1885; Stjernan Lodge, No. 21, O. of T., organized in 1884; Klippan Lodge, No. 43, O. of T., organized in 1885; Worcester Central Temperance League, organized in 1887; Daughters of the North, organized in 1886; and Sons and Daughters of Temperance Mutual Relief Association of Worcester County, organized in 1887.

WORCESTER NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY. — In August, 1852, a call was published in the *Worcester Spy* for "the young men connected with Unitarian, Second Advent, Universalist, Friends' and Free Churches and all interested, to meet at Waldo Hall, to consider the propriety of organizing a Young Men's Christian Association worthy of the name." This meeting was called to order by Rev. Edward E. Hale, then pastor of the Church of the Unity, and organized by the choice of George F. Hoar as chairman and William McCorney as secretary. It was resolved at this meeting that the secretary take the names of those persons present who were favorably disposed to the formation of an organization for the benefit of the young men of Worcester, in which all the members should have equal rights and privileges. About fifty names were handed in to the secretary in response to this resolution. A committee was also appointed to confer with the Young Men's Christian Association, previously formed in the city, to ascertain if any change could be made to render possible a union of the associations. This committee afterwards reported, that in their opinion a union could be formed between the two associations upon some liberal principles, but that the committee of the Christian Association had not power to act in the matter, and they recommended that no further action be taken in regard to a union, but that a meeting of citizens generally be called to take measures to form a society. Pursuant to such a call, a meeting was held at Waldo Hall; William R. Hooper presiding and Henry Chapin acting as secretary, at which time a constitution and by-laws were adopted. The first clause of the constitution was as follows: "The name

of the association shall be the Young Men's Library Association, and its object the improvement of the young men of the city of Worcester, by affording them intellectual and social advantages, by the maintenance of a library, reading-room and such courses of lectures and classes as may conduce to that end." An arrangement was made by which the new association assumed the lease and took the rooms, which had been handsomely fitted up and occupied by the Young Men's Christian Association. In December, 1852, the first election of officers took place, and Francis H. Dewey was chosen president; George W. Bently, vice-president; George F. Hoar, corresponding secretary; Nathaniel Paine, recording secretary; and Henry Woodward, treasurer. Fourteen directors were also elected.

At a meeting held the 1st day of January, 1853, action was taken, which resulted in obtaining an act of incorporation from the Legislature then in session, which was accepted by the association April 16, 1853. Another election of officers was held, resulting in the choice of the same gentlemen elected in December previous, and William Cross, Esq., as second vice-president. A subscription was started during the following year for the purpose of obtaining means to found a library; subscriptions being received both in cash and books. Over thirteen hundred dollars in cash was contributed and eight hundred and sixty-seven volumes given by public-spirited citizens.

The library was opened to the public June 18, 1853, upon the payment of one dollar per year. A reading-room was early established in connection with the library, and although quite poorly supplied with newspapers and periodicals when compared with the one now open to our citizens, was quite respectable, and freely consulted by the members. In 1855 an agreement was made with the Young Men's Rhetorical Society, by which that society was merged into this; their library was placed in the rooms and they had the use of the hall for rhetorical exercises. By the conditions of this union either society could discontinue the arrangement, and the Rhetorical Society withdraw their books, provided it was done before January, 1856. In 1858, by mutual consent, the rhetorical department of the association was discontinued, and the members thereof formed a new society. In 1856, by a special act of the Legislature, the Worcester Lyceum, established in 1829, was united to the library association, and by the same act the name was changed to

THE WORCESTER LYCEUM AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—In 1854-55 a Natural History Department was formed for the study of the natural sciences, which has now become the main work of the association. This was done at the annual meeting of the association, in April, 1854, at which a committee was appointed, who were authorized to make the necessary arrangements for the organization of such a department. Prof. Louis Agassiz was invited by the

committee to visit Worcester, and consult with them as to the best plan of operations, which invitation was accepted, and the 28th of April, 1854, he, with the committee, inspected the collection of specimens formerly owned by the Worcester Lyceum of Natural History. This collection was in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, and they kindly gave it to the new department as the nucleus of a cabinet.

The organization of the department was effected by the election of Rev. E. E. Hale as chairman, W. E. Starr secretary, and James B. Blake treasurer. Mr. Blake held the office but a few weeks, when Henry A. Marsh was elected in his stead; eight curators of departments were also elected. In the early part of the year 1856 another important and interesting event in the history of the association occurred: that of the generous proposition of Dr. John Green (then one of our oldest and most esteemed physicians) to place his valuable miscellaneous library in the charge of the association.

Hon. George F. Hoar, then president of the association, says in his annual report, "A contract has been entered into between Dr. Green and the association, by the terms of which, the books he has placed here, with such additions as he may see fit to make, are to remain in the Library, open to the free use of members, for at least five years, and longer if the arrangement shall be desired by both parties."

In November, 1859, the sudden death of Mr. Gray, the librarian of the association, caused the calling a meeting of the directors to make arrangements to fill the vacancy. Dr. Green's large interest in the question was acknowledged and appreciated, and a committee was appointed to consult with him as to the best course to pursue. At a meeting held the 26th of November the committee of consultation, consisting of Dr. George Chandler, Albert Tolman and T. W. Higginson, reported that Dr. Green had expressed a desire to present his library to the city of Worcester as a foundation of a free public library, and they recommended that the library of the association be also transferred to the city, provided suitable appropriations and arrangements were made for its reception.

The gifts of Dr. Green and the association were accepted by the City Council in December, 1859, thus establishing an institution which has proved so advantageous to our citizens. This final disposition of the library had long been hoped for by the more active members of the association, and its consummation was the cause of great satisfaction.¹ The Natural History Department and the winter course of lectures were now all that was left for the attention of members. The latter, however, was given up after a few years.

In the winter of 1866 the name of the society was

¹ For a full notice of the library, see the chapter on libraries.

again changed to the Worcester Lyceum and Natural History Association; since which time the principal object of the association has been the study of natural history and the collection of specimens for its cabinet. In 1880 the plan of giving instruction by means of free classes for the study of natural history was inaugurated, and has been continued since with great success. During the winter season classes are formed, free to members of the association, in such branches of natural science as seem, from time to time, most important and attractive, meeting weekly as a rule, and instructed by thoroughly competent teachers. The courses include from ten to twenty lessons each, and are designed to exemplify the best methods of modern scientific study. In 1881 the plan of a three years' subscription for the "purpose of continuing and rendering more useful the work of the society, to provide a competent Custodian, to furnish lectures and gratuitous instruction for classes in Natural Science, and to promote the study of Natural History," was carried into effect, and still continues in successful operation, most of the original subscribers renewing and increasing their subscriptions when they have expired.

Since 1882 the museum has been open daily, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., free to all,—books, specimens and the help of the custodian are at the service of all inquirers and students. A system of loans has been devised, by which the specimens can be loaned to teachers and schools and special students, in much the same way in which books are given out at the Public Library. By an act of the Legislature, approved March 6, 1884, the name was changed to the present one, "The Worcester Natural History Society."

In the same year a tract of land of between thirty and forty acres was secured on the west shore of Lake Quinsigamond, and was called Natural History Park. In the summer of 1885 the first "Summer Camp for Boys" was established there. The object of the Natural History Society in establishing this camp is to afford a pleasant and profitable place for boys to spend a part or the whole of their summer vacation. January 22, 1887, Mr. Thomas H. Dodge gave one thousand dollars for the purchase of tents and the building of a permanent structure, known as the "Dodge Pavilion," at the Park. Mr. and Mrs. Dodge afterwards added some five hundred dollars more toward the building and painting of the pavilion.

In 1888 Mr. Joseph H. Walker gave five thousand dollars to enable the society to secure a perfect title to the land. In the same year, through the efforts of Mr. H. H. Bigelow, a workshop, well stocked with tools, was built. The lumber and tools were contributed by the lumber dealers and the hardware merchants of the city. The summer school has proved a success, and may now be considered one of the established institutions of our city. Dr. W. H.

Raymenton has been the efficient president of the society since 1880, and to his untiring and enthusiastic efforts is largely due its recent rapid development and present flourishing condition.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION was originally organized March 9, 1852, the first steps for its formation being taken at a meeting held at the Old South Church, February 20th of the same year. Thomas Tucker (landlord of the American Temperance House) was the first president, with Nelson Wheeler (principal of the High School), P. L. Moen and S. A. Daniels, vice-presidents; A. G. Ward, secretary, and C. M. Miles, treasurer. The association occupied a finely-furnished room in the Worcester Bank Block on Foster Street, where a reading-room was established. The formation of the Young Men's Library Association the same year, with similar objects in view, seems to have been the cause of the Christian Association giving up their active organization soon after, and their room was taken by the Library Association. In June, 1864, the Christian Association was revived, or a new association formed, at a meeting held at the Lincoln House, and it was duly organized July 12th of the same year. The first president of this new association was Fred. A. Clapp. All the officers were selected from the evangelical churches of the city, and it has since continued one of the most active institutions of Worcester. In June, 1868, the association was incorporated by a special act of the Legislature, and soon after steps were taken looking to the erection of a building. It was not till nearly twenty years after, however, that much was accomplished in this direction. In October, 1885, a determined effort was made to raise the necessary funds for the purchase of land and erection of a building, which resulted in obtaining subscriptions from citizens of all the Protestant denominations to the amount of over ninety thousand dollars, making, with a fund previously given, about ninety-six thousand dollars. Early in 1886 a building committee, of which Albert Curtis was chairman, purchased a lot of land, between Elm and Pearl Streets, and the erection of the building was begun. The corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies August 27, 1886, the principal address on that occasion being given by D. L. Moody. The building was completed in 1887, and dedicated in October of that year, the dedicatory address being given by the Rev. A. J. Gordon, of Boston. The cost of the land, building, furniture and equipment has been about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The object of the association is the spiritual, intellectual, social and physical welfare of young men, to be accomplished by religious meetings, classes in German, book-keeping and other branches of education, lectures, and the use of a finely-equipped gymnasium, and rooms for social gatherings.

The association has a membership of from thirteen to fourteen hundred, and after nearly a quarter of a

century of active work has proved itself one of the most valuable and successful institutions of our city. The present officers are: W. A. Denholm, president; C. F. Rugg and William Woodward, vice-presidents; George F. Brooks, recording secretary, and Arthur E. Dennis, treasurer.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—The preliminary meeting for the formation of this society was held at the residence of Samuel E. Staples in January, 1875. A constitution was adopted and the society organized February 13th, at a meeting held at the printing office of Tyler & Seagrave. The first board of officers, elected at the meeting, were Samuel E. Staples, president; Henry D. Barber, vice-president; Daniel Seagrave, secretary; Henry F. Stedman, treasurer; and John G. Smith, librarian. The object of the society, as stated in its constitution, was "to foster in its members a love and admiration for antiquarian research and archaeological science, and to rescue from oblivion such historical matter as would otherwise be lost." Meetings are held monthly, except in the month of August, at which valuable and interesting historical or antiquarian papers are presented. The society was incorporated in February, 1877, and has become one of the prominent institutions of the city. It has a valuable miscellaneous library, which is spoken of elsewhere. Since its formation seven volumes of proceedings have been published, containing many valuable historical papers. Among the publications of special local interest contained in these volumes may be mentioned: "The Records of the Proprietors, 1667-1778;" "Town records from 1722 to 1783;" and the "Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, 1731 to 1737," copied from the original manuscripts, for the preservation of which, in printed form, the society is deserving of high commendation. The officers of the society, elected in December, 1888, were: For President, E. B. Crane; Vice-Presidents, Albert Tolman and George Sumner; Secretary, W. F. Abbot; Treasurer, H. F. Stedman; Librarian, Thomas A. Dickinson.

THE WORCESTER ART SOCIETY.—The first steps in the formation of this society were taken at a public meeting held at the Board of Trade rooms, April 16, 1877. The meeting was called "to consider the expediency of forming an association to promote the study of art in Worcester," and a committee, consisting of Stephen C. Earle, Burton W. Potter, Henry Woodward, Nathaniel Paine and Edward L. Davis, were appointed to consider the subject, and report a plan of organization. This committee reported in October of the same year, at a meeting presided over by Lucius J. Knowles, that it was expedient to form such an association. They also presented a draft for a constitution and by-laws, which were adopted November 27, 1877, at which time the first board of officers was chosen as follows: President, George F. Hoar; Vice-Presidents, L. J.

Knowles, Edward H. Hall and C. M. Lamson; Secretary, Rebecca Jones; Treasurer, Joseph E. Davis; Directors, Charles O. Thomson, Stephen C. Earle, B. W. Potter, Mrs. P. L. Moen and Mrs. Joseph H. Walker. It was early determined that one of the best methods of effecting the objects desired was to have an exhibition of paintings, and in March, 1878, the first exhibition was opened at the Board of Trade rooms, in Taylor's Block, opposite the Common. Over seventy oil and water-color paintings were loaned by members and others interested in art, which proved to be very successful, and several other exhibitions of a similar nature have since been given including, besides paintings, etchings, photographs and bric-a-brac. Later, lectures were given by specialists in different branches of the fine arts and by members of the society. Lectures have been given since, during the winter months, most of which have been illustrated by stereopticon views, and have proved of value to those who were present. Advantage has also been taken from time to time of the valuable collections of photographs and other art illustrations at the Free Public Library, and interesting meetings have been held there. In December, 1887, the society was incorporated under the general law of the State and elected the following board of officers: President, Nathaniel Paine; Vice-Presidents, Samuel S. Green and Charles A. Chase; Treasurer, Edward B. Hamilton; Clerk, John G. Heywood; Directors, Philip L. Moen, Jonas G. Clark, Henry A. Marsh, Burton W. Potter and William T. Harlow; Advisory Committee, Austin S. Garver, Charles S. Hale, Alexander H. Vinton, Edward B. Glasgow, Mrs. Helen B. Merriman, Mrs. Charlotte E. W. Buffington, Miss Emily W. Sargent and Miss Mary N. Perley.¹

THE ART STUDENT'S CLUB was organized in 1880, incorporated in 1887 and is composed of artists and art students of Worcester and vicinity, its object being "the encouragement, promotion and practice of Art," and no one is eligible as an active member who is not a student in some branch of art. Two public exhibitions are held each year of the works of members, which have proved to be very attractive to the citizens of Worcester and a credit to the club. The improvement in the work of members is very marked from year to year, as shown by these public exhibitions. Monthly meetings are also held, at which active members are expected to furnish for inspection at least one original drawing or design. George E. Gladwin is president, Abbie J. Trask, clerk, and Frank E. Higgins, treasurer.

MUSICAL SOCIETIES.—The earliest musical society in Worcester, of which any reliable record is to be

¹ At the annual meeting in November, 1888, the same board of officers were chosen, with the exception that Edward B. Glasgow was elected as clerk in place of John G. Heywood, who was made one of the advisory committee, and William E. Rice was elected a director in place of H. A. Marsh, resigned.

found, was the Worcester Harmonic Society. The exact date of its formation cannot now be ascertained, but it was in existence as early as 1825, at which time Emory Perry was president and Henry W. Miller, secretary; and in October, 1826, the society gave an oratorio at the Old South Church. This society also furnished the music at the Fourth of July celebration in the last-named year, on which occasion Hon. Charles Allen delivered an oration. The society continued in existence for several years, occasionally giving concerts, and often furnishing the music on public occasions.¹

In 1845 the Worcester Sacred Musical Society was formed, with Rufus D. Dunbar as president, and the next year gave a miscellaneous concert in Brinley (now Grand Army) Hall, and mention is made in the newspapers of a concert given in the spring of the following year. It is probable that this society was in existence only two or three years.

In September, 1850, the Worcester Mozart Society, the first regularly-organized association for musical culture, was formed, with Putnam W. Taft as president and Albert L. Benchley, vice-president. This society continued in active existence till November, 1866, when it was united with the Beethoven Society, formed in 1864, with Austin L. Rogers, president. The name after the union was the Worcester Mozart and Beethoven Choral Union, the first president being Edward Hamilton, William Sumner, vice-president, and Carl Zerrahn, conductor. The society was incorporated in 1872, by a special act of the Legislature, as the Worcester Choral Union, and I. N. Metcalf was chosen president, J. A. Titus, vice-president, and B. D. Allen, conductor.

The present Worcester County Musical Association was organized at a meeting held in Mechanics' Hall, October 2, 1863, with Samuel E. Staples, president, and a board of directors selected from various towns in the county. The object of the association is stated in its by-laws, "the improvement of choirs in the performance of church music; the formation of an elevated musical taste, through the study of music in its highest departments; and a social, genial, harmonious reunion of all lovers of music." The name under which it was originally known was the Worcester County Musical Convention,² and this name was retained till the adoption of the present one in 1871, at which time it was also voted to call the annual gatherings Musical Festivals. Since 1865 annual sessions of the Association have been held, at which oratorios of Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn, also the best productions of Rossini, Gounod, Verdi

and others, have been given. The annual festivals of the Association have been constantly growing more popular, and it now has a prestige and a prosperity not equaled by any similar one in the country. The number in attendance increases yearly, and its patrons are not only from Worcester County and the State of Massachusetts, but lovers of music from both the New England and Middle States. Soloists from all parts of Europe, as well as of our own country, are procured, with the best available orchestral accompaniment, and a local chorus which has won well-deserved commendation from the best musical critics. The Board of Government for 1888 was Edward L. Davis, president; William Sumner, vice-president; A. C. Monroe, secretary; J. E. Benchley, treasurer; and eight directors—B. D. Allen, C. M. Bent, Charles I. Rice, J. Q. Adams, Daniel Downey, L. M. Lovell, C. C. Stearns, of Worcester, and B. L. M. Smith, of Whitinsville.

If space would permit, it would be of interest to speak in detail of other musical societies that have existed in Worcester, but mention can be made only of the Hamilton Club, named in honor of Edward Hamilton, for many years the leading singer of Worcester; the Schumann Club, organized in 1877; the singing society Frohsinn, organized in 1858, with G. A. Patz, musical director, and Benjamin Zaeder, secretary.—William Lichtenfels is now the president and Heinrich Rayerle, secretary; the Gounod Club, organized in 1886; the president is Henry F. Harris; Secretary, Josiah A. Rice; and Musical Director, E. N. Anderson.

HIGH SCHOOL SOCIETIES.—The High School Association was established in May, 1886, its object being "to renew and maintain school friendships, and to contribute in all practicable ways to the good of the school." A meeting of about thirty old members of the school had been held the previous month, at which a committee, with A. S. Roe, the principal of the school, as chairman, was appointed to prepare a plan of organization, and they reported May 24, 1886, a code of by-laws, which was adopted. Samuel S. Green was chosen the first president, and the first meeting of the association after its organization took place at the High School building, the occasion being the graduation exercises of the Senior class for that year. The members consist of the pupils and teachers in the school previous to September, 1865, and all graduates and teachers since that date. The privilege was also extended to all pupils and teachers of the Boys' Latin School and the Girls' High School—two schools merged into the present High School. The association now numbers nearly eight hundred members; the president is Edward L. Davis; A. S. Roe, secretary, and J. S. Brown, treasurer.

Other High School societies, which are literary in their character, are the Enclavia Debating Society, founded in 1858, and composed of young gentlemen; the Altheia Club, founded in 1881, and composed of

¹ In 1815 there was a musical society in the county called the Old Hundred Musical Society, which gave a concert at Hopkinton, Mass., that year, and it is quite probable that some of the Worcester musicians and singers were members of it.

² A successful convention under the direction of Edward Hamilton and B. F. Baker, in 1858, was held under the name of the Musical Institute.

young ladies; the Sumner Club, founded in 1883, and the Assembly, founded in 1885, the two last named having male members only. There is also an Athletic Association, made up of members of the school who are interested in athletic games and amusements.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CLUB was organized in January, 1875, its purpose being "to encourage among the members of the Congregational Churches and societies of Worcester County a more intimate acquaintance; to more concert of action, and to promote the general interests of Congregationalism." Meetings are held six times a year, at which papers are read upon some special topic and discussions follow. Occasionally the meetings are of a distinctive social nature, and are participated in by both ladies and gentlemen. Rev. A. H. Coolidge, of Leicester, is president.

THE BRIGADE CLUB, originally composed of the officers of Third Brigade (Mass.) Volunteer Militia, and officers who had served in the army or militia, was organized in December, 1879. Gen. Josiah Pickett was chosen president, and still holds that office. Gen. R. M. Chamberlain was chosen vice-president, and Capt. Charles S. Chapin secretary and treasurer. The membership of the club has changed somewhat in the past few years and is not confined to military men.

THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB, organized in 1880, and incorporated in 1881, comprises many of the active business and professional men of the city, and is social in its objects. The club have commodious and pleasant rooms on Foster Street, with a reading-room, billiard-room and other conveniences for the use of members, and it has proved successful in providing a pleasant place of resort for many of our citizens. William J. Hogg is president, H. A. Currier secretary, and L. Delavan Thayer treasurer.

THE WORCESTER CLUB, incorporated in 1888, is strictly a social club, with a membership limited to one hundred and fifty. It has purchased and fitted up in an elegant manner a fine house on Elm Street, formerly the residence of the late Hon. Isaac Davis, and offers many attractions to its members. Excellent meals, well-served, are furnished to members and friends; there is also a dining-room for ladies which has proved very popular. A reading-room, library, billiard and pool-room, and other conveniences, are provided for its members, who consist of prominent professional and mercantile gentlemen of Worcester and vicinity. Hon. George F. Hoar is the president; Charles F. Aldrich, secretary; and James P. Hamilton, treasurer.

Boat clubs, and clubs composed of lovers of other athletic sports, are numerous, but want of space will prevent detailed notices of them.

The first regularly-organized boat club in Worcester of which any record has been found is the ATLANTA CLUB, established in 1859, and commenced

boating at Curtis' Pond, near Webster Square, soon after moving to Lake Quinsigamond, where they were the pioneers of systematic boating. The members of the club also had an active part in the arrangements for the first college regatta at the lake, in the summer of 1859. This club gave up active boating in 1865, but kept up their organization for several years after.

The present QUINSIGAMOND BOAT CLUB was organized as the PHANTOM CLUB in 1860, but soon after adopted their present name. It is still an active organization, having fine grounds on the west side of the lake, where they have erected a handsome clubhouse and a commodious boat-house, in which they have a number of racing and pleasure boats.

THE LAKESIDE BOAT CLUB also occupy a fine club and boat-house on the west side of the lake.

There are other organizations for athletic sports, connected with the Worcester Academy, the Polytechnic Institute, and College of the Holy Cross. Brief mention may be made of the Book Clubs now so numerous in the city.

These clubs are formed for the circulation of books and periodicals among their members, and usually consist of from twenty to thirty ladies and gentlemen. The first organization of this kind in Worcester, and the third in the State, is the WORCESTER BOOK CLUB, established in 1839, and still flourishing. The next was the REVIEW CLUB, formed in 1847, followed soon after by the WORCESTER READING CLUB, and later by several others, among which are BOOK CLUB No. 4, WAVELEY, RIALTO and WEBSTER SQUARE CLUBS.

MASONIC SOCIETIES.—The institution of Free Masonry was established in Worcester in the year 1793, the first lodge chartered being "The Morning Star." In the spring of that year Isaiah Thomas ("The Patriot Printer of the Revolution"), Nathaniel Paine, Nathaniel Chandler, John Stanton, Ephraim Mower, Clark Chandler, Samuel Chandler, Charles Chandler, Benjamin Andrews, Joseph Torrey, John White, Samuel Brazier, John Stowers and Samuel Flagg petitioned the Grand Lodge for a charter, which was granted under the above name April 19, 1793, and the first board of officers was installed in June of the same year. They were: Isaiah Thomas, W. M.; Nathaniel Paine, S. W.; and Samuel Chandler, J. W. On the occasion of the installation Rev. Aaron Bancroft, pastor of the Second Parish (Unitarian) in Worcester, delivered an oration, which was printed by Isaiah Thomas. The year before Thomas had printed "The Constitution of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, &c. To which are added, The history of Masonry in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, &c. . . . Together with a large collection of songs, epilogues, &c." The volume is dedicated "To our illustrious Brother, George Washington, the friend of Masonry, of his country, and of man." It is a well-printed volume of two hundred and eighty-eight pages quarto, with a copper-plate frontispiece. The early meetings of the

lodge were held at Mower's Tavern, which was at the corner of Main and Mechanic Streets, afterwards the site of the United States Hotel, and now that of the Walker Building. Later the meetings were held at the United States Arms (where the Exchange Hotel now is), the landlord being Colonel Reuben Sikks. Meetings of the Morning Star Lodge were held with regularity, and it was in a flourishing condition till the time of the anti-Masonic excitement in 1829-30 when it became dormant for several years, as did the Masonic organizations generally. It was reorganized in March, 1842, with the following officers: Horace Cheney, W. M.; Henry Earl, S. W.; Asa Walker, J. M.; and Pliny Holbrook, secretary. Meetings were then held in a small hall in the upper story of Dr. John Green's block, on Main Street, now owned by the Merchants' and Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company. The lodge, which is now in a prosperous condition and numbering over three hundred members, has its meetings in Masonic Hall on Pearl Street.

Montacute Lodge was chartered June 9, 1859, its members coming largely from the older lodge. Its first Master was William A. Smith, followed in 1860 by George W. Bently. Among the early members of the Montacute Lodge were Henry Goddard, Seth P. Miller, Lyman Brooks, John Firth, H. M. Witter and John A. Dana. It now has a membership of three hundred and sixty-six, with Joseph H. Dunkerton as Master.

Athelestan Lodge was chartered June 13, 1866, its members being taken from the other two lodges. The first Past Master was Henry Goddard; the present Master is F. A. Harrington. This lodge has a membership of about three hundred. Among the original charter members were Samuel T. Bigelow, James L. Burbank, David Scott, A. Y. Thompson, E. P. Woodward, L. B. Nichols, John D. Washburn and Geo. W. Bently.

Quinsigamond Lodge, chartered September 13, 1871, has a membership of about one hundred. The present Master is Edward B. Dolliver.

Worcester Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, organized in June and chartered in October, 1823, had among its original members Isaiah Thomas, James Wilson, Jonathan Going, Otis Corbett, Ephraim Mower and Benjamin Chapin, the last-named being the first High Priest, serving four years. During the anti-Masonic excitement this chapter, like other organizations of the order, remained in a quiescent state, but in 1846 became again active and is now in a prosperous condition, having a membership of two hundred and thirty-four. The present presiding officer is James H. Harrison.

Eureka Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, was instituted in 1870 and has a membership of over three hundred. The first High Priest was Rev. T. E. St. John; the present one is Forest E. Barker.

Hiram Council, R. & S. M., was chartered in Sut-

ton December 13, 1826, and it was removed to Worcester in 1858. The first presiding officer after the removal to Worcester was Geo. W. Bentley; the present presiding officer is S. L. Shaffer. This council, the largest subordinate one in the United States, has now a membership of over five hundred.

Worcester County Commandery of Knights Templar was organized in Holden, Mass., and chartered in June, 1825. The first Commander was James Estabrook, the present one being George B. Buckingham. In the year 1845 the headquarters of the commandery were removed to Worcester, where it has since remained and is now one of the most prosperous of its grade in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, numbering over four hundred members.

Ancient and Acceptable Scottish Rite.—The following grades of this rite are established in Worcester under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council 33° Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States, and are in a prosperous condition.

Worcester Lodge of Perfection, A. and A., Scottish Rite 4° to the 14°, was instituted September 30, 1863, and has a membership of two hundred and fifty. Its presiding officer at the present time is Geo. F. Hewitt.

Goddard Council, Princes of Jerusalem, A. and A., Scottish Rite, 15° and 16°, was instituted June 17, 1870, and has a membership of one hundred and seventy. Its presiding officer at the present time is Geo. M. Rice, 2d.

Lawrence Chapter of Rose Croix, A. and A., Scottish Rite, 17° to the 18°, was instituted June 17, 1870, and has a membership of one hundred and seventy. Its presiding officers have been, Rev. Thomas E. St. John, Henry C. Wilson, Francis Brick, M.D., and George B. Buckingham, now in office.

The Masonic Board of Directors was organized in January, 1867; has in charge the lease of Masonic Hall, and the custody of its appointments and property.

The Masonic Mutual Relief Association of Central Massachusetts was organized in 1873. It has a membership of more than twenty-three hundred. Josiah Pickett is president and Wm. A. Smith, secretary. Its membership is confined to the Masonic fraternity, and are mostly residents of the New England States.

Stella Chapter, No. 3, Order of the Eastern Star, was organized in 1871. Its members, numbering about three hundred, are composed of Masons and their wives, mothers, sisters and daughters.

The Grand Chapter of the Order, organized in 1876, has twenty subordinates in its jurisdiction. N. W. Farrer, Easthampton, is Grand Patron; Mrs. J. A. Crane, Millbury, Grand Matron; and Daniel Seagrave, Worcester, Grand Secretary. For the facts in this notice of the Masonic societies, the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Daniel Seagrave, of Worcester.

ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.¹—In the early part of the year 1844, Joseph W. Coburn, of Boston, who was the contractor for building the stone courthouse in Worcester, had among his employes four men who were "Odd Fellows," and finding no lodge in the town, they took steps toward the formation of one. Samuel S. Leonard and George C. Taft, of Worcester, became members of Siloam Lodge, No. 2, of Boston, and they, with the four men before spoken of, petitioned the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for a charter, and May 1, 1844, *Quinsigamond Lodge, No. 43*, was instituted, and held its first meetings in the old Masonic Hall, over what is now the Five Cent Savings Bank. The elective officers of Quinsigamond Lodge for its first term were, James Murray, Noble Grand; John F. Locke, Vice-Grand; George C. Taft, Secretary; Samuel S. Leonard, Treasurer. Freeman H. Pelton is the present Noble Grand and Herbert Wesley, Vice-Grand. Present number of members, five hundred and seventy.

Worcester Lodge, No. 56, was instituted December 20, 1844. The elective officers for its first term were, Samuel S. Leonard, Noble Grand; George H. Goodnow, Vice-Grand; Geo. C. Taft, Secretary; William Greenleaf, Treasurer; Geo. Hamilton, Per. Secretary. James H. Richardson is now the Noble Grand and Wm. B. Louney, Vice-Grand. Whole number of members, four hundred and twenty-five.

Central Lodge, No. 168, was instituted September 17, 1874. Its first presiding officer was, Nathan Taylor, Noble Grand. Its present Noble Grand is John E. Lloyd. Present number of members, three hundred and ten.

Ridgely Lodge, No. 112, was instituted September 19, 1882. Its first presiding officer was L. A. Williams; the present one is F. A. Quimby, and it has a membership of two hundred and twelve.

Anchoria Lodge, No. 142, was instituted March 31, 1887. Its first Noble Grand was Charles A. McFarland. Its present presiding officer is John F. Brierly, and it has a membership of eighty.

Naomi Lodge, No. 18, *Daughters of Rebekah*, was instituted June 27, 1872. Officers for the first term, Horace A. Richardson, Noble Grand; Hannah S. Rice, Vice-Grand; Sarah F. Church, Rec. Secretary; Julia A. Taylor, Per. Secretary, and Cynthia A. Hadley, Treasurer. Present Noble Grand, Emma C. Marden. Present number of members, four hundred and forty-five.

Queen Esther Lodge, No. 33, *Daughters of Rebekah*, was instituted March 24, 1881. Its first presiding officer was Lewis C. Stone. Augusta J. Hubbard is the present Noble Grand, and it has two hundred and ten members.

Wachusett Encampment, No. 10, was instituted May 16, 1845, with Albert Case as Chief Patriarch; B. H. Davis, High Priest; Samuel S. Leonard, Senior War-

den, and D. C. Thurston, Junior Warden. It surrendered its charter January 23, 1851, and was re-instituted October 20, 1869. Theo. H. Day is now Chief Patriarch and C. H. Hutchinson, High Priest. It has a membership of two hundred and ninety-five.

Mount Vernon Encampment, No. 53, instituted September 27, 1877, with Asa L. Burbank, Chief Patriarch. Daniel A. Harrington is now Chief Patriarch, and the number of members is two hundred and forty-five.

Odd Fellows' Mutual Benefit Association of Worcester County was organized October 13, 1871; incorporated October 15, 1877. S. V. Stone was the first president, and Nathan Taylor now holds the office. Present number of members, thirteen hundred, with a fund of fourteen thousand dollars.

Other secret societies are:

The D. O. H. Einigkeit Lodge (Germans), instituted 1853.

Knights of Pythias, instituted 1871-78 (various lodges).

Catholic Order of Foresters (various divisions), 1871-76.

Sons of St. George, 1872.

Patrons of Husbandry, 1873.

Knights of Honor (two lodges), 1885.

Royal Arcanum (two councils), 1877.

Knights of Labor, 1878.

Knights of Father Matthew, 1879.

Improved Order of Red Men, 1880.

United Order of the Golden Cross, 1880.

Independent Order of Mystic Brothers, 1881.

Order of United Friends, 1881.

Daughters of St. George, 1882.

United Order of Independent Daughters of Samaria, 1887.

Ancient Order of United Workmen, 1885.

Iron Hall, Branch No. 396, 1886.

Iron Hall Sisterhood, No. 601, 1887.

Ancient Order of Foresters.

Bay State Lodge, Knights of Honor.

U. O. of Independent Odd Ladies (three lodges), 1886.

Independent Order of Good Templars.

Supreme Council of Knights of the American Eagle.

Daughters of Pocahontas, Minnehaha Council.

Order of United Friends, 1881.

American Legion of Honor, Hope Council.

Order of Pythian Sisterhood, Order of the Star and Crescent.

There are many other societies and associations which undoubtedly deserve special mention, whose names do not appear in the foregoing account, and the writer regrets the necessity that compels their omission.

The following list of societies not before mentioned (including several that have ceased to exist), with the dates of their organization, so far as they could be ascertained, is given as being of historical interest.

¹ Prepared by Mander A. Maynard.

The names of some county societies which, though not strictly local, have their headquarters in Worcester, are included in the list.

Names marked with a * indicate that the society has ceased to exist as an active organization.

Allen Associates, organized 1874.

Ancient Order of Foresters (two courts).

Ancient Order of Hibernians (three divisions), 1867-76.

Ancient Order of United Workmen (three lodges), 1885-87.

Arlington Club, 1883.

Armenian Club, 1888.

Assembly Debating Society, 1885.

Bankers' Athletic Association, 1886.

Bay State Fanciers' Association, 1888.

Barbers' Union.

British American Society of Worcester, 1883.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, 1886.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 1868.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 1877.

*Business Men's Exchange, 1874.

Carrollton Associates.

Catholic Order of Foresters.

Catholic Young Men's Lyceum, 1885.

Central Massachusetts Poultry Club, 1882.

Chamberlain District Farmers' Club, 1873.

Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (three circles).

Children's Friend Society, 1848.

Eagle Associates.

Empire State Society, 1885.

Fairmount Associates, 1885.

*Female Samaritan Society, 1827.

First Swedish Building Association, 1886.

Franklin Social Club.

*Fraternal Amphisbetonean Society, 1841.

Fraternal Aid Association, 1881.

Freight Handlers' Union of Worcester, 1888.

Gesang Verein Frohsinn, 1858.

Grand Army of the Republic, 1867.

Highland Associates.

Irish Catholic Benevolent Society, 1863.

*Jews' Society, 1724.

Kennel Club, 1888.

Langlade Snow-Shoe Club, 1885.

Legomathenian Society (Worcester Academy), 1834

L'Association Montcalm, 1877.

*Lincoln Cricket Club, 1856.

L'Union Saint Joseph, 1885.

Massachusetts Cremation Society, 1886.

Master Plumbers' Association, 1884.

Mechanics' Exchange, 1886.

*Military Library Society of Worcester, 1811.

Mt. Vernon Social Club.

Natives of Maine, 1882.

Nordstjernen, 1880.

Patrons of Husbandry, Worcester Grange, No. 22, 1873.

*Philomathic Society, 1849.

Physiological Society, 1839.

Progressive Co-operative Association.

*People's Club, 1871.

Sacred Heart Benevolent Society, 1881.

St. Andrew's Benevolent Society.

St. John's Mutual Relief Society, 1848.

Shaffner Literary Society.

Society of Architects.

Society of Mechanic Arts, 1884.

Society for Pathological Study, 1888.

Société St. Jean Baptiste, 1868.

Society of Stationary Engineers, 1882.

Socialer Turn Verein, 1859.

Sons and Daughters of New Hampshire, 1880.

Sons and Daughters of Vermont, 1878.

Sons of Scotia.

Sons of Veterans, 1883.

Sovereigns of Industry Mutual Benefit Association, 1877.

Stationary Engineers, 1882.

Victoria Associates, 1887.

Volunteers of 1882, 1882.

Wachusett Boat Club.

Washington Social Club, 1882.

*Washington Temperance Society, 1841.

*Worcester Art Association, 1864.

*Worcester Association for the Protection of Fruit, 1843.

Worcester Association for Medical Improvement, 1845.

*Worcester Board of Trade, 1875.

Worcester Board of Underwriters, 1883.

Worcester Bicycle Club, 1879.

Worcester Boat Club, 1888.

Worcester Benignus Conventus, No. 1, 1888.

Worcester Branch and Emergency and Hygiene Association.

Worcester Camera Club, 1885.

Worcester City Cricket and Football Club.

Worcester City Missionary Society, 1873.

Worcester Children's Friend Society, 1848.

Worcester Citizens' Law and Order League, 1883.

Worcester Clearing House Association, 1863.

Worcester County Bible Society (now Bible Society of Worcester), 1815.

Worcester County Homeopathic Medical Society.

Worcester County Law Library Association, 1842.

Worcester County Retail Grocers' Association, 1887.

Worcester County (South) Anti-Slavery Society, 1838.

Worcester County Stenographers' Association, 1887.

Worcester County Society of Engineers, 1886.

Worcester District Medical Society, 1804.

Worcester Employment Society, 1875.

Worcester Evangelical City Missionary Society, 1852.

Worcester Firemen's Relief Association, 1874.
 Worcester Fur Company (sportsmen), 1888.
 Worcester Hatters' and Furnishers' Association,
 1886.
 Worcester Homœopathic Dispensary Association.
 Worcester Indian Association, 1885.
 Worcester Liberal Union.
 Worcester Medical Association, 1886.
 Worcester Pharmaceutical Society.
 Worcester Prohibition Association, 1885.
 Worcester Police Relief Association, 1887.
 Worcester Rifle Association, 1885.
 Worcester Sportmen's Club, 1874.
 Worcester Suffrage League, 1886.
 Worcester Toboggan Club, 1886.
 Worcester Typographical Union, 1873.
 Worcester Working Men's Association, 1845.
 Worcester Women's Club, 1880.
 Worcester Veteran Firemen's Association.
 Young Catholic Friend Society, 1849.
 *Young Men's Rhetorical Society, 1849.
 Young Women's Christian Association, 1885.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

BY CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M.

IN the history of American journalism Worcester has been conspicuous from the beginning. Of the large number of newspapers which have been published here at different times, many have perished because they have either outlived their usefulness, or because they were never of much use at all. Most of them have been conducted by gentlemen, and many of them by ripe scholars, so that their tone, except in a few cases,¹ has been elevated.

On May 3, 1775, between the battles of Lexington and of Bunker Hill, the *Massachusetts Spy*, which the sturdy patriot, Isaiah Thomas, had started in Boston on July 17, 1770, made its first appearance in Worcester, where it has been published to the present time. There are probably but three newspapers in the United States which can claim to be older than the *Spy*. The life of Mr. Thomas—patriot, printer, publisher and antiquarian—was one of exceeding interest, and constituted an important part of the history of Worcester. He arrived here on the day following the battle of Lexington, in which he had

taken part, and with the type and press, which had been secretly forwarded from Boston, resumed the publication of his paper. It was the organ of the Provincial Congress, and printed the documents required by that body until presses were established at Cambridge and Concord. The paper was published, under a lease, by Daniel Bigelow and William Stearns from June, 1776, to August, 1777, and by Anthony Haswell to June, 1778, when Mr. Thomas resumed the reins. Isaiah Thomas, Jr., became a partner with his father in 1799, and was sole owner from 1806 to 1814. Succeeding publishers were: William Manning to 1819; William Manning and George A. Trumbull to 1823; John Milton Earle and Anthony Chase to 1826; Earle & Chase and Samuel H. Colton to 1835; John Milton Earle alone until 1850, and with Thomas Drew until 1858. Since July 22, 1845, the *Massachusetts Spy* has been made up from the columns of its offspring, the *Worcester Daily Spy*.

Party spirit never ran more high in this country than at the beginning of the present century. The *Spy* held the views of the Federalists, and on the election of Thomas Jefferson as President many prominent gentlemen of Worcester and Boston subscribed a fund with which to start the *National Ægis* as the organ of the "Republicans"—soon to be called Democrats—of that time. The Hon. Francis Blake, a most able and gifted lawyer, was leader of the movement, and first editor of the paper, which appeared December 2, 1801. Able writers sent in frequent spirited communications to its columns, but its list of regular editors has been a most brilliant one. Following Francis Blake, the great chieftain, came Edward Bangs, Levi Lincoln, Samuel Brazier, William Charles White, Enoch Lincoln, Edward D. Bangs, Pliny Merrick, William Lincoln, Christopher C. Baldwin and William N. Green. All of these gentlemen were members of the bar, but found recreation and gratification in preparing the labored and thoughtful essay which served as the editorial for a weekly paper in the first half of this century. It suffered absorption into the *Massachusetts Yeoman* in 1833, but on January 24, 1838, the *National Ægis* again appeared, published by Henry Rogers, who had been the publisher for twenty-one years in the early days of the paper, and with William Lincoln again as editor. Mr. Lincoln was succeeded by Samuel F. Haven, and later by Alexander H. Bullock. Edward Winslow Lincoln was editor from 1846 to 1849, rounding up the very brilliant galaxy of writers for the *Ægis* while it was exclusively a weekly paper. As the *Ægis and Gazette* it is still printed as the weekly edition of the daily *Evening Gazette*.

The *Massachusetts Yeoman*, started September 3, 1823, was the organ of the Anti-Masonic party. It was founded by Austin Denny, who was its editor until his death, in 1830. Emory Washburn aided Mr. Denny in 1829.

¹ William Lincoln, in his history, thus alludes to a paper of the baser sort: "A paper borrowing its descriptive appellation from the worst of reptiles, *The Scorpion*, came out July 26, 1809, without the name of printer or publisher, resembling those abusive periodicals serving as safety valves to convey away the fermenting malignity of base hearts."

As the *National Egis* was originally started as an organ of the Jeffersonian party, so the accession of General Jackson called forth the *Worcester County Republican* to support his views. Jubal Harrington was the editor, and was in due time appointed postmaster by General Jackson. The paper was merged in the *Palladium* in 1839. Major Ben: Perley Poore, who afterwards acquired a national reputation, was an apprentice in the *Republican* office.

The *Worcester Palladium* was established as a "National Republican" or Whig paper, January 1, 1834, by John S. C. Knowlton. In 1838 it espoused the cause of the Democratic party, but in 1856 it sustained the nomination of Fremont for the Presidency, and for the remaining twenty years of its existence it was conservatively Republican. Mr. Knowlton was a man of noble character—a forcible and able writer. He died in July, 1871. The paper was continued for four years by his daughters, when they sold it to Charles Hamilton, who had printed it for many years. Mr. Hamilton sold it to J. D. Baldwin & Co. in February, 1876, and it was merged in the *Massachusetts Spy*.

Jesse W. Goodrich, an able but somewhat eccentric lawyer, started the *Worcester Waterfall and Washingtonian Delegate*, February 26, 1842, and for more than ten years did excellent service in advocating the principles of "moral suasion" for both dealers and drinkers of ardent spirits. A difference with his publishers led him to establish the *Worcester County Cataract and Massachusetts Washingtonian*, March 22, 1843. The old paper was merged in the new in January, 1844, and the paper was published under a variety of names until 1854.

Elihu Burritt, known afterwards, all over the world, as "the learned blacksmith," came to Worcester in 1838, and on January 1, 1844, began the publication of the *Christian Citizen*, which was continued for about seven years. As the advocate of universal peace it attained a large circulation. Mr. Burritt was assisted by Thomas Drew, who was proud to be called the blacksmith's "striker," and also by James B. Syme, a brilliant Scotchman.

The foregoing notices include the most prominent of the numerous papers which were published here previous to the last decade. The subject has been treated in an exhaustive manner by William Lincoln in his "History of Worcester," and by Caleb A. Wall in his "Reminiscences of Worcester" (1877). To the pages of these works the reader is referred for further information on the subject and a more complete list of newspapers and magazines.

On June 23, 1845, when the population of Worcester was something over 10,000, the first daily newspaper appeared, the *Daily Transcript*. It was published and edited by Julius L. Clarke, who was afterwards State Auditor and later the Insurance Commissioner. May 1, 1847, the subscription list was sold to the publishers of the *Spy*, who retained

the name of *Transcript* for about a year, and then changed it to *Daily Spy*.

In April, 1851, the publication of the *Worcester Morning Transcript* was resumed by J. Burrill & Co., with Mr. Clarke in the editorial chair. Silas Dinsmore, Fiske & Reynolds, William R. Hooper and Caleb A. Wall were subsequent publishers. Messrs. S. B. Bartholomew & Co. (Charles A. Chase) bought the paper January 1, 1866, enlarged its size and changed the name to *Worcester Evening Gazette*. May 3, 1869, Charles H. Doe and Charles H. Woodwell, graduates of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, purchased the paper, and since the death of Mr. Woodwell, January 30, 1871, it has been published by Charles H. Doe & Co., with Mr. Doe as editor and manager. The *Transcript* and the *Gazette*, like the weekly edition, the old *National Egis* and the *Egis and Gazette*, have had a succession of brilliant writers, including such men as Charles E. Stevens, Edwin Rynner, John B. D. Cogswell, Z. K. Pangborn and William R. Hooper. It is Republican in politics, but is independent of dictation from any quarter.

The *Worcester Daily Spy* first appeared, from the office of the *Massachusetts Spy*, July 22, 1845. In December, 1858, both papers were purchased of Messrs. Earle & Drew by Moses Farnum, of Blackstone, and S. S. Foss, of Woonsocket, R. I. The business was not congenial to Mr. Farnum, who had been trained as a banker, and as Mr. Foss became homesick, they sold out in March, 1859, to John D. Baldwin, who afterwards took his two sons, John S. and Charles C., into partnership. Mr. Baldwin had previously conducted a free-soil paper in Hartford, Conn., and for five years before coming to Worcester had published the *Daily Commonwealth* in Boston. He represented this district in Congress from 1863 to 1869, and died in 1883. Delano A. Goddard, afterwards editor of the *Boston Advertiser*, was for several years associate editor with Mr. Baldwin. His place was taken by J. Everts Greene, who is now the principal writer for the editorial columns. On July 16, 1888, the *Spy* adopted the quarto form, and gave an illustrated history of its career, with portraits of Isaiah Thomas, John Milton Earle and John D. Baldwin. A Sunday edition of the *Spy* was inaugurated with the beginning of the following week.

The *Worcester Daily Times* was started in 1879 by James H. Mellen as a Democratic evening paper. It is also the organ of the labor organizations, and is a spicy sheet. Its editor has been for several years a conspicuous member of the Legislature, and is also prominent in the Common Council.

The first Sunday newspaper in Worcester, the *Sunday Telegram*, appeared in November, 1884. Its publisher was understood to be Austin P. Cristy, who had been known as assistant clerk of the District Court and as an active politician. A daily edition followed in 1886, called the *Worcester Telegram*.

Both papers are published by the Worcester Telegram Company. In politics they are close-communication Republican.

The *New England Home Journal*, a quarto weekly, is in its seventh year. Its numbers have contained several papers of historic value. W. F. Lockwood is the present publisher and E. P. Kimball is editor.

Since the Civil War of 1861-65 there has been a large migration hither of French Canadians, who now constitute a considerable percentage of the population. As early as 1869 *L'Idée Nouvelle*, a newspaper printed half in English and half in French, appeared, with Méderic Lancot editor and publisher. It continued but three months. In October of the same year Ferdinand Gagnon brought out *L'Etendard National*, which was published here for a year and then removed to Montreal, but was dated at Worcester. In October, 1874, Mr. Gagnon established *Le Travailleur*, which has been very successful and influential. Since his death, some two years ago, it has been published by Charles Lalime, with Emile H. Tardivel as editor. It appears semi-weekly and is Democratic in politics.

Le Courrier de Worcester, now in its fifth year, is published by Belanger Frères. It advocated Republican principles until about a year ago, when it embraced the Democratic faith.

Two numbers of *Le Republicain* appeared in the autumn of 1888.

The Swedes, who now number some thousands, have two weekly journals in their own language. *Scandinavia*, published by the Swedish Publishing Company, is now in its fourth year. J. Forstedt and Helge Sandberg are editors. Some of the ultra temperance men among the Swedes have recently started the *Fosterlandet*, published by the Northern Publishing Company, with Frank L. Malmstedt as editor.

The *Messenger*, an organ of the Catholic population, printed weekly, is now in its third year. James J. Doyle is publisher.

THE AMATEUR PRESS.—It seems proper here to give some notice of the juvenile newspapers which have been printed in Worcester. Of these the first was probably *The Evergreen*, Thomas Chase, editor. Its four pages were about two and a half by three inches, and it was printed by Albert Tyler, then an apprentice in the *Spy* office. Vol. 1., No. 1 (the only one printed, we believe), was dated January 8 [1840], and contained a notice of the three lectures which George Combe had just given, by invitation of Alfred D. Foster and Anthony Chase, on Education and Mental Philosophy. It also recorded the recent arrival of Daniel Webster and family from Europe, after a tedious passage of thirty days.

A friend has exhumed from oblivion a copy of *The Joker*, printed by Charles A. Chase in 1845; type form about three by five inches, of which but one number was issued, for the amusement of his schoolmates.

In April, 1845, appeared *The Minute Gun*, Vol. 1, No. 1, a two-column paper about eight inches in length, edited by Samuel Foster Haven, Jr. Young Haven's gifted father, for many years librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, was then editor of the *National Aegis*, and the little paper was probably put in type and printed by some of the compositors on the *Aegis*. The first number of that series was apparently the last. But on September 11, 1845, young Haven, having secured from the *Aegis* office a font of old type and a condemned card press, began the regular publication of *The Minute Gun*, with another Vol. 1, No. 1, doing all the work with his own hands. It was a four-page paper, with single columns, two and a half inches wide and three and a half inches long, with the motto: "*Tandem fit surculus arbor.*" The shoot in time becomes a tree." The whole number of the series was twenty-nine, and in the last five the vignette of a field-gun supplanted the peaceful motto. The paper was printed once a fortnight at first and afterwards weekly, the last number, of which only the outside was printed, appearing July 2, 1846. Young Haven was graduated at Harvard College, in the class of 1852, and, having studied medicine, began practice in Worcester. August 8, 1861, he left the city with the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers as assistant surgeon. He afterwards became full surgeon, and at the battle of Fredericksburg laid down his noble life.

The writer of this sketch, paying a visit to the printing-office of *The Minute Gun*, in a corner of the old Antiquarian Hall, was urged by his senior friend to embark in an enterprise of the same nature, and on January 1, 1846, *The Humble-Bee* first saw the light. It was of about the same size as its contemporary. The imprint announced that "*The Humble-Bee* is published every Thursday at No. 182 Main Street, Worcester, Mass. Terms: 3 cents for 4 numbers, payable in advance. Charles A. Chase, Editor, Publisher, Proprietor and Printer." In July the name of the sheet was changed to *The Bee*. In place of the former motto, "*multum in parvo*," now appeared the vignette of a bee-hive and the motto: "*hinc dulcia mella premes.*" Of *The Humble-Bee*, under both names, thirty-six numbers were printed. The work was done by the youthful printer, not then in his teens, with old type and an old press, in the office of the *Spy*, of which an uncle was the proprietor. *The Minute Gun* and *The Humble-Bee* met with much favor, and contained many brilliant contributions from the friends of the young publishers.

Pliny Earle (2d), the son of John Milton Earle, printed from the *Spy* office, in January, 1852, the first number of *The Carrier Pigeon*, a two-column paper of four pages, about seven and a half inches in length. The paper was issued monthly at twenty-five cents per annum. The May number bore the imprint of Earle & Brown as publishers, J. Stewart Brown being the junior partner. The paper was prepared for the

press by the two partners, but the September number and those following were printed by "Howland & Alexander," two apprentices on the *Spy*. The December number contained the valedictory.

The publisher of *The Carrier Pigeon* brought out, in January, 1855, *The Heart of the Commonwealth*, a semi-monthly paper, about half as large again as its predecessor. Both papers were full of jokes, with a few advertisements. Mr. J. B. Syme, a writer on the *Spy*, wrote most of Master Earle's "heavy editorials," and some of his friends sent in communications of some merit.

Journalism at the High School began forty years ago. The compositions or theses in the classical departments were handed to one of the boys and one of the girls, who, as editors, selected such as suited their fancy and copied upon foolscap paper and read to the school. The journal thus formed was called *The Excelsior*. Four volumes are preserved in the High School Library.

The first printed newspaper issued from the High School was the *Thesaurus*. Thirty-two numbers appeared between November 1, 1856, and May 3, 1866.

Four numbers of the *High School Reporter* appeared between April 15 and June 15, 1879. John H. Martell was publisher and sponsor.

Two numbers of the *Worcester Student* appeared in September and October, 1879. This was the organ of the schools generally, but contained a High School department, conducted by J. H. McNamara.

The *High School Argus* appeared April 1, 1885, and eighteen numbers were issued between that time and June 20, 1886. Frank R. Batchelder, the editor, printed the paper with his own hands.

The *Academe*, the present organ of the school, started January 1, 1886. It was issued monthly during the first year, and was then changed to a semi-monthly.

Frank R. Batchelder's *Forget-Me-Not*, for March and April, 1886, had a High School department.

The *Senior Critic*, established by the class of 1886, appeared January 25th of that year. Twelve numbers were printed. It had occasional illustrations, and was a spicy sheet.

The High School publications have been very creditable to the editors and contributors.

*The Lilliputian*¹ was issued March 6, 1856, by Geo. E. Boyden and James Green, Jr. (afterwards Green & Oliver), a semi-monthly of eight pages. It was published four months, and was followed, July 24, 1854, by the *Pathfinder*, a four-page semi-monthly, printed by Master Green, the organ of the "Boys' Rocky Mountain Fremont Club." Four months later Charles F. Blood became the owner, and published it until March 28, 1857. Young Blood had printed four numbers of a second *Humble-Bee* in the summer of 1856.

The Young People's Mutual Improvement Society issued the *East Mount Monthly*, Stephen C. Earle, editor, through the year 1858.

The *Young American* appeared on December 18, 1858, edited by Edward Gray, but printed by E. R. Fiske, a professional printer. It was published semi-monthly for something more than a year.

From 1859 to 1872 we find no trace of juvenile papers except that about the latter year a few numbers of the *Boys' Stamp Gazette* and a second *Young American* appeared. In October, 1872, John I. Souther started the *Starry Flag*, which waved about six months.

Some twenty years ago special outfits for young printers were put upon the market. In December, 1875, Philip M. Washburn issued the first number of the *Philippine*, which was continued for six months.

June 11, 1877, John H. Starkie issued the first number of the *Amateur Press*, and is styled the father of the fraternity called "amateurdom," as far as Worcester is concerned. With the fifth number Arthur A. Wyman was admitted as associate editor, remaining two months.

Other amateur papers and their editors were:

The *Boys' Favorite*, John H. Martell, in August, 1877.

The *Yankre*, W. E. Smythe, in October, 1877.

The *Amateur Gazette*, J. G. Oliver and Charles A. White, November, 1877. A. A. Wyman took White's place in the following year, and G. E. Davis was admitted as a partner.

The *Tyro*, Smith & Ellis, February, 1878.

The *Avalanche*, Charles S. Knight, Jr., April, 1878.

The *Amateur Tribune*, A. A. Wyman and Charles D. Wheeler, May, 1878.

Ours, J. H. Martell and Henry Lemay, August, 1878.

The *Boys of Worcester*, C. S. Ellis, January, 1879.

The *Daily News*, J. H. Martell and George S. Dickinson, March, 1879.

The *Stamp Collector*, E. A. Welch, April, 1879.

The *Weekly Star*, E. P. Sumner, April, 1879.

The *Bay State Gem*, J. G. Oliver, September, 1879.

The *Go Ahead*, Frank R. Batchelder, August, 1882; name afterwards changed to *Forget-Me-Not*.

The *Bay State Pearl* (afterwards called the *Planet*), Frank S. C. Wicks, July, 1883. He published two numbers of the *Caduceus* in the autumn of 1888.

In 1883 and following years appeared the *Union*, L. E. Ware and Arthur C. Smith; *Mayflower*, Walter L. Brown; *Scrap-Book*, Alfred D. Flinn; *Golden Star*, H. and W. Holmes and Frank Cutter; *Ruby*, Harry A. Plympton; *Avalanche*, Frederick Cowell; *Worcester Amateur*, Miss Edith May Dowe.

In 1885 Joseph Melanefy and Frank S. Mawhianey issued the *Headlight*, to which Austin Rice was the principal contributor.

In September, 1885, Charles A. Hoppin, Jr., issued *The Breeze*, devoted wholly to amateur affairs. He is

¹ The remaining portion of this chapter is compiled from information kindly furnished by Charles A. Hoppin, Jr., a veteran "amateur."

a very enthusiastic newspaper man, has had some experience on the *Evening Gazette*, and is now in charge of the advertising department of Messrs. Denholm, McKay & Co.

Among the recent amateur publishers are: Harry Chamberlin and Joseph Sargent (3d). Several amateur organizations have been formed—local, sectional and national—in which some of the amateurs of this city have taken a prominent part: notably, Frank R. Batchelder, Frank S. C. Wicks, Alfred D. Flinn, Charles A. Hoppin, Jr., and Edith May Dowe. Complete files of most of the the Worcester papers are to be found at the library of the American Antiquarian Society. There is a marked contrast between the earlier and the later issues. The former catered to the general public, while many of the more recent seem to have looked for readers chiefly in the ranks of "dom," as the fraternity is styled. But the friendly rivalry among the members, scattered throughout the country, served to bring out their best efforts, and cultivated their diction and stimulated their thought.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

THE DRAMA IN WORCESTER.

BY NATHANIEL PAINE.

THE early history of the drama in Worcester is involved in much obscurity, from the fact that till within the last twenty or thirty years the newspapers paid but little attention to the strolling companies that occasionally performed here, and that notices of such entertainments were not usually promulgated by means of newspaper advertisements, but by posters or small bills distributed about the streets, which very soon became lost or destroyed. There was also a very strong sentiment in the community against theatrical exhibitions of any kind, so that, previous to 1848 or '50, the printed records are very meagre, and would seem to indicate that our people took but little interest, or did not have the time to patronize entertainments of that kind. Besides this, an act passed in April, 1750, against dramatic exhibitions was in force up to 1794 or '95. This act was "for preventing and avoiding the many and great mischiefs which arise from publick stage-plays, interludes and other theatrical entertainments, which not only occasion great and unnecessary expenses, and discourage industry and frugality, but likewise tend generally to increase immorality, impiety and a contempt of religion." The act provided that if "any person or persons shall be present as an actor in, or a spectator of, any stage-play, etc.—in any house, room or place where a greater number of persons than twenty shall

be assembled together, every such person shall forfeit and pay, for every time he or they shall be present as aforesaid, five pounds."

The first record of anything like a dramatic exhibition in Worcester is probably in William Lincoln's "History of Worcester," where it is stated that in 1787 Master Brown, a school-teacher, produced Addison's "Cato," with great success, at a quarterly examination of his school. The parts were probably taken by the pupils, and not in costume. It is said that similar exhibitions were continued for two or three years. Ten years later, in June, 1797, a Mr. Hogg, who advertises himself in the *Spy* as "late from the Boston Theatre," "informs the ladies and gentlemen of Worcester that the hall over the school-room¹ is fitted up for the purpose of representing some select and most admired dramatic pieces, a musical entertainment—'The Waterman'—a Dramatic Romance in one act called 'The Oracle, or Daphne and Amintor,' the whole to conclude with *pas-de-deux*. Doors open at 6½, performance begins at 7½. Front seats 3s., back seats 2s. 8d." The *Massachusetts Spy* evidently did not have a reporter at this performance, or else did not think it worth reporting, for nothing appears in its columns in regard to it. The company were in town several days, presenting, a week later, a piece entitled, "Like Master like Man," and the "Shipwrecked Mariner, with singing by Mr. Hogg." About the same time, Mons. Boullay "from the Old Theatre, Boston," opened a school "in the polite accomplishment of dancing and music." Possibly he may have participated in the *pas-de-deux* at Mr. Hogg's dramatic representation.

By a programme now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society it appears that in July, 1817, Mr. West's Circus exhibited for one week on a lot between Front and Mechanic Streets, opposite Eaton's tavern, the entrance being on Mechanic Street. Again, in 1818, as appears from the same source, a grand tight-rope performance, with feats in posturing, leaping and tumbling, was given at "Hathaway's Hall;" "tickets, 50 cts., for sale at Hathaway's bar." This hall was in a hotel located on the present site of the Bay State House.

After the performance of Mr. Hogg's company there does not appear to have been a regular dramatic exhibition in Worcester for some forty or fifty years. The only entertainments offered to the public, besides concerts, were moving dioramas and monstrosities (like the Siamese Twins, who were exhibited in the hall of the Central Hotel in 1838), and an occasional equestrian exhibition. Later came the annual visits of "Blind Dexter," with his traveling van of "colored statuary," generally exhibiting on Main Street, near the Town Hall. In his advertising he says: "The above exhibition has not the advantage

¹ The school-house was owned by a stock company, but later became the property of the town and was known as the "Centre School."

of wealth of an incorporated association, basking in sunshine and affluence, but depends entirely upon the exertions of an humble individual, who was deprived of both eyes and one arm while engaged in blasting a rock."

For many years the selectmen would not license a circus to give an exhibition here, but it appears that in some unguarded moment they did, in May, 1832, license a company, much to the indignation of many good people of the town. The *Massachusetts Spy* thus comments on the action of the selectmen:

The Selectmen have licensed a company of strolling actors, calling themselves Circus Riders, to exhibit their fooleries here. We presume that in giving their consent the Selectmen had no idea of encouraging vice or dissipation, or of acting in opposition to the well-known wishes of a majority of their constituents. Who does not know that no one gets any good by attending such exhibitions? That by going, he encourages idleness, cruelty and vice! It is to be hoped that this is the last time we shall be troubled with such unwelcome visitors, and that our Selectmen will in future be careful not to lend their aid in encouraging them to come among us.

This protest seems to have had its effect, for no licenses were given to equestrian performances for the next twelve or fifteen years; those who desired to witness such exhibitions having to go to the adjoining towns of Millbury and Holden to do so. About the latter part of the year 1845, or the beginning of 1846, the selectmen ventured to give a license for a dramatic performance to one Dr. Robinson. The play produced was called "The Reformed Drunkard," and was claimed to be in the interest of temperance. This entertainment seems to have been condemned by many of the citizens, and when Dr. Robinson again applied for a license (the profits of the exhibition to go to some local society) the selectmen declined to grant it, and spread upon the town records their reasons for so doing. Their report, dated March 2, 1846, covers nearly two pages of the record-book, from which we make the following extracts, as indicating to some extent the feeling of the community towards theatrical exhibitions at that time. The selectmen say:

Much complaint has been made because the Selectmen have refused to license Dr. Robinson to exhibit a theatrical exhibition called "The Reformed Drunkard." To that man they could not grant such a license, even if they had no objections to the character of the exhibition. The last time that Robinson was permitted to hold such an exhibition here he took advantage of the very license which had been granted him by the selectmen to grossly insult the town. But Robinson's improper conduct has not been the principal reason for rejecting his application, as a similar request has been made by those to whom there was no personal objection. The selectmen have believed that the tendency of such an exhibition was demoralizing in the extreme, that it was calculated rather to increase the vice there represented than to diminish it. . . . If any want to see the consequences of intemperance let them visit the Poor-house, let them attend the weekly religious services at the Jail Chapel, and there they will witness the usual consequences of intemperance in a far better manner, etc. Do they not know that the French Danseuse carried large sums of money from this country, and do they not also know that the number of the spectators would have been extremely limited if it had not been generally known that females would exhibit their persons in most indecent postures? Some months since Green, the self-styled "Reformed Gannaher," delivered a lecture in this town, and the next day there was a greater sale of playing cards than had been for weeks and months previous; this surely was not for good.

About a year later, however, the selectmen licensed a company from Boston, who, under the name of "The National Athenæum," appeared for a season of two or three weeks at Brinley Hall (now Grand Army Hall). They opened with the play of "The Hunchback," under the management of G. G. Spear, in June, 1847. In the company were W. H. Smith, E. F. Keach, Mr. and Mrs. Vincent and Miss Louisa Gann, who appeared in several standard plays in a very acceptable manner, closing with "George Barnwell." That dramatic entertainments were still under a cloud in Worcester may be inferred from an article in the *National Ægis* in regard to this company, which says: "It has been intimated that a portion of our community, whose means enable them to frequent the opera, are indisposed to countenance this less imposing scene of recreation. . . . But we are unable to believe that an individual can have such an immense beam in his eye. . . ."

In the following year Mr. W. B. English gave a series of performances at Brinley Hall, under the name of "Tableaux Vivants," this name being given as less distasteful to the moral sense of many than that of theatre. "Rosina Meadows" was the first play produced, Mrs. Western (afterwards Mrs. English) taking the leading part. Mrs. English (who is still living, at the Forrest Home for Actors, at Philadelphia) says: "The company drew immense houses, many of the ladies of the audience appearing in evening dress." A few years later Mr. English again appeared at Brinley Hall, with his wife (Mrs. Western) and her daughters, Lucille and Helen Western, who afterwards had quite a notoriety in the theatrical world.

In 1850 Mr. Charles C. D. Wilkinson, late manager of the Worcester Theatre, made his first appearance on any stage, at Brinley Hall, with a company under the management of Mr. George C. Howard, in the role of *Tim* in "My Wife's Second Floor." Mr. Wilkinson, though not a native of Worcester, resided here in his early days, and received his education from the schools of Worcester. In 1851 he gave a series of "Parlor Entertainments" in the above-named hall, with a company composed mainly of members of his own family.

In the winter of 1850 a hall in the newly-erected Flagg's Block (on the site of the present block of that name) was occupied for a short time by the Howard (G. C.) and Fox (G. L.) Troupe, who gave a series of miscellaneous dramatic entertainments. The next autumn the hall was made more available for stage representations, and opened by a Mr. Burroughs, of Providence, under the name of the Worcester Dramatic Museum, and afterwards came under the management of Noah Gates, of Lowell. The leading ladies of the company were Mrs. Beissenherz (a most versatile actress, taking all parts from a chamber-maid to *Lady Macbeth*, and dancing between the acts), Mrs. Germon and Miss Steele. During the

first winter under Mr. Gates' management Mrs. George H. Barrett appeared as a star. In the spring of 1853 Mr. Gates applied for a renewal of his license. A remonstrance against its being granted was presented to the mayor and aldermen, which brought a strong petition in favor of it; so a public hearing on the question was given at the City Hall Monday evening, March 1st, which was largely attended. Dwight Foster appeared as counsel for the petitioners, and was supported by Dr. O. Martin and Dexter Parker, who spoke in behalf of the young men. Alfred Dwight Foster, Rev. Alonzo Hill, W. R. Hooper and others spoke against the granting of the petition. One of the arguments against the license was that the character of the plays presented was not of the best; that if the plays of Shakespeare and other standard dramatists were produced there would be less objection to it. Perhaps it was with a desire to influence the opposition to a more favorable view that "Romeo and Juliet" was brought out a night or two before, and the night the discussion was going on "Richard III." was being played at the Museum.

The Museum closed its doors the 5th of March, but opened again April 8th, having received a license with a condition that no one under eighteen years of age should be admitted. It was closed for the season June 18, 1852, with a benefit for Mr. W. M. Leman.

The Dramatic Museum was opened in September, 1853, by Gates & Brown, with J. B. Carditch as stage manager. During this season Mr. Denman Thompson, now so widely known by his impersonation of *Joshua Whitcomb* in the "Old Homestead" (at present a permanent attraction at the Academy of Music in New York), appeared at the Museum, "playing anything and everything, besides dancing hornpipes and fancy dances between the acts."

Other members of the company at this time were "Yankee Locke" (George E.), J. J. Prior and William Henderson (now manager of the Academy of Music at Jersey City). The license of the company expired at the close of the year, and in December application was made for its renewal. Again there was strong opposition to it, and the question was debated in the Board of Aldermen at two or three meetings without action. In the mean time the Museum closed its doors during a successful run of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The matter was settled the night of Sunday, January 29, 1854, by the burning of Flagg's Block, which destroyed all the scenery and properties, as well as two dioramas that were being prepared for exhibition.

The first building erected in Worcester for theatrical purposes was completed in 1857, having been built by William Piper from plans by Royden & Ball, on Front Street, opposite the city hall.¹ The *Daily Spy*, in speaking of the new building, says: "It is an edifice which, for architectural beauty and complete

adaptation to the purposes for which it was designed, may challenge comparison with any similar edifice in the country, except in the largest cities." The new theatre was opened February 9, 1857, under the management of Wyzeman Marshall, of Boston, an actor of an established reputation, with the play "Ingomar." An opening address, written by Mr. A. W. Thaxter, was recited by Miss Mary Hill (Mrs. Thaxter). In the cast were: Mr. Marshall as *Ingomar*, Miss Hill as *Parthenia*, Messrs. Beck, Stanton and Taylor as the *Three Citizens of Massilia* and Mr. Charles Wilkinson as *Lykon*. The entertainment concluded with W. W. Clapp's farce, "My Husband's Mirror," Mr. Wilkinson taking the leading part. The first season closed in May with a complimentary benefit to Mr. Marshall, tendered by several prominent citizens, among whom may be mentioned A. H. Bullock, Henry Chapin, Charles Devens, Rejoice Newton, J. D. Washburn, J. E. Estabrook and Adin Thayer.

Mr. Wilkinson became the manager the second season, opening August 24, 1857, with "Love's Sacrifice" and "Grimsbaw, Bagshaw and Bradshaw," Mrs. Beissenherz being the leading lady. In March, 1858, Mr. M. V. Lingham became the manager, and was succeeded in the fall of the same year by Jacob Barrow, who brought out many standard plays, with a very efficient company, which included, beside Mrs. Barrow (who was a very accomplished actress), J. E. Owens, Charles Fisher, Miss Fanny Morant and Miss Charlotte Thompson. During Mr. Barrow's brief stay here, several of the good old comedies, like "The Rivals," "The Heir-at-Law" and "The Poor Gentleman," were produced. The theatre was reopened under the name of "Pouncefort's Athenæum" March 28, 1858, with Mr. George Pouncefort as manager. Mr. and Mrs. Pouncefort took the leading parts, opening with the "Lady of Lyons," and closing April 22d with "Still Waters Run Deep" and "Black-Eyed Susan."

During the summer the theatre was occupied occasionally by traveling companies, and October 12th it was again opened by Mr. Pouncefort, with "Don Cesar de Bazan" and the farce of "Sarah's Young Man." Mr. and Mrs. I. Biddle were the comedians of the company. During a brief season Mr. Pouncefort introduced to a Worcester audience such actors as W. E. Burton, C. W. Couldock and J. W. Wallack. In November, 1859, a piece called "Ossawatimie Brown; or, the Harper's Ferry Insurrection," was brought out, and in the same month Mr. Wallack appeared for a few nights in the "Winter's Tale," "Hamlet," "The Iron Mask" and "Macbeth." The season closed December 20th.

Messrs. Myers and Boniface opened the theatre in March, 1860, for a short time, with Mrs. Barrow as leading lady, in such plays as "The Octoroon," "Sea of Ice" and similar pieces.

William B. English opened the theatre in 1860 for a brief season, with his step-daughters, Lucille and

¹ Now known as the "Front Street Music."

Helen Western as the stars, they appearing in such pieces as "Jack Sheppard," "The French Spy" and "Three Fast Men," which were of a decidedly sensational character.

In October of 1860 the "Serious Family" was produced, with an unusually strong cast, including Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Davenport, Mr. and Mrs. John Gilbert, Mrs. Barrow and Miss Fanny Davenport.

In January, 1861, Mr. Pouncefort again took the management with Mrs. Barrow as the leading lady. Mr. John Gilbert appeared in February as *Sir Anthony Absolute* in "The Rivals," and again the next month in "Rob Roy."

In the spring of 1861 the excitement caused by the secession of the Southern States and the prospect of a call for troops at the North was so intense that entertainments of all kinds were poorly patronized, and the theatre performances became almost deserted. An afternoon performance was given at the theatre the 19th of April, at which the Holden Rifles, who were in the city on their way to the front with the Third Battalion of Rifles, under Major Charles Devens, were invited to be present. The departure of the troops, and the fact that the whole community were so much interested in the real tragedy which was being enacted that they had no time nor desire to witness any dramatic representations, caused the sudden closing of the theatre the next evening, with not a dozen persons in the audience.

In May, 1861, Charlotte Cushman appeared for two nights in "Guy Mannering" and "Romeo," and again for two nights in June as *Lady Marbeth* and *Queen Catharine*, supported by John Gilbert, J. B. Studley and Miss Viola Crocker. January 3, 1862, the last night of the season, a play called "Boys of Worcester County; or, the Battle of Balls' Bluff," was brought out, but it was not a marked success. In April of the same year "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was played for one week, closing April 15th with a benefit for John W. Stiles, a native of Worcester.

H. C. Jarrett, of Niblo's Garden, New York, opened the theatre for two nights in May, 1862, with a strong company, which included John Gilbert, Charles Barron, J. E. Owens and Miss Mary Wells, who appeared in "School for Scandal" and the "Poor Gentleman." The next month J. C. Meyers, of Providence, was here for a brief time, with Henry Langdon and Miss Annie Senter in the leading parts. During the next five years the theatre does not appear to have been open for regular seasons, but was occupied largely by traveling companies, a few nights at a time. In this way Laura Keane was here with a good company in June, 1863, producing "Our American Cousin." In July Miss Kate Reigolds, with a company from the Boston Museum, which included Mrs. J. R. Vincent, Stuart Robson, Owen Marlowe and John Wilson, played a short engagement.

In October, 1863, J. Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln, appeared in "Richard III." and

the "Lady of Lyons," with Mrs. Barrows as the leading lady.

The theatre was opened from time to time during the next four years for brief seasons, with companies good, bad and indifferent, but during this period such players appeared as William Warren, Miss Josie Orton, Emily Mestayer, McKean Buchanan, Edwin Forrest (as *Richard* and *King Lear*), John Brougham, Tom Placide, L. R. Shewell and Mark Smith.

The last dramatic representation in the Front Street Theatre was November 27, 1867, with the play "Under the Gas Light," J. B. Booth being the manager. The theatre was soon made into offices and small halls, and not again used for dramatic purposes till the fall of 1888, when it was remodeled and improved, and is now known as the Front Street Musée, for variety shows and curiosities, under the management of George H. Batcheller.

The present Worcester Theatre, on Exchange Street, built by a stock company, and first called Music Hall, was opened to the public the evening of March 9, 1869, under the management of J. B. Booth, of the Boston Theatre Company. The pieces presented on the opening night were "The Lady of Lyons" and the farce of "My Neighbor's Wife." In the company were C. R. Thorne, Jr., Louis Aldrich, W. H. Lehman, Dan. J. Maguinis, Mrs. J. B. Booth and Mrs. S. M. Leslie. The Music Hall was under the control of the proprietors of the Boston Theatre for ten or twelve years, during which period many actors and actresses of established reputation appeared on the boards. Space does not permit a complete list of these, but a few of the most noted may be mentioned.

Mrs. Scott Siddons appeared in "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady" in December, 1870; Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams early in 1871. In May, 1873, Sothorn appeared in his great part of *Lord Dundreary* in "Our American Cousin." John E. Owens in February, 1871, Wyzean Marshall in May of the same year, and J. W. Wallack, in the play of "The Iron Mask;" the next year Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Florence and Frank Mayo. In January, 1873, Carlotta Patti, Signor Mario (the great tenor), Miss Annie Louise Cary and Teresa Carreno, the pianist, gave a concert at the theatre, and drew an immense house.

In the fall of 1873 the theatre was newly painted and the auditorium fitted with new and more comfortable seats, and thereafter was known as the "Worcester Theatre," instead of "Music Hall." It was opened by the Boston Theatre Company October 28th, with L. R. Shewell and Mrs. Thos. Barry in the leading parts. Other prominent players who appeared during the next few years were Lester Wallack, F. S. Chanfrau, McKee Rankin, Sara Bernhardt, Lotta, Charles Fechter, Edwin Booth. During this period the theatre was often leased to strolling variety companies, minstrel shows and for various other entertainments, many of which were of rather poor quality.

In the summer of 1882 Mr. Charles Wilkinson took a lease of the theatre, and became the first resident manager. He opened it August 24, 1882, with a performance by the Alice Oates Opera Company. It was during Mr. Wilkinson's management that the first matinees, now so popular, were given in the theatre. The first experiment was not very encouraging, the receipts being only about twenty-five dollars, while the same company in the evening took over five hundred dollars. In November, 1882, the theatre was opened on Sunday evening for the first time, with a reading by J. E. Murdock, the veteran actor, and about five years later Rev. W. H. H. Murray lectured there on Sunday evening. In 1885 a large part of the stock of the Music Hall corporation changed hands, and the new owners made radical changes in the interior of the building, with special attention to the matter of safety against fire, and it now compares very favorably with the metropolitan theatres.

Mr. Wilkinson retained the proprietorship till his death, which took place March 2, 1888. During his management, a period of about seven years, he endeavored to present to his patrons first-class entertainments, and as a rule he succeeded in so doing, and Worcester theatre-goers were given an opportunity to hear many actors and actresses of established reputation in their favorite rôles. Such well-known representatives of the dramatic art as Henry Irving in "Louis XI.," Joe Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle," Lawrence Barrett as *Hamlet*, Denman Thompson as *Joshua Whitecomb*, Edwin Booth, Wilson Barrett, Charles Wyndham, J. T. Raymond, Madame Modjeska, Salvini, E. A. Sothern, Frank Mayo, Mary Anderson, Fanny Davenport, Margaret Mather, Fanny Janauschek, Rosina Vokes, Mrs. Langtry and many others of high rank on the stage appeared during Mr. Wilkinson's management.

Since the death of Mr. Wilkinson, his wife, Lillie Marden Wilkinson, has had the management, and has continued it upon the same plan as her husband, in giving to the public as good a class of performances as they would patronize. It is understood that at the close of the present season (1888-89) the management is to pass into other hands, and that extensive changes and improvements in the entrance and auditorium are contemplated.

Mention should be made of an amateur company of young ladies and gentlemen, who, a few years before the late war, appeared in farces and comedies in a small hall in the upper story of the late Dr. John Green's Block, on Main Street.¹ The young gentlemen of the company became, a few years later, the founders of the present Quinsigamond Boat Club.

During the Civil War several amateur performances were given at the theatre, or in some public hall, by ladies and gentlemen, for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission, or for local aid to troops

passing through the city to and from the seat of war. Most of these performances were given under the patronage of Mrs. Governor John Davis. Among the pieces thus produced were: "Still Waters Run Deep," "Follies of a Night," "Ici on Parle Français," and "Up at the Hills."

Since the close of the war the local post of the "Grand Army of the Republic" have from time to time produced military plays at the theatre, for the benefit of their charitable fund, which have been most generously patronized.

In later years the Quinsigamond Boat Club have given several excellent dramatic entertainments, in which the various parts, both male and female, were taken by members of the club and their friends. In this way they have presented the travesty of "Romeo and Juliet" in 1877, and again in 1879; the extravaganza of "Lord Bateman," 1878; "The Legend of the Rhine," 1879; and in April, 1888, "The Talisman, or the Maid, the Monk and The Minstrel." All of these were largely musical, and the club were ably assisted by local male vocalists.

In December, 1883, Mr. W. H. Bristol opened the "Dime Museum" in Washburn Hall, giving an exhibition of giants, dwarfs and curiosities of various kinds, with a variety stage performance. This is still continued and appears to have a generous patronage.

In 1882 and for a few years thereafter, dramatic performances were given at Bigelow's Garden and Skating Rink in the summer months, during which time several of the popular burlesque operas, like "Pinafore" and "Patience," were produced and drew large houses. In the same period entertainments were given by travelling theatrical combinations and minstrel shows, with occasional visits from Boston theatre companies.

The foregoing notice of dramatic representations in Worcester is necessarily very incomplete, the space given to this subject permitting only a brief general review, and many interesting details have been omitted.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

BANKING AND INSURANCE.

BY CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M.

THE *National Egis* of December 21, 1803, contained an editorial article, three columns in length setting forth in full the advantages which would inure to a community from the establishment of a bank. A number of gentlemen had met at Barker's tavern,¹ on the evening of the 18th, Isaiah Thomas presiding, and had voted that it would be advan-

¹ Now owned by the Merchants' and Farmers' Fire Insurance Company.

¹ Now the Exchange Hotel.

teague to the county to have a bank established at Worcester; that as soon as one thousand shares should be subscribed for, at one hundred dollars a share, an application should be made to the Legislature for an act of incorporation; and that the subscription paper should be opened at Barker's tavern on the first Tuesday of January following. Benjamin Heywood, Francis Blake, Isaiah Thomas, William Paine and Daniel Waldo, Jr., were chosen a committee to secure the subscriptions and call a meeting of the subscribers for organization. An advertisement in the *Ægis* and the *Massachusetts Spy*, headed "A Country Bank," set forth that "an association of gentlemen belonging to the town of Worcester, having contemplated the advantages which would accrue to the agricultural, commercial and mechanical interests of the county from the establishment of a bank in the town of Worcester," had appointed a committee to invite subscriptions from the citizens of the county, and gave notice of the place and manner in which subscriptions might be made. The response to this call was so liberal, that it was found that one hundred and eighty-three subscribers had applied for a total of twenty-six hundred and twelve shares. These subscriptions were graded down to fifteen hundred by a committee, and application was made for a charter with a capital of \$150,000, instead of the sum first proposed. The charter was granted March 7, 1804:—"An act to incorporate Daniel Waldo and others by the name and style of the President, Directors & Company of the WORCESTER BANK."

The corporators, besides the above-named committee, were Daniel Waldo, Sr., Stephen Salisbury, Nathan Patch, William Henshaw, Nathaniel Paine and Elijah Burbank. The charter, which was to run for eight years from October 1, 1804, provided that the whole amount of capital should be paid in before March 1, 1805; that the bank might hold real estate for banking purposes to the amount of \$20,000; that neither their circulation nor their loans should at any time exceed twice their capital stock actually paid in and existing in gold and silver in their vaults. No bills could be issued of a less value than five dollars, and none between five and ten dollars; and the Commonwealth reserved the right to become an owner in the stock to an amount not exceeding \$50,000 of additional stock to be created.

As there were no savings banks then in existence, it was also provided that one-eighth part of the whole funds of the bank should always be appropriated to loans to the "agricultural interest," of not less than one hundred dollars or more than five hundred dollars each, and for a term not less than one year; and the bank was bound to loan to the State, whenever required by the Legislature, any sum not exceeding \$15,000, reimbursable in five annual instalments and at a rate of interest not exceeding five per cent. The charter was accepted at a meeting of subscribers to the stock, held April 10, 1804. At the same meeting

Daniel Waldo, Benjamin Heywood, Samuel Flagg, Isaiah Thomas, Daniel Waldo, Jr., Theophilus Wheeler and Samuel Chandler were elected directors. William Paine, Samuel Brazier, Ephraim Mower, Oliver Fisk and John Farrar were charged with the duty of looking up a site for a banking-house and of preparing a suitable plan. On the 20th of the same month, on recommendation of the committee, it was voted to purchase the lot of land belonging to Capt. Daniel Heywood, opposite to land owned by Nathaniel Paine, Esq., "situate on the Main Street, in Worcester, stated to contain one hundred and twenty-six rods," and "to build a house of brick that will accommodate a family and answer for banking purposes." This site, now occupied by the Central Exchange, was purchased, and a brick building, having two belts of marble on the front, was erected. It contained, besides the banking-rooms, a hall for the meetings of the stockholders and a tenement which was occupied by Hon. Daniel Waldo (second of that name) for several years, until he built his mansion just south of the bank, on the site of Mechanics' Hall. The north part of the first floor was afterward used as the post-office. The bank continued to occupy its rooms until the building was destroyed by fire in 1842. It kept the rooms (now occupied by the Mechanics' National Bank) in the New Central Exchange until 1851, when, in connection with the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company, the Worcester Bank block was erected, the bank securing full ownership in the following year.

As the time approached for the expiration of the original charter, a renewal was asked for from the Legislature. "Conflicting interests"—doubtless the exertions of the Boston banks—secured a rejection of the first petition, and of a second memorial. But at the June session in 1812 a new charter was granted, the capital being increased to two hundred thousand dollars.

The directors of the original bank in May, 1804, elected Levi Thaxter as cashier and Robert B. Brigham accountant, with the understanding that they should "enter themselves at some bank in the town of Boston, to be instructed, at their own expense, in the duties of their respective offices." A seal, having on it for device a buck, was adopted. Daniel Waldo, Jr., was authorized "to contract with Peter Marsh and Tarrant King, of Sutton, and David Hearsay, of Worcester, bricklayers, to work at \$1.58½ per day, board and liquor included." The banking-rooms were first used October 6, 1804, for a directors' meeting, at which Daniel Waldo, Jr., was elected president in his father's place. By-laws were adopted on the day following. It was decided that no discount should be made for a longer time than sixty days; that every note presented for discount should have one or more endorsers, unless stock was pledged as collateral security; that every person other than the promissor offering a note for discount should endorse

it; that every note should be attested by one or more witnesses; that no person should have his note renewed for more than four-fifths of the original sum; and at every renewal one-fifth of the original sum shall be paid. The first semi-annual report to the State, January 7, 1805, showed: Capital stock, \$150,000; debts due (*i.e.*, loans), \$185,645; monies deposited, \$166 []; notes in circulation, \$146,030; note of other banks, \$10,090; coined metals on hand, \$121,488.46.

The directors of the Worcester Bank had been justly indignant at the course of some of the Boston banks in opposing a renewal, in 1811-12, of the original charter of the bank here. When, therefore, the Suffolk Bank of Boston, in 1825, established the system, which in the end proved most beneficial, of a compulsory redemption of the bills of country banks, it was resisted by the Worcester Bank. A contest ensued, in which the Worcester Bank was sustained by the court. It afterwards fell in with the systems voluntarily and "not upon compulsion."

The managers of the bank have ever been judiciously conservative, and this trait, together with the patriotism of the directors, made the bank an effective ally of the government at the outbreak of the Civil War, in 1861. The bank made heavy loans to the government, and its own reputation and virtual endorsement induced the people of the city and its neighborhood to make heavy investments in the public funds, the bank acting as agent for the government in the matter. On the establishment of the national banking system, the propriety of organizing under that system commended itself to the judgment of the directors, but they did not like to surrender their old name and be thereafter known only by a number. In compliance with a general demand from the old banks of the country, the original National Banking Act was so modified as to allow them to retain their former names, prefixing or affixing the word "national." Having secured this privilege, at a special meeting of the stockholders, May 9, 1864, it was voted unanimously, on recommendation of the directors, to organize as the Worcester National Bank, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars. The patriotic remarks of the Hon. Levi Lincoln, senior director, and the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, president, on the occasion, are spread upon the records of the bank. The Worcester Bank was, therefore, the first of the State banks here to adopt the national system. That its next younger sister, the Central Bank, should be the first to follow its example, ten weeks later, was eminently appropriate. The capital of the Worcester Bank had been increased to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in 1851 and to three hundred thousand dollars in 1853. It is now five hundred thousand dollars.

The presidents of the Worcester Bank have been: Daniel Waldo, April 12 to October 6, 1804; Daniel Waldo, Jr., October, 1804, until his death, July 9,

1845; Stephen Salisbury, July, 1845, until his death, August 25, 1884; Stephen Salisbury, son of the latter, to the present time. Cashiers: Robert B. Brigham, 1804-12; Samuel Jennison, 1812-46; Levi Lincoln Newton, 1846-47; William Cross, 1847-64 (and vice-president, 1864-80); Charles B. Whiting, 1864-68; James P. Hamilton, 1869. Edward O. Parker, who had been connected with the bank for twenty-three years, and assistant cashier for nine years, resigned his position March 1, 1889.

The success of the Worcester Bank and the benefit which it conferred upon the whole central portion of the State prompted the leaders of thought and of business affairs, in due time, to establish a savings bank, to receive and carefully invest the surplus earnings of the people, and while thus encouraging good habits and promoting the prosperity of their depositors, to still further benefit the community by loaning out the money thus collected, in loans upon mortgages or other good security. At that time, as now, every town in this county had one or more citizens who were the natural trustees of the people. It was they who were consulted on business matters, who were most frequently appointed as executors of wills or as administrators of estates. These men, as well as the lawyers, used to visit Worcester often, and especially at court times, and they co-operated in the movement to establish a savings bank. *The National Egis* of December 5, 1827, aided the movement by an able editorial article of a column's length.

The first report of the proceedings which we find, states that at an adjourned meeting, held at Thomas's Coffee-House,¹ December 6, 1827, a committee previously appointed (whose names are not given) reported a petition for an act of incorporation, which was signed by the gentlemen present, and another committee was appointed to present it to the Legislature. The petition was granted, and the charter of the WORCESTER COUNTY INSTITUTION FOR SAVINGS was issued February 8, 1828. It provided that the annual meeting should be held "some time during the regular term of the sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court for the county of Worcester, in the spring of each year,"—a time especially convenient for the trustees and corporators, who represented nearly every town in the county. On April 9, 1828, Isaac Goodwin, as secretary of the petitioners, published the charter, and called the corporators to meet at Thomas's Coffee-House on the 17th. The charter members were:—Daniel Waldo, Solomon Strong, Frederic W. Paine, Samuel B. Thomas, Pliny Merrick, Benjamin Butman, Andrew H. Ward, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Seth Hastings, Samuel Jennison, Silas Brooks, David Brigham, William Steadman, Stephen Goddard, Calvin Willard, Simeon Sanderson, Oliver Fiske, Jesse Bliss, Benjamin Adams, Charles Allen,

¹ The successor of Barker's Tavern; also called, in 1804, Rice's Inn or "Sign of the Golden Ball." Now the Exchange Hotel.

William S. Hastings, George Wall, James Draper, John W. Lincoln, Isaac Goodwin, John M. Earle and Emory Washburn. At the first meeting one hundred and seventy-two new members of the corporation were elected, and fifty-six were added at an adjourned meeting held two weeks later. These represented nearly every town in the county. Daniel Waldo was elected president, with twelve vice-presidents, and a board of twenty-four trustees. Isaac Goodwin was chosen secretary, and Samuel Jennison, cashier of the Worcester Bank, was the first treasurer. Of all the gentlemen named the last to survive was the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, who died August 24, 1884. The oldest living incorporator is Henry W. Miller, Esq., of Worcester, who was elected May 1, 1828.

Mr. Waldo continued president until his death, in 1845, and was succeeded by Stephen Salisbury, who served until 1871, Alexander H. Bullock serving for the next thirteen years, until his death, in January, 1884. Stephen Salisbury, son of the second president, was elected president in April, 1884. The secretaries have been: Isaac Goodwin, elected 1828; William Lincoln, 1833; Thomas Kinnicutt, 1843; John C. B. Davis, 1848; Joseph Mason, 1850; Joseph Trumbull, 1853; J. Henry Hill, 1854. Mr. Jennison served as treasurer for twenty-five years, resigning in October, 1853, when the deposits amounted to \$1,473,312.¹ He was followed by Charles A. Hamilton, who held the office until his death, October 30, 1879. Charles A. Chase was elected treasurer November 10, 1879.

The original by-laws provided that the bank should be open every Wednesday from 2 until 5 o'clock P.M. The pass-books explained that this was "to save expense to those who put in their money, who would otherwise be obliged to pay more for the time of the clerks, if they were to attend every day." All money received was to be either specie or bills current at the Worcester Bank, and all payments were to be made in the same manner. The first deposit, fifteen dollars, was made by Hon. Abijah Bigelow, in the name of his daughter, Miss Hannah Bigelow, June 4, 1828. The account was closed in August, 1874, after her death. The whole amount of deposits credited to the account was \$460, and the payments amounted to \$1758.36. At the close of the second year the total deposits in the institution amounted to \$13,645. In contrast with this accumulation of two years it is interesting to observe that on the 31st day of December, 1888, the teller received from 469 depositors the sum of \$41,178.65 during the seven working hours of that single day. The whole amount of deposits on January 1, 1889, was \$10,480,487.47, and the assets, at their par value, amounted to \$11,084,307.12.

Isaac Goodwin, secretary of the corporation, made

the second deposit, fifty dollars, for Mrs. Sarah Thayer, of Sterling. Among the well-known names which follow early in the list are: (4) Aaron Bancroft, for Nancy J. Young, "domestic;" (7) Samuel Swan, for his son, Reuben Swan; (8) Benjamin Chapin, for John K. L. Pickford; (11) George Allen, for Lydia K. Adams; (13) John Brazer, by Samuel Brazer; (14) William Lincoln; (23-26) Samuel Jennison, for his children; (27-29) Levi Lincoln, for his two daughters and for Hannah Cook, a domestic. The oldest account now open is No. 77. This deposit, and No. 78, also now open, were made by Rebecca Foster, wife of the Hon. Dwight Foster, of Brookfield, for a granddaughter and grandson respectively. No. 77 still stands in the name of the original beneficiary, and No. 78 has been assigned to the great-grandson of Mrs. Foster. The next open account, No. 113, was made by Henry K. Newcomb, for Elizabeth Chandler Blake. The next, No. 140, was made by John B. Shaw. Over 90,000 accounts have been opened with depositors, and the number now outstanding is upwards of 23,300.

The promise by the founders of the institution of handsome returns to depositors has been more than kept. Here is a striking instance of the accumulation of a small sum of money to which its earnings have been added semi-annually. On March 6, 1841, Mr. Samuel R. Jackson, of Providence, who had previously been a merchant in Worcester, deposited the sum of \$15 for one of his daughters. Other sums, making in all a total of \$80, were deposited to her credit during the eight years following, and for this \$80 received by the institution, the depositor now has a credit of \$1,106.83. This fact speaks whole volumes in behalf of the policy set forth in the first article of the original by-laws, "of enabling the industrious and economical to invest such part of their property and earnings as they can conveniently spare, in a manner which will afford them both profit and security."

As the pioneer banking institutions of the county it has seemed proper to give the histories of the Worcester Bank and the Worcester County Institution for Savings somewhat in detail. With the growth of the city, stimulated by the growth of the Blackstone Canal to Providence in 1828, and the granting of a charter for a railroad to Boston in 1831, other institutions of the same kind were established, at first in Worcester and afterwards in many other towns of the county.

THE CENTRAL BANK, with a capital of \$100,000, was chartered March 12, 1829, the corporators being William Eaton, Leonard W. Stowell, Isaac Davis, Thornton A. Merrick, David Stowell, Pliuy Merrick, William Jennison, Daniel Heywood, Gardiner Paine, Samuel Allen, Jr., Levi A. Dowley, Benjamin Butman, Asahel Bellows, Daniel Goddard, Isaac Goodwin, Artemas Ward and Anthony Chase. Benjamin Butman was president until his resignation, in

¹ A full and admirable biographical sketch of Mr. Jennison, from the pen of Rev. George Allen, appeared in the daily *Spy* and daily *Transcript* of March 17, 1890. Justice to the merits of his successor was also given by the newspapers and by the bank trustees.

August, 1836, and has been succeeded by Thomas Kinnicutt until his death, February 17, 1833, and the present incumbent, Joseph Mason. Otis Corbett was first cashier from May 16 to November 30, 1829, being succeeded by George A. Trumbull, who retired with the president in 1836. William Dickinson served from 1836-50; George F. Hartshorn, 1850-56 and 1859-62; George C. Bigelow, 1856-59; and the present incumbent, Henry A. Marsh, was elected in 1862, after serving the bank for nine years in other positions. The bank was reorganized under the national system May 18, 1864, and in 1865 increased its capital from \$250,000 to \$300,000. The banking office until 1853 was in the rooms now occupied by the Five Cents Savings Bank; then for sixteen years in the second story at "Harrington Corner" (corner of Main and Front Streets), and since 1869 on the first floor of the People's Savings Bank building.

THE QUINSIGAMOND BANK, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, was incorporated March 25, 1833, the incorporators being Nathaniel Paine, Samuel M. Burnside, John Coe, Otis Corbett, Ichabod Washburn, Stephen Salisbury, Frederic William Paine, Thomas Kinnicutt, George T. Rice and Levi A. Dowley. Samuel D. Spurr, Frederic William Paine, Isaac Davis, Alfred D. Foster, Levi A. Dowley, Emory Washburn and Samuel Damon constituted the first Board of Directors. The bank was opened in Dr. Green's block, now owned by the Merchants' and Farmers' Insurance Company, but soon removed to the south end of Flagg's building, at the north corner of Sudbury Street, and afterwards, September, 1854, to its present site, nearly opposite the original location. This bank and the Worcester National own the buildings which they occupy in part. The Quinsigamond Bank went into the national system in 1865. Its capital was increased to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars May 22, 1861, and to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars March 28, 1854. Its first president was Alfred D. Foster, who was succeeded by Isaac Davis, 1836-42; William Jennison, 1842-53; William Dickinson, to 1854; Isaac Davis, 1854-78; Edward L. Davis, 1878-84; and by Elijah B. Stoddard in 1884. Charles A. Hamilton was the first cashier, serving for twenty years, until 1853, when he resigned to become treasurer of the Worcester County Institution for Savings. His successors were: Joseph S. Farnum, from 1853 to 1873; Alden A. Howe, 1873-81; and John L. Chamberlin, 1881.

On April 9, 1836, Calvin Willard, Stephen Salisbury and Harvey Blashfield, received a charter as the CITIZENS' BANK, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars, an amount considerably larger than the combined capital of the other two banks. The first Board of Directors consisted of Harvey Blashfield, Benjamin Butman, Pliny Merrick, William Lincoln, Ebenezer Aldrich, Edward Lamb, Nymphas Pratt, Frederic W. Paine and Calvin Willard. That Mr. Butman,

the first president, and George A. Trumbull, the first cashier, came directly from the same offices in the Central Bank is a fact which excites our attention, but at this time it is impossible to discover the reasons. No Darwinian process had developed the "interviewer" in 1836. Mr. Butman was building a block of two stores, with offices overhead, on the northeast corner of Main and Maple Streets, which he called "Maccarty Block," because it was upon the site of the Nathaniel Maccarty homestead; but although Mr. Butman retained the ownership for many years, it was known to the people, with the block joining it on the north, as "Brinley Row." The north store was occupied by Mr. Butman as the leading grocery of the town; the corner store was fitted up for the Citizens' Bank, which remained there until March, 1881, when it was removed to its present quarters, at the corner of Main and Front Streets.

In fixing their capital at half a million dollars the projectors had not foreseen—for they were but human—the great depression in business and the financial revulsion which were impending. Prudence and even necessity compelled them to reduce the capital from time to time until the present limit of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was reached. From the time when it had settled down to "bed-rock," its management has been wise and conservative, and it has returned a generous income to its stockholders.

The presidents since Mr. Butman have been: Nymphas Pratt, chosen October, 1838; Pliny Merrick, October, 1839; Francis T. Merrick, October, 1842; Francis H. Kinnicutt, November, 1860; Benjamin W. Childs, September, 1885; and Samuel Winslow, January, 1889. Mr. Trumbull served as cashier until his death, in October, 1858. John C. Ripley, who had been clerk and assistant cashier for nineteen years, was cashier for eleven years until his death, October 10, 1869, and was succeeded by Lewis W. Hammond, the present incumbent.

THE MECHANICS' (NATIONAL) BANK is contemporary with the city itself, having been incorporated June 15, 1848, four months after the city received its charter. The corporators were Fred. Wm. Paine, Henry Goulding and Wm. T. Merrifield, and the capital was \$200,000, increased to \$300,000 in 1851, and to \$350,000, the present amount, in 1853.

The first Board of Directors included Wm. H. Goulding, Wm. T. Merrifield, Francis H. Dewey, Wm. M. Bickford, Charles Washburn, Harrison Bliss, Ebenezer H. Bowen and Alexander De Witt. Mr. De Witt was president from 1848 to 1855, from October, 1857, to October, 1858, and from October, 1859, to October, 1860; Francis H. Dewey, October, 1855, to October, 1857; Henry Goulding, 1858-59; Harrison Bliss, 1860 to July, 1882; Charles W. Smith, to March, 1883; David S. Messenger, to April, 1888, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Francis H. Dewey, eldest son of the second president. The cashiers have been Parley Hammond,

to July, 1854, succeeded by Scottto Berry to February, 1866, when George E. Merrill, the present incumbent, was elected.

The bank began business in a new brick block, built by Gen. George Hobbs, on the south corner of Main and George Streets, but in October, 1851, removed to its present quarters, previously occupied by the Worcester Bank, in the Central Exchange. The bank entered the national system March 14, 1865.

On March 28, 1854, a charter was given to the CITY BANK, with a capital of \$200,000, the incorporators being William B. Fox, Henry Chapin and Frederic William Paine. The petitioners had asked for a capital of \$300,000; but the number of applications for bank charters in that year was unusually large, and the committee of the Legislature, disposed to be conservative, at first took the ground that no new bank was needed in Worcester. But Mr. Calvin Foster, who was interested in the new enterprise, employed Mr. Putman W. Taft to canvass the city and obtain statistics of the volume of business yearly carried on at that time. The result of Mr. Taft's work showed an amount so large as to carry conviction to the minds of the committee. The charter was granted, and the bank began business in the second story of "Harrington Corner" (corner of Main and Front Streets), a favorite site for banking. About the beginning of the year 1855, however, it removed to the rooms which had been especially fitted for its use in the new building erected by Mr. Foster, on the southwest corner of Main and Pearl Streets, where it has since remained. George W. Richardson was the first president, and was succeeded by Calvin Foster in 1878. Parley Hammond was the first cashier, and his successor, Nathaniel Paine, has held the office since 1857. It organized as a national bank in 1864. Its capital is now \$400,000.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK, organized June 5, 1863, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars was, as its name implies, the first one of the kind in Worcester. It was also the second in the State (the First, of Springfield, being its elder), and the seventyninth in the whole country. The first board of directors consisted of Parley Hammond, Ichabod Washburn, Nathan Washburn, Timothy W. Wellington, George Draper (of Milford), Edward A. Goodnow, Hartley Williams, Charles B. Pratt and Alexander Thayer. Mr. Hammond was the first president, and Mr. Goodnow has been president since January 8, 1867. Lewis W. Hammond was the first cashier, and was succeeded by Arthur A. Goodell July 18, 1864; George F. Wood, September 1, 1869; Arthur M. Stone, April 6, 1874, and Albert H. Waite, March 7, 1879. The bank was on the second floor at Harrington Corner until it moved into its present quarters in 1869. The original charter expired in June, 1882, but as Congress had not perfected the necessary legislation

which, a month later, gave existing banks the privilege of so amending their original articles of association as to extend their "period of succession" by an additional term of twenty years, another "First National Bank of Worcester" was, therefore, organized June 4, 1882, which succeeded the former without any interruption or friction. Its capital is now three hundred thousand dollars, and surplus two hundred thousand dollars.

THE SECURITY NATIONAL BANK was authorized June 7, 1875, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, and did business at the north corner of Main and Pleasant Streets. The directors were: Wm. H. Morse (president), John W. Wetherell, Edward H. Stark, Harlan P. Duncan, Gilbert J. Rugg, Frederick W. Ward and Benjamin W. Childs. Albert H. Waite was cashier. The bank gave up business in 1878.

THE WORCESTER MECHANICS' SAVINGS BANK was the second savings bank in Worcester in order of incorporation. It was chartered May 15, 1851. The presidents have been: Isaac Davis until 1855; Alexander De Witt to 1859; John S. C. Knowlton to 1862; Harrison Bliss until his death, in 1882; Francis H. Dewey until his death, in 1888; and J. Edwin Smith. Parley Hammond was treasurer for three years, and that office has been since filled, for nearly thirty-five years, by Henry Woodward. Except for the first three years, its rooms have been in the Central Exchange. Its deposits amount to \$4,255,975, and its assets to \$4,452,872.

THE WORCESTER FIVE CENTS SAVINGS BANK was incorporated April 1, 1854, at the time when the new idea of receiving deposits of less than one dollar was coming in vogue, and has now a large number of such accounts upon its books. Its first president was Charles L. Putnam, who was succeeded by George W. Richardson in 1877, Clarendon Harris in 1878, and Elijah B. Stoddard in 1884. Clarendon Harris, who was at the same time secretary of the State Mutual Life Insurance Company, was treasurer of this bank for the first eighteen years, being succeeded by George W. Wheeler (who had been city treasurer for many years previous) and by J. Stewart Brown in 1884. Its banking-rooms have always been in some part of the building it now occupies. Present amount of deposits, \$3,548,961; assets, \$4,309,825.

On May 13, 1864, was incorporated the PEOPLE'S SAVINGS BANK. The great impulse to business caused by the war, and the high wages paid on account of the cheapness of an over-inflated currency, made the time seem opportune for establishing a fourth savings bank in the city. This bank also promised a departure from the system which had been in vogue with the older banks throughout the Commonwealth. The practice had been to pay a fixed rate, generally two per cent., as a semi-annual dividend, and to make a division of the surplus earnings once in five years. But about this time a number of new banks were started, which promised to divide all their prof-

its once in six months. The older banks in the State were compelled, *volentes volentes*, to fall into line, until, in 1876, the Legislature stepped in and made the old system compulsory upon all.

The People's Saving Bank began business in the second story at the south corner of Main and Pleasant Streets. Its business rapidly increased, and in 1869 it moved into its own marble-front building on Main street, opposite the Common. Its first president was John C. Mason, who resigned January 27, 1877, and was succeeded by William Cross, who resigned in 1879. Lucius J. Knowles filled the office until his death, February 25, 1884, and was succeeded by Samuel R. Heywood.

Charles M. Bent has been treasurer from the organization of the bank. The deposits are now \$5,108,796, and the assets \$5,363,605.

The vast issue of bonds by the national government during the great Rebellion, accompanied and followed by the issues by States, municipalities and railroads, created a demand for depositories where the people could safely store their securities and other personal property of value. The WORCESTER SAFE DEPOSIT AND TRUST COMPANY received its first charter from the State as the Worcester Safe Deposit Company in March, 1868, and its second in May, 1869. It receives deposits subject to check at sight, paying interest of two per cent. per annum on daily balances of one hundred dollars or over, but does not issue bills. It is also authorized to act as trustee in probate matters and the like. It assumes the direct custody of valuables, and lets small safes in its strong vaults, to which the renter alone has access. Its capital is \$200,000. George M. Rice has been president from the start. Samuel T. Bigelow was the first secretary, and was succeeded by Edward F. Bisco, July 1, 1872. It occupies the first floor of its own building, opposite the City Hall, and the basement of the People's Savings Bank building, which joins it on the south.

THE STATE SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY was organized in 1887 solely for the purpose indicated by its name. Its vaults are in an extension, to the west, of the granite building owned by the State Mutual Life Assurance Company, and its vaults, doors, locks and safes are marvels of construction. It rents its safes at rates from five dollars upwards per annum, and has a special vault for the storage of silver, jewelry and other articles of value. A. George Bullock is president, Henry M. Witter secretary and Halleck Bartlett manager.

Co-operative banks, patterned after the building associations which had been so successful in Philadelphia and elsewhere, were introduced here in 1877. The Worcester Co-operative Savings Fund and Loan Association was incorporated October 19th in that year. Its name was changed later to WORCESTER CO-OPERATIVE BANK. At the end of eleven years it had issued its seventeenth "series" of shares, had

\$279,300 loaned on real estate, and \$11,395 on the shares, a surplus of \$2663, and a guaranty fund of \$500. The number of shares "in force" was 7710.

The Home Co-operative Savings Fund and Loan Association was incorporated June 10, 1882; name changed to HOME CO-OPERATIVE BANK in 1883. In November, 1888, it had issued its thirteenth series of shares, had \$173,300 loaned on real estate, and \$5055 on shares, with a surplus of \$5706 and a guaranty fund of \$229; 5712 shares in force.

The EQUITY CO-OPERATIVE BANK began business in March, 1887. November 1, 1888, there were 3041 shares in force, in four series, with \$35,850 loaned on real estate and \$725 on shares, a surplus of \$580 and a guaranty fund of \$19.

Stephen C. Earle is president of the Worcester Co-operative Bank, Enoch H. Towne of the Home, and Iver Johnson of the Equity. Thomas J. Hastings is secretary and treasurer of them all, and Edward B. Glasgow is their solicitor. The continued prosperity of the city has been favorable to their success. They have not yet been put to the strain of the great financial depressions which at intervals sweep over the country. The loans are bid off at auction by shareholders at a rate of interest varying from six to eight per cent.

The advantage and convenience of a CLEARING-HOUSE, to banks and business people alike, is so great that it is difficult for the lay mind to conceive of the comparatively infinite labor and trouble which would be caused if, as in anti-secession times, a check could be deposited or cashed only at the bank on which it was drawn. The Worcester banks, free, in great measure, from a petty jealousy which would be incompatible with harmony of action, joined in establishing a Clearing-House in 1861, being only eight years behind New York City, where the first Clearing-House in the country was established in 1853, followed by one in Boston in 1866. The main feature of this system may be thus described: At a given hour of each day (say twelve o'clock) the messenger of each bank appears at the Clearing-House, bringing all the checks upon other banks in the city which his bank has received on deposit from its regular customers. These checks he has assorted and listed on slips, which show how much the other banks are severally indebted to his bank. We will suppose that the total amount of checks thus brought in, say from the "Sagabastock" Bank, is \$50,000. Now, if the clerk at the Clearing-House finds that the aggregate amount of the checks upon the Sagabastock is but \$48,000, the latter is creditor to the amount of \$2,000, and receives from the manager of the Clearing-House a draft on Boston for \$2,000, which he takes back to his bank with the \$48,000 worth of checks, which are charged up to the various depositors by whom they were drawn; and as far as this part of the day's business is concerned, the Sagabastock teller and book-keeper will find no trouble in balancing their

books at the close of the day. If, on the other hand, the other banks have brought in \$52,000 worth of checks on our messenger's bank, against the \$50,000 which he brought, he is informed that he is debtor to the Clearing-House by \$2000. He reports this fact to his own bank, and before the close of business carries to the manager of the Clearing-House the check of his own bank on Boston for \$2000. The manager mails to his correspondent bank in Boston the checks which he has received from the debtor banks, which offset the checks which he has given to the creditor banks, and the balance of the Clearing-House at its Boston bank is undisturbed.

The daily balances at the Clearing-House average about thirty per cent. of the whole volume of checks presented, or "clearings." The association includes the seven national banks of the city and the Worcester Safe Deposit and Trust Company. The annual clearings rose from \$6,051,763 in 1861 to \$10,314,804 in 1864. Dropping to \$9,046,438 in 1865, they rose, year by year, to \$28,931,349 in 1875. They fell to \$25,169,157 in 1876. In 1881 they mounted to \$49,224,751, but had dropped to \$38,551,145 in 1885. The total for 1886 was \$44,362,020; 1887, \$44,298,632; 1888, \$52,070,112, which was "high-water mark." The clearings for the week ending December 22, 1888, the heaviest in the history of the association, amounted to \$1,409,122, and the balances to \$337,344. The clearings were made for several years in the rooms of the Central Bank, but have latterly been made at the Citizens' Bank. Henry A. Marsh is president of the association, and Lewis W. Hammond is secretary and manager.

INSURANCE.

The prudent householders of the county early appreciated the benefits of fire insurance, and secured the passage of an act, February 11, 1823, incorporating the Worcester Mutual Fire Insurance Company. Of the eighteen incorporators, Levi Lincoln and Abraham Lincoln were of Worcester, and the rest from other towns in the county. The charter provided that no policy should be issued until subscriptions for at least two hundred thousand dollars been received; that the operations of the company had should be confined to this county, and that property should not be insured for more than three-fourths of its value. The first meeting of the corporators was held June 19, 1823, at the Court-House. The first policy, signed by Rejoice Newton, president, and William D. Wheeler, secretary, was issued May 14, 1824. It insured Luther and Daniel Goddard—fifteen hundred dollars on their dwelling-house, occupied by themselves and their families, and the wood-house and barn attached thereto, and eleven hundred dollars on their brick store. The rate was one and three-quarters per cent. for the house and barn, and one and three-eighths per cent. on the store, the policy running for seven years. The house was situated on the east side of Main street, midway between

Thomas and School streets, and the store was a little to the south. Policy No. 2 insured Rejoice Newton three thousand dollars on his house and barn and four hundred dollars on his furniture. The buildings were on Front Street, on the site of the Chase Building. The rate was one and one-quarter per cent. for seven years. Nos. 3 and 1 were issued to Abijah Bigelow, and No. 7 to Daniel Waldo. Isaac Goodwin was secretary of the company from December, 1828, to 1832; Anthony Chase, to 1853; Charles M. Miles, to 1879. Frederic W. Paine was president from 1831 to 1853; Anthony Chase from 1853 until his death, in 1879, and Ebenezer Torrey until his death, in 1888. Charles M. Miles was vice-president and manager from 1879 until his death, in 1887. John A. Fayerweather, of Westborough, is president; Roger F. Upham, secretary and treasurer, and Frank P. Kendall, assistant secretary. Prudent management has brought continued prosperity and has secured the undiminished confidence of the people.

To meet the wants of merchants whose stocks in trade could not be insured in the older company, the Merchants' and Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized in 1846. Isaac Davis was president until 1884, and was succeeded by John D. Washburn; Charles L. Putnam was secretary for several years, succeeded by John D. Washburn and by Elijah B. Stoddard, the present incumbent. The officers are men of large experience in insurance matters, and the company, having safely weathered the great Boston fire of 1872, occupies a prominent position in the Commonwealth.

The First National Fire Insurance Company was organized in 1869, with Edward A. Goodnow president and Edward P. Howland secretary. Its capital is two hundred thousand dollars. Charles B. Pratt is president and R. James Tatman secretary.

The People's Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized in 1847, and in 1865 was converted into a stock company. The "Boston fire" compelled it to wind up its business, paying its policy-holders a dividend of 73.6 per cent. E. H. Hemenway was the first president and Oliver Harrington secretary, who were succeeded by Henry Chapin and Augustus N. Currier.

The Bay State Fire Insurance Company, organized January 1, 1861, and having a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, and the Central Mutual Fire Insurance Company, organized a few years later, were also compelled to suspend business on account of the Boston fire. At that time William S. Davis was president of the former, and W. C. Crosby secretary. Of the latter William T. Merrifield was president; L. C. Parks, vice-president; Henry K. Merrifield, secretary, and Albert Tolman, treasurer.

The Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company was chartered in 1834, for the special purpose of insuring manufacturing property. Its rooms were over the Citizens' Bank; after a temporary suspension

it was re-organized, and in 1861 was merged with the Mechanics' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, under the name of the Worcester Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company. Hon. George M. Rice is president and Samuel R. Barton secretary.

THE STATE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY was organized in 1845 with a perpetual charter. The project was bitterly opposed in the Legislature by existing organizations, but it was carried through by the determined stand taken by John Milton Earle,¹ who was a Representative in that year. Mr. Earle was a director and vice-president of the company until his death. For twenty years the company carried a guaranty capital of one hundred thousand dollars, but since that time, the capital having been retired, it has been purely mutual. The management has been prudent from the start, and at present, while conservatively safe, is "in touch" with the great wealth and business enterprise of the American people. The interest received on the invested funds has more than paid all the death claims to the present time. The presidents have been: John Davis,² until his death, in 1853; Isaac Davis, who resigned January 4, 1882; Alexander H. Bullock,³ who died suddenly January 17, 1882; Philip L. Moen, 1882-83; and Augustus George Bullock. Secretaries: Clarendon Harris, 1845-83 (resigned); and Henry M. Witter. Treasurers: William Dickinson, 1845-83 (resigned); and A. George Bullock.

The assets of the company December 31, 1888, were \$5,066,985, with 9,826 policies in force and a reserve, by the Massachusetts standard, of \$793,046.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MEDICAL HISTORY.

BY SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, M.D.⁴

Individuals—Societies—Hospitals.

IN preparing this account of the medical men who have "fought the good fight and kept the faith," recourse has been had to genealogies, manuscripts, public records and to the memories of the oldest of those now living among us. To the kindness of the librarians of the Antiquarian Library and Public Library, who have allowed free access to books and manuscripts; to members of the families of deceased

physicians; to physicians themselves and particularly to Doctors Sargent, Chandler and Bemis, without whose aid the work would have been impossible, is due whatever of accuracy may have been attained. The necessary limits of the article render it necessary to omit all mention of those physicians now practising in Worcester who have not been at least twenty years in the harness, except as their names may appear in connection with societies and public institutions.

1675.—At the first laying out of Quinsigamog, twenty-five acres of land were granted to Dr. Leonard Hoar, "to him and to his heyres." An ex-president of Harvard College, he, in 1671, had taken his degree at the University of Cambridge (England), and was then in practice in the vicinity of Boston. His death, in the same year, prevented actual settlement. The name of no physician can be found in the records of either the first or second attempts to found a town.

1718.—ROBERT CRAWFORD, who came with the Scotch-Irish colony of 1718, was in all probability the first physician of the place. He lived on the "Green Hill farm;" was employed as surgeon in the military expeditions of the time (in 1722 he was with Major John Chandler's company of scouts), and was alive at least as late as 1760. His wife died in 1730, aged twenty-six years, and was one of those buried in the Thomas Street burying-ground.

1736.—DR. ZACHARIAH HARVEY, who, "in 1740, slew 67 rattlesnakes,"⁵ was here at least as early as 1736, when the birth of a son is recorded, and was still in town in 1747. The name appears also as Harney and Herny.

1743.—In this year (January 17th) died Dr. Ebenezer Whitney, leaving a "library valued at £4 6s., and drugs to the amount of £6 18s."

1744.—DR. NAHUM WILLARD, son of Colonel Samuel Willard, of Lancaster, who commanded a regiment at the capture of Louisburg, and brother of Colonel Abijah Willard, mandamus councillor in 1774 and later Tory refugee, was born in Lancaster (Harvard), May 28, 1722; began practice in Worcester, at or about the time of his marriage to Elizabeth Townsend, of Bolton (January 17, 1744), and for more than thirty years lived on the south side of the Common, in a house standing on the present site of the French Catholic Church. With him boarded for some time, while teaching school here, John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, in whose diary is the following entry: "Three months after this (October, 1755) the selectmen procured lodgings for me at Dr. Nahum Willard's. This physician had a large practice, a good reputation for skill and a pretty library. Here were the works of Dr. Cheyne, Sydenham and others, and Van Swieten's commentaries of Boerhaave." Adams "read a good deal in

¹ See the biography of Mr. Earle in another place.

² Governor and United States Senator.

³ Governor.

⁴ Dr. Woodward has not been able to read the proof of this chapter, since the portion of the work containing it was printed so late that the proof could not be sent to him in Europe, where he was at the time of printing.—Ems.

⁵ Licoln's "History of Worcester," p. 216.

these books," and was so enamored of them, that he "entertained many thoughts of becoming physician and surgeon." Dr. Willard was surgeon in Colonel Chandler's regiment, which left Worcester August 10, 1757, "to give aid and assistance to his majesty's troops." He remained with the army for over three years, and his bill¹ against the province of Massachusetts Bay, for attendance on various members of different companies during this time, amounted to £44 6s. 3d. He seems to have been a popular man, of good social position, on terms of intimacy with the Chandlers, Putnams and Paines, and always remembered by his former boarder, who, in his frequent journeyings through Worcester, never forgot to take dinner or tea with the "Dr." In 1771 Adams sees "little alteration in Dr. Willard or his wife in 16 years." But evil days came soon after to the popular physician. His best friends sided with the King. In 1774 he was one of the famous fifty-two "protestors" against "the treasonable doings" of the patriots in Worcester. With forty-two others he was obliged to sign a recantation, and May 8, 1775, was ordered "to prove his patriotism by either joining the American troops or providing a substitute, on pain of being considered willing to join an unlawful banditti to murder and ravage." A week later he was among those disarmed, and prevented from leaving town on any pretext whatever. Naturally embittered by these measures, his opinions were made known with a courage and boldness that brought upon him the wrath of the "Sons of Liberty," and he was compelled to sign a recantation of his "notorious scandals and falsehoods," and to acknowledge "the perverseness of his wicked heart," which led him to abuse and "most scandalously asperse" the proceedings of "Continental and Provincial Congresses, the selectmen of the town, and the Committee of Correspondence in general." His business was ruined, and he retired to Uxbridge, where his son, Dr. Samuel Willard, A.B. (Harvard) 1767, had been in practice since 1770. Still a stout loyalist, his name appears, in 1777, at the head of a short list of persons "esteemed as enemies, and dangerous to this and the other U. S. of America." He died in Uxbridge, April 26, 1792.

His son Levi, born in Worcester in 1749, studied medicine; practised in Mendon, and died there December 11, 1809.

1745.—DR. SAMUEL BRECK, A.B. (Harvard, 1742), son of Rev. Robert Breck, of Marlboro', where he was born May 17, 1723; married Elizabeth Cooley, of Springfield, in 1744; was for a short time surgeon in the Provincial army, and from 1745 to 1747² in practice in Worcester. He afterwards went to Windsor, Ct., and later to Sheffield, where he was "much

esteemed." He died in Springfield April 23, 1764. His house here, "on the common southeast from the meeting-house," was purchased by the town September 25, 1747, and was afterwards the residence of Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty.

1756.—DR. WILLIAM CRAWFORD, son of Robert, was in turn pedagogue, clergyman and physician. In 1757 he served as chaplain to a company sent to the relief of Fort William Henry. In 1758 he taught the village school, and boarded at Dr. Willard's, "47½ weeks at 6 shillings a week."³ In 1759 he was chaplain of Colonel Abijah Ward's regiment, and in 1760 surgeon in the regiment of General Ruggles. No record of either birth or death remains. He was alive in 1770.

1757.—DR. JOHN GREEN was the son of Rev. Thomas Green, Baptist elder and physician, one of the earliest settlers of Leicester (Greenville), where he was born August 14, 1736.

Instructed in medicine by his father, he came to Worcester and built his house on the eminence now known as Green Hill, which, although relatively nearer town at that time, when many persons lived north of Lincoln Square, and "there were but seven houses on Main Street between that point and the old South church on the common,"⁴ seems yet to have been at a distance that might well make prospective patients hesitate before storming the steps in the dead of night or in bad weather. Patients came, however; medical students, also, from Worcester and surrounding towns; Green Lane became a county road, and although, during the latter part of his life, his office was in a little wooden affair on the present site of the Five Cents Savings Bank, the doctor always lived in the Green Hill house, and there he died forty-two years later (October 29, 1799), aged sixty-three years.

An earnest patriot, he was, in 1773, a member (and the only medical member) of the American Political Society, which was formed "on account of the grievous burdens of the times," and did so much to bring about that change of public sentiment which expelled the adherents of the crown. He took a prominent part in all the Revolutionary proceedings, and, in 1777 was sent as Representative to the General Court. In 1778 and 1779 he was town treasurer, and, in 1780, one of the selectmen, the only physician who ever held that office. His first wife, Mary Osgood, died in 1761. His second wife, daughter of General Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick, survived him, dying in 1814, at the age of eighty-four. A son, Dr. Elijah Dix Green, born July 4, 1769, A.B. (Brown) 1793, was a physician in Charleston, S. C.

1770.—DR. ELIJAH DIX, student with Dr. John Green, was both physician and druggist, fitting himself for the latter business by study with Dr. Wil-

¹ Original in Antiquarian Society's Library.

² Lincoln (p. 213-214) says he was here in 1730. He was then but seven years old.

³ Town records of that year.

⁴ "Caleb Wall Reminiscences," p. 216.

liam Greenleaf, of Boston. Born in Watertown, Massachusetts, August 24, 1747, early dependent on his own exertions, and desirous of taking a respectable position in society, he hired himself out to that eccentric but thorough scholar, the Rev. Aaron Hutchinson, of Grafton, he to receive board and education in return for his services. He practised medicine in Worcester from 1770 to 1795, residing for the last part of the time on the estate next south of the Judge Jennison house on Court Hill, with his office and druggist's establishment in a two-story building near by. The house was pulled down when F. H. Dewey's was erected on its site, but the two magnificent elm trees planted at his gate are still standing. His reputation as a physician was good, his practice sufficient, and as his business tact was equal to his professional skill, he accumulated property which was invested in lands in Maine (Dixmont), and later in chemical works, and in the wholesale drug business in Boston. To the latter place he removed in 1795, and on one of his expeditions to his Maine property in 1809, was, as was more than suspected, foully dealt with. In 1784 he went to England on business, bringing back a large assortment of medicines, valuable books and philosophical and chemical apparatus. He was the originator of the stock company which purchased land on the west side of Main Street, built the "Centre School-house," and maintained there for some years a higher school, or academy. He was a member of the first board of councillors of the County Medical Society. He was the first to plant elms on Main Street, and, by inducing others to follow his example, gave the town that mile-long double line of these trees that once shaded the road. From his garden came the Dix pear. To him Dix Street owes its name. With him lived the children of General Warren at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill. The late Dorothea L. Dix, the "American Florence Nightingale," was his granddaughter. Fire warden in 1790, he was one of the original members of the Worcester Fire Society, and his garden fence was decorated with one of the six ladders belonging to the town. He married (October 1, 1771) Dorothy, sister of Dr. Joseph Lynde, afterwards of Worcester. Two of his sons were physicians,—William Dix, A. B. (Harvard) 1792, M. D. (Harvard) 1795, died at Dominica, West Indies, April 4, 1799; and H. Elijah Dix, A. B. (Harvard) 1813, student with Dr. John Warren and later surgeon in the United States Navy, died at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1822.

1771.—WILLIAM PAINE, M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1768), eldest son of Hon. Timothy Paine, was born in Worcester June 5, 1750. Graduated at Harvard in 1768, his name standing second in a class of forty, at a time when the names were arranged according to the dignity of families. He studied medicine for four years with the celebrated Dr. Edward A. Helyoke, of Salem, and began practice here in 1772. He opened

the same year in a little wooden building on Lincoln Square, the first drug-store in the county. Early identified with the royal cause, Dr. Paine is supposed to have assisted his uncle, Attorney-General Putnam, in drawing up the bold protest of 1774. He soon after went to England to complete his studies, and in 1775 received the degree of M.D. from the University of Aberdeen. Returning in May of that year, he found, on landing at Salem, that the war had begun, that he had been proclaimed as a refugee, and included in an act of banishment, "to be" (if he returned) "transported back to some place within the possession of forces of the King of Great Britain," and if he should return a second time "to suffer the pains of death without benefit of clergy." It was, of course, impossible to go home, and he returned to England.

In November of the same year (1775) he received the appointment of surgeon in the British Army, and joined the forces in America. He served in Rhode Island and New York until 1782, when he was appointed "Surgeon-General of the King's Forces in America," and ordered to Halifax. Here he remained until the reduction of the troops in 1783, when he was dismissed on half-pay with the grant of La Tete Island in Passamaquoddy Bay as a place of residence. He soon removed to St. John, where he entered into practice. He was in 1785 elected to the New Brunswick Assembly, and appointed clerk of that body. The act of banishment having been rescinded in 1787, he returned to his native country, living in Salem until the death of his father, in 1793, when he returned to Worcester, and took possession of the house on Lincoln Street, still standing, and latterly known as "The Oaks." Here for forty years he lived, practising medicine to some extent, but, in the latter part of his life, distinguished rather as a man of letters than as a physician. He received the half-pay of a British officer until the War of 1812, when, being called on for service, he resigned his commission, petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts for naturalization as a citizen of the United States, and, on the granting of the petition, took formal possession of his property, hitherto held by his brother, Judge Paine. He died April 19, 1833, at the age of eighty-three. Dr. Paine became a member of the College of Physicians of London in 1781, and in 1790 was made an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He was a member of the Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Linnean, and of the Essex Historical Society. He was one of the founders of the Antiquarian Society, and from 1813-16 its vice-president. He was also one of the incorporators of Worcester Bank, the first bank in the county. He married, September 23, 1773, Lois Orne, daughter of Timothy Orne, of Salem. As a young man of twenty-one; "Dr. Billy Paine" was, by the evidence of John Adams, his whilom schoolmaster, very civil, agreeable and sensible. In

his later life he was considered "to possess extensive and profound learning and a refined literary taste, and was equally respected as physician and as citizen."¹

1776.—DR. JOSEPH LYNDE, in practice here from 1775–83, was born in Charlestown, Mass., February 8, 1749, and came to Worcester with his father, Joseph Lynde, A.B. (Harvard, 1723), after the burning of the former town by the English. He lived on Main Street, on the present site of Bangs Block, was for some time in partnership with his brother-in-law, Dr. Dix, and finally went to Hartford, Conn., where he died January 15, 1829, aged eighty. These Lyndes were related to John Lynde, of Leicester, from whom Lynde Brook derives its name.

1781.—DR. JOHN GREEN, the second of the name, was a tall, strong man of fine proportions, who seemed eminently qualified to endure the hardships of a practice that extended far into the surrounding country. For the last nine years of his life he was practically the only physician in the place, and his death, after an illness of but a few hours, at the early age of forty-five, made a gap that it seemed for a time impossible to fill. Born in Worcester March 18, 1763, and instructed by his father, the first Dr. Green, he began practice at the age of eighteen, and for twenty-seven years devoted himself exclusively to his profession. Particularly skilled in surgery, his steady hand and keen eye were in demand for many an important operation, "while daily could be seen," says Charles Tappan, "Dr. Green and his half-dozen students mounted on horseback and galloping through the streets as if some one or more were in peril." Of the appearance of the doctor and his "students" something more may be learned from the "Reminiscences" of the Hon. Levi Lincoln, who, in describing him as one of the original members of the Worcester Fire Society, claims that Dr. Green would "often be followed in his queer-looking two-wheeled vehicle by a pack of dogs, or, superb horseman that he was, be seen on the backs of all manner of ungainly half-broken colts, at full gallop, accompanied by the pack giving mouth as if half a score of huntsmen were at their heels, to the infinite delight of all the urchins in the village." He lived at first in the little wooden office of his father, afterwards in the house next south, built by him and later occupied by his son. His wife was Nancy Barber, granddaughter of Robert Barber, of Northville. "To his funeral," says the *Massachusetts Spy* of August 17, 1808 (he died on the 11th of this month), "came the largest concourse of people from this and neighboring towns ever known to be collected here on a similar occasion." "Few have been so loved while living or so mourned when dead."

1781.—DR. THADDEUS MACCARTY, A.B. (Yale, 1766), son of Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, was born in

Worcester, December 19, 1747. His early instructors were John Adams and the Rev. Aaron Hutchinson, of Grafton. His account of the former leads to the conclusion that Adams was a better President than pedagogue. "He used to sit at his desk nearly all the time engaged in writing (sermons, thinks Maccarty) and seemed, when not actually writing, absorbed in profound thought and abstracted from everything about him. He kept his school by setting one scholar to teach another."² Dr. Maccarty studied medicine with the eminent Dr. Frink, of Rutland, for four years, and in 1770 began practice in Dudley, in partnership with Dr. Eben Lillie. In 1773 he went to Fitchburg, being the first and for some years the only practitioner there. None of the five surrounding towns boasted a physician, and he was consequently called upon to do an astonishing amount of work. His nearest medical neighbor was Dr. Shattuck, of Templeton. In 1775 he was inoculated for the small-pox at a hospital in Great Barrington, by a certain Dr. Latham, who had at that time great reputation in the treatment of the disease by what was known as the method of Dr. Sutton. The method being a secret, a contract was made, by which Dr. Maccarty was empowered to use it in Fitchburg for twenty-one years. Dr. Latham to furnish medicines and to receive one-half the profits, while Dr. Maccarty was neither to sell the medicines nor to try, by analysis or otherwise, to discover their composition. He was also allowed to attend patients anywhere in Worcester County until Dr. Paine (then in England) should return. Escaping, by tact, a warm reception prepared for him on his return to Fitchburg (he was suspected of Toryism) and obtaining the necessary license from the Court of Sessions, he opened a small-pox hospital, where over eight hundred patients were inoculated and treated by Dr. Atherton, of Lancaster, and himself. His books show that the moderate fee £1 10s. was all that was demanded from each person for medical services.

In 1781 his father's failing health called him to Worcester, where he remained eight years, living, after his father's death, in the house on Park Street, east of Portland, formerly belonging to Dr. Samuel Breck. In 1784 he was town physician; in 1785 he was greatly honored by election to membership in the Massachusetts Medical Society, then in the fourth year of its existence; but his success in Worcester was not great, and, on the death of his wife, in 1789, he went to Keene, N. H., where he was for some time engaged in trade. In the epidemic of 1793–94 he managed successfully small-pox hospitals in Charlestown, N. H. and in Keene. In 1796 he became interested in the once famous Perkins "tractors,"—metal points, which, drawn over the skin, were supposed to cure neuralgia, rheumatism, and all manner of diseases, later shown

² Manuscript of John W. Stiles prepared for Mr. Lincoln's history. Copy in possession of Mrs. Henry Clarke, a descendant of Dr. Maccarty.

¹ Lincoln, p. 216.

to be as valueless as was the "blue glass" of a few years since, but then eagerly bought at fifty dollars the pair. He died November 21, 1802, aged fifty-five. His wife, to whom he was married in 1775, was Experience, daughter of Thomas Cowdin, of Fitchburg.

1783.—DR. SAMUEL PRENTISS, son of Col. Samuel Prentiss, of the Revolutionary Army, was born in Stonington, Conn., in 1759. For a time "military waiter" to his father, he then studied medicine with Dr. Philip Turner, of Norwich, and when qualified, re-entered the army as assistant surgeon and remained until peace was declared. From 1783-86 he was in Worcester, but there were already too many physicians here, and he removed to Northfield, where for more than twenty years he was almost the only operating surgeon in that section. He died in 1819, aged fifty-nine. Lincoln states that he was secretary of a short-lived medical society in 1785. Of this Society, which, if it existed, was the first association of physicians in the county, no trace remains.

1790.—OLIVER FISKE, M.D. A.B. (Harvard, 1787), was the son of the "well-beloved" Rev. Nathan Fiske, of Brookfield, where he was born, September 2, 1762. His prompt enlistment in the patriot army in 1780, at the age of eighteen, by stimulating others to follow his example, prevented a draft from the Brookfield company of militia already paraded for that purpose. After the expiration of his term of service he returned home and continued his preparation for Harvard College, which he entered in 1783. He taught school in Lincoln during the winter vacation of 1786-87, but procured a substitute and hastened to Worcester when Shays and his men appeared here, arriving in time to make the march to Petersham with General Lincoln. Returning to college, he graduated with his class, and after studying medicine three years with Dr. Atherton, of Lancaster, began practice in Worcester in 1790. He at once took a leading position, and was active in forming the County Medical Society, of which he was secretary from 1794-1802, and librarian from 1799-1804. He was the first president of the district society, councillor of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and in 1811 delivered the annual address in Boston, taking for his subject "Certain epidemics which prevail in the county of Worcester," describing the small-pox of 1796 and "spotted fever" of 1810. In 1824 Harvard honored him with the degree of "doctor of medicine." Popular, and as Bradford, in the "N. E. Biog." says of him, "a scientific physician, well acquainted with natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Physiology," Dr. Fiske, had he devoted himself to his profession, would undoubtedly have made his mark, both as practitioner and medical writer. But his profession soon became secondary to other objects. An ardent Federalist, he exerted no small influence in the party, and terse and epigrammatic articles from his pen, on the questions of the day, are scattered through the current literature of

the time. An orator of no mean ability, he was often called on. Some of these orations and political articles have been printed; more remain in manuscript. They have been described as useful and practical in matter, and singularly elegant in manner. In 1798 he was town treasurer; from 1800-1803 town clerk, and, in 1803, was appointed special justice of the Court of Common Pleas. From 1813-15 he was a member of the Executive Council, and from 1816-1821 register of deeds. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, corresponding secretary of the Linnæan Society of New England, and from 1824-37 of the Worcester Agricultural Society also. He was a member of the Fire Society, and a councillor of the Antiquarian Society. Increasing deafness caused him to retire from active life about 1822, and the next fifteen years were largely devoted to horticulture and agriculture. He lived in the old Judge Jennison house on Court Hill, removed when State Street was opened, with an estate reaching from the Dr. Dix place to the Second Church, and extending up the hill as far as Harvard Street. He died in Boston, January 25, 1837, age seventy-four. A son, R. Treat Paine Fiske, A.B. (Harvard, 1818), was a physician in Hingham, where he died in 1866.

Among other physicians here, previous to 1800, were: Dr. Charles Wheeler, who died June 3, 1761, age thirty-one.

Dr. John Fiske, who died, probably in 1756, and who lived opposite the John Barnard place, on the road to Boston.

Dr. Thomas Nichols, born in Danvers in 1711, who came here from Sutton in 1765, and died December 9, 1794.

Dr. Joseph Walker, student with Dr. John Green, who died July 17, 1781.

Geo. H. Hall, A.B. (Harvard, 1781), M.B. (Harvard, 1788), who was in practice here for three years, married Sarah, daughter of Gardner (handler, and in 1791 removed to Brattleboro', Vt., where he died in 1807.

Dr. Samuel Willard, one of the Lancaster Willards, here from 1790-92, and the two Walkers, George and William, sons of Captain John Walker, who commanded a company of foot in the provincial army. Wm. Walker, born in 1718, was in the army in Nova Scotia in 1755, and in Worcester in 1778, while from *Massachusetts Spy* of June 5, 1777, we learn that "Last Monday night sennight, George Walker, commonly called doctor, and one Galloway, two tories, were taken at Bristol and last Saturday were brought back and committed to goal here."

1794.—WORCESTER MEDICAL SOCIETY.—The charter of the Massachusetts Medical Society, granted in 1781, by its limitation of membership to seventy, practically excluded from its benefits the majority of physicians not in the immediate vicinity of Boston.¹

¹ John Frink, of Rutland, was the only incorporator from Worcester County, and in the twenty-two years from 1781 to 1803 but four other Worcester County men were elected to membership, viz., Israel Atherton

The physicians of the county of Worcester, therefore, at a meeting held December 18, 1794, voted to form themselves into a fraternity by the title of the Worcester Medical Society, for their "own improvement" and to make such knowledge as they might possess as generally useful as possible. By-laws were adopted, and the signers bound themselves to impress upon all their pupils the advantages of a regular medical education, and to recommend attendance upon the medical lectures annually given at the University of Cambridge. The society met semi-annually, alternately at Reed's tavern, in Rutland, and at Daniel Heywood's, in Worcester, until 1804, when it was merged in the district organization of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

The list of members includes the majority of those then prominent in the profession, and is as follows: Elijah Dix (Worcester), John Frink (Rutland), Eben H. Phillips (Charlton), John Green (Worcester), Oliver Fiske (Worcester), Abraham Lowe, John Green, Jr. (Worcester), Spencer Field, Seth Field (Brookfield), Jonathan Shearer, Estes Howe, Robert Cutler (last three county of Hampshire), Silas Allen (Leominster), William Cutler, Abraham Haskell (Ashby), Francis Foxcroft, Eras Babbitt, Daniel Fiske, Jona. Learned, Israel Whitin (Winchendon), Daniel Beard, Amasa Scott, Austin Flint (Leicester), William Lamb, Peter Snow (Fitchburg), Tilly Rice, Jr. (Brookfield), John Frink, Jr. (Rutland), Asa Miles, Thomas Babbitt (Brookfield), Amasa Beaman, Richard S. Bridge, Hezekiah Eldridge, Eddy Whittaker (Monson), Josiah Howe, William Stone, Matthias Rice, Rev. Jonathan Osgood (Gardner), John Field (Rutland), Nason Spooner (Templeton), Moses Phelps (Hubbardston), Israel Atherton (Lancaster), Nehm. Hinds (Pelham), Israel Trask (Greenwich), Ebenezer Morse (Boylston), Samuel Willard (Uxbridge), Robert Cutler (Amherst), Jonas Prescott (Templeton), William Stone (Greenwich), Samuel Guthrie (Brimfield).

1803.—DR. JOSEPH TRUMBULL, born in Suffield, Conn., October 12, 1756, and for a long time in practice in Petersham, came to Worcester and, in partnership with Isaiah Thomas, managed the drug-store originally established by Dr. Paine, and afterwards in the hands of Drs. Levi Sheppard and Eben Hunt, and of "Drs." Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin Green. He was married, February 14, 1786, to Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. Timothy and Sarah (Chandler) Paine, this marriage being the first solemnized in the Second (Unitarian) Church, and died at his residence in Trumbull Square, March 2, 1824. A martyr to gout, which, for seventeen years, confined him to his chair, he was unable to follow the active life of a physician, and in Worcester, when able to do anything, devoted himself to his drug business.

1804.—WORCESTER DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY.—

The Worcester Medical Society had for several years been before the Legislature by petition and committee for an act of incorporation, but had been constantly thwarted by the Massachusetts Medical Society, which considered such action detrimental to its interests. A conference was finally held with a committee of the Worcester society, and after an act of Legislature (approved March 8, 1803) had been obtained, by which the powers of the older society were extended, it was agreed that four districts should be established—Middle, Southern, Eastern and Western; Worcester district to be the western, and to include those fellows living in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, Hampden, Franklin and Berkshire. At a meeting of the County Society held September 26, 1804, an organization after this plan was effected; fourteen members of the local society became fellows of the Massachusetts Medical Society, elected officers and acquired the right to establish their own regulations "so that they be not repugnant to the bye-laws of the general society," to hold property and to dispose of the same. Although by the act the "Western District" included the physicians of five counties, all but one of the three hundred and forty-eight names on the rolls are those of Worcester County men, and no loss of members by the establishment of new districts occurred until the Worcester North District was set off, in 1858. Meetings, always in Worcester, were at first held semi-annually in June and September; later there were quarterly meetings, and still later a meeting was held every two months. Officers elected annually in May consist of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, librarian, five censors (who examine candidates for admission) and a variable number of councillors, who represent the society at the general meeting of councillors in Boston. The present membership is one hundred and twenty-three. In 1845 six thousand dollars was given to the society by the Hon. Daniel Waldo, and in 1851 Dr. Charles W. Wilder, of Leominster, left five hundred dollars in his will. The income of these sums, together with that of a bequest of one thousand dollars from the late Harrison Bliss and the interest of another small sum of money called the Available Reserved Fund, is now devoted to the increase of the library, the third largest medical library in the State.

The presidents of the society since 1804 have been: Oliver Fiske, of Worcester, 1804-07; Thomas Babbitt, of Brookfield, 1807-13; Abraham Haskell, of Ashby, 1813-14; Jonathan Osgood, of Gardner, 1814-20; Abraham Haskell, of Ashby, 1820-25; Stephen Bacheller, Jr., of Royalston, 1825-29; John Green, of Worcester, 1829-37; Edward Flint, of Leicester, 1837-40; Benjamin F. Heywood, of Worcester, 1840-42; Charles W. Wilder, of Leominster, 1842-44; Joseph Stone, of Hardwick, 1844-46; William Workman, of Worcester, 1846-49; John G. Metcalf, of Mendon, 1849-51; Benjamin Pond, of Westboro', 1851-53; Thomas R. Boutele, of Fitchburg, 1853-55; Charles M. Fay, of Charlton, 1855-57; Joshua J. Johnson, of Northboro',

1857-58; Alfred Hitchcock, of Fitchburg, 1858-59; Oramel Martin, of Worcester, 1859-62; Calvin P. Fiske, of Fiskdale, 1862-64; Joseph Sargent, of Worcester, 1864-66; Moses D. Southwick, of Blackstone, 1866-69; Rufus Woodward, of Worcester, 1869-70; Chauncey A. Wilcox, of Uxbridge, 1870-72; Thomas H. Gage, of Worcester, 1872-74; Joseph T. O. West, of Princeton, 1874-76; Henry Clarke, of Worcester, 1876-78; Frederick D. Brown, of Webster, 1878-80; Emerson Warner, of Worcester, 1880-82; Edwin B. Harvey, of Westboro', 1882-84; Albert Wood, of Worcester, 1884-86; George C. Webber, of Millbury, 1886-88; J. Marcus Rice, of Worcester, 1888.

The following physicians have been members of the society:

<i>Name and residence.</i>	<i>Admitted.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
Jonathan Osgood, Gardner.....	1804	1822
Israel Whiton, Winchendon.....	1804	1815
John Green, Worcester.....	1804	1808
Jonathan Learned,	1804	.....
Eben H. Phillips, Charlton.....	1804	1837
John Frink, Jr., Rutland.....	1804	1811
Austin Flint, Leicester.....	1804	1850
Josiah Howe, Templeton.....	1804	1843
Mason Spooner, Templeton.....	1804	1816
John Field, Rutland.....	1804	1815
Oliver Fiske, Worcester.....	1804	1837
Tilly Rice, Brookfield.....	1804	1824
Thomas Babbit, Brookfield.....	1804	1813
Abraham Haskell, Ashby.....	1807	1833
Samuel Willard, Uxbridge.....	1808	1811
Israel Allen, Sterling.....	1808	1817
John Flint, Petersham.....	1808	1809
Peter Snow, Fitchburg.....	1811	1824
John Green, Worcester.....	1811	1866
Seth Field, Brookfield.....	1812	1850
Henry Bagg, Princeton.....	1818	1818
J. H. Flint, Petersham.....	1816	1816
Seth Knowlton, Shrewsbury.....	1815	1832
Seth Fobes, Oakham.....	1813	1814
Abe Haskell, Jr., Lunenburg.....	1810	1829
Samuel Manning, Lancaster.....	1817	1822
Stephen Ball, Northborough.....	1817	1850
Silas Allen, Leominster.....	1818	1810
Dan Lamb, Charlton.....	1819	1853
Edward Flint, Leicester.....	1820	.....
Daniel Green, Ward.....	1820	1861
Daniel Brigham, Berlin.....	1821	1847
John Homans, Brookfield.....	1821	1868
Charles W. Wilder, Templeton.....	1822	1851
Silas Pearson, Westminster.....	1822	1824
James McFarland, Jr., Rutland.....	1822	1823
Leammie Harrington, Paxton.....	1822	1840
Stephen Batcheller, Jr., Royalston.....	1822	1848
Benj. F. Heywood, Worcester.....	1822	1869
Nath. Peabody, Lancaster.....	1822	1855
George Estabrook, Holden.....	1822	1846
Asa Jones, Spencer.....	1822	1827
Alexander Thayer, Jr., Mendon.....	1822	1830
Moses Phelps, Jr., Hubbardston.....	1823	1823
James Stine, Jr., Phillipston.....	1823	1857
John M. Smith, West Boylston.....	1824	1847
Amos Parker, Bolton.....	1824	1861
Gustavus D. Peck, Milford.....	1826	.....
Silas Marshall, Templeton.....	1826	.....
Abel Wilder, Mendon.....	1827	1862
Henry Parker, Grafton.....	1827	.....
P. T. Kendall, Sterling.....	1831	1862
William Workman, Shrewsbury.....	1831	1885
Adolphus Brigham, Shrewsbury.....	1831	1859
Thomas R. Boutelle, Leominster.....	1832	1869
John G. Metcalf, Mendon.....	1832	.....

<i>Name and residence.</i>	<i>Admitted.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
Albert J. Bellows, Paxton.....	1832	.....
Addison Knight, Oxford.....	1834	.....
Joseph Stone, Hardwick.....	1834	1849
Benj. Pond, Jr., Westboro'.....	1835	1857
Henry H. Rising, Westboro'.....	1836	1870
James W. Robbiss, Uxbridge.....	1836	1879
John Andrews, Boylston.....	1836	.....
William Thornton, Grafton.....	1836	1862
John S. Butler, Worcester.....	1836	.....
John Starkweather, Upton.....	1836	.....
Wm. D. Peck, Sterling.....	1837	.....
Chandler Smith, Worcester.....	1837	1843
Thomas Taylor, Holden.....	1837	.....
Levi Rawson, Grafton.....	1837	.....
Alphonso Brooks, Princeton.....	1838	.....
Delano Pierce, Grafton.....	1838	1871
Warren Partridge, Princeton.....	1836	1853
John Flint, Northbridge.....	1838	.....
David Parker, Gardner.....	1838	.....
Augustus Robbins, Holden.....	1838	1855
Erasmus D. Miller, Worcester.....	1838	.....
Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester.....	1838	1850
Joshua Porter, North Brookfield.....	1838	.....
Joel Burnett, Southboro'.....	1838	1845
David S. C. H. Smith, Sutton.....	1839	1859
George Willard, Uxbridge.....	1839	1846
Charles M. Fay, Charlton.....	1839	1868
Samuel Hartwell, Southboro'.....	1839	.....
Wm. S. Saunders, Sturbridge.....	1839	1861
Samuel C. Hartwell, Southboro'.....	1839	.....
Oliver H. Blood, Worcester.....	1839	1858
Charles Putler, Grafton.....	1839	1840
Amory Hunting, Millbury.....	1839	1870
John W. Tenney, Webster.....	1839	1848
Lawson Mirick, Brookfield.....	1839	1860
George Hoyt, Athol.....	1839	1866
C. C. Field, Leominster.....	1839	.....
Geo. Chandler, Worcester.....	1839	.....
Wm. M. Benedict, Millbury.....	1839	1847
Henry Bigelow, Worcester.....	1839	1864
Alex. Poole, Northboro'.....	1840	.....
H. F. Johnson, Worcester.....	1840	.....
Joseph Sargent, Worcester.....	1840	1888
J. J. Johnson, Northboro'.....	1840	1884
Henry G. Davis, Worcester.....	1840	1850
Ezekiel Wood, East Douglas.....	1841	.....
N. Quincy Tirrell, Sutton.....	1842	.....
Henry Lincoln, Lancaster.....	1842	1860
Ephraim Lovell, West Boylston.....	1843	1869
Austin E. Taft, Uxbridge.....	1843	.....
Henry Carpenter, Upton.....	1844	.....
Charles G. Safford, Rutland.....	1844	1848
Benj. Heywood, Worcester.....	1844	1860
Samuel F. Green, Worcester.....	1845	1884
J. E. Ewing,	1845	.....
R. L. Hawes, Worcester.....	1845	1867
F. Leland, Milford.....	1845	1867
Calvin Newton, Worcester.....	1845	1853
Asa A. Tenney, Worcester.....	1845	.....
Calvin P. Fiske, Sturbridge.....	1847	1874
Alonzo W. Bennett, Uxbridge.....	1847	1898
Leonard Spaulding, Millbury.....	1847	.....
William Terry, Sutton.....	1847	.....
Henry G. Bates, Worcester.....	1846	1870
Rowse B. Clarke, Whitinsville.....	1847	1888
Frederick Heywood, Worcester.....	1848	1856
Pierre B. Mignault, Worcester.....	1849	.....
Moses D. Southwick, Blackstone.....	1849	1875
Henry A. Jewett, Northboro'.....	1849	.....
Samuel L. Huotley, Fitchburg.....	1850	1856
Joana A. Marshall, Fitchburg.....	1850	.....
Alfred Hitchcock, Fitchburg.....	1850	.....
Charles W. Wilder, Fitchburg.....	1850	.....
Alvah Godding, Winchendon.....	1850	.....
J. W. D. Osgood, Templeton.....	1851	.....

<i>Name and residence.</i>	<i>Admitted.</i>	<i>Died.</i>	<i>Name and residence.</i>	<i>Admitted.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
John Heard, Leominster	1851	.....	E. B. Harvey, Westboro'	1866	.....
James P. C. Cummings, Fitchburg	1851	1858	D. M. Fulton, Grafton	1866	.....
Stephen Tracy, Worcester	1851	.....	Jerome Wilmarth, Upton	1866	.....
Elam C. Knight, Sterling	1851	.....	Thomas K. Whittenmore, Grafton	1867	1877
Thomas T. Griggs, Grafton	1851	.....	Harris O. Palmer, Worcester	1867	.....
Samuel Griggs, Westboro'	1851	.....	Henry Y. Simpson, Worcester	1867	.....
Orauel Martin, Worcester	1851	.....	L. W. Loring, Petersham	1867	.....
Amrose Goulet, Worcester	1852	.....	P. W. Hodgkins, East Brookfield	1868	.....
Alfred Miller, Ashburnham	1852	.....	E. B. Flagg, Worcester	1868	.....
Henry Sargent, Worcester	1852	1858	Benj. F. Clough, Worcester	1869	.....
Rufus Woodward, Worcester	1852	1885	Joseph W. Hastings, Warren	1869	.....
Henry Clark, Worcester	1852	1880	E. C. Park, West Boylston	1869	.....
Charles W. Whitcomb, Worcester	1852	.....	Wesley Davis, Worcester	1870	.....
H. M. Lincoln, Westminster	1852	1854	John O. Marble, Worcester	1870	.....
T. W. Wadsworth, Fitchburg	1852	1859	Warren Pierce, Sterling	1870	.....
Geo. A. Bates, Worcester	1853	1885	George W. Davis, Worcester	1870	.....
E. M. Wheeler, Paxton	1853	1881	Fred. H. Thompson, Lancaster	1870	.....
George M. Pierce, Leominster	1853	.....	George O. Warner, Leicester	1870	1885
Edward Layng, Worcester	1853	1856	James G. Shannon, Oakham	1870	.....
John E. Hathaway, Worcester	1853	1862	F. E. Corey, Westboro'	1870	.....
Jonathan Nichols, Oxford	1854	.....	George C. Webber, Millbury	1871	.....
Chauncey A. Wilcox, Uxbridge	1854	1885	Charles H. Davis, Worcester	1871	.....
George W. Burdett, Clinton	1854	1862	Lewis S. Dixon, Worcester	1871	.....
Henry Gilmore, Brookfield	1854	.....	Charles H. Hamilton, East Douglas	1872	.....
Nelson Carpenter, Warren	1854	.....	Levi White, East Douglas	1872	.....
Warren Tyler, West Brookfield	1854	.....	Albert G. Blodgett, West Brookfield	1872	.....
Dan S. Fiske, Brookfield	1855	1878	G. D. Jordan, Worcester	1872	.....
John Barnes, Milford	1855	.....	Leonard Wheeler, Worcester	1872	.....
J. M. Rice, Worcester	1855	.....	Barnard D. Eastman, Worcester	1872	.....
George M. Burgess, Blackstone	1855	1859	Myron L. Chamberlain, Southbridge	1872	.....
Seth Rogers, Worcester	1855	.....	Charles A. Bemis, Spencer	1872	.....
Thomas H. Gage, Sterling	1856	.....	Hosea M. Quinby, Worcester	1873	.....
George K. Nichols, Saundersville	1856	.....	Herbert Shurtleff	1873	.....
James R. Wellman, Fitchburg	1856	1862	Watson E. Rice, N. E. Village	1873	.....
Fred. A. Sawyer, Sterling	1856	.....	George L. Brown, Barre	1873	.....
Albert D. Smith, Holden	1856	1858	Charles A. Peabody, Worcester	1873	.....
Epoch H. Pillsbury, Hubbardston	1856	1857	George J. Bull, Worcester	1874	.....
Albert Potter, Charlton	1857	.....	Frank H. Kelley, Worcester	1874	.....
Albert B. Robinson, Holden	1858	.....	John A. Greenleaf, Worcester	1875	.....
S. F. Haven, Jr., Worcester	1858	1862	William H. Workman, Worcester	1875	.....
Almon M. Orcutt, Hardwick	1858	.....	Thorn Willmot, Worcester	1875	.....
Eben N. Chamberlain, Millbury	1858	.....	Edward R. Spaulding, Worcester	1875	.....
Fred. H. Jewett, Shrewsbury	1859	.....	J. Bartlett Rich, Worcester	1877	.....
D. Mills Tucker, Grafton	1859	.....	Enoch Q. Marston, Worcester	1876	.....
Joseph S. Ames, Holden	1860	.....	Thomas J. O'Sullivan, Worcester	1878	.....
J. N. Bates, Webster	1860	1883	Josiah N. Bixby, West Warren	1878	.....
E. G. Burnett, Webster	1860	.....	H. S. Knight, Worcester	1878	.....
J. Henry Robinson, Southboro'	1860	.....	W. T. Souther, Worcester	1877	.....
Peter E. Hubon, Worcester	1860	1880	W. B. Maxwell, Farnumsville	1878	.....
Joseph O. West, Princeton	1860	1887	W. E. Brown, Gilbertville	1878	.....
Merrick Bemis, Worcester	1862	.....	Sammel B. Woodward, Worcester	1878	.....
Henry C. Prentiss, Worcester	1862	.....	Wm. H. Raymond, Worcester	1879	.....
E. D. Lord, Sterling	1862	.....	Perley E. Corney, Clinton	1879	.....
L. H. Hammond, Oakham	1862	.....	Albert K. Moulton, Worcester	1879	.....
George W. Ward, Upton	1863	.....	Walter P. Bowers, Lancaster	1879	.....
S. P. Martin, New Braintree	1863	.....	Charles L. Clarke, Oxford	1879	.....
B. H. Tripp, Rutland	1863	.....	Oliver H. Everett, Worcester	1880	.....
F. D. Brown, Webster	1863	1886	Charles H. Grant, Webster	1880	.....
Emerson Warner, Worcester	1864	.....	Patrick H. Keefe, Worcester	1880	.....
Charles W. Barnes, Grafton	1864	.....	Thomas J. Garrigan, N. Brookfield	1880	.....
James T. Rood, Brookfield	1864	.....	George Loring Tobey, Shrewsbury	1880	.....
F. H. Rice, Worcester	1864	.....	Thomas P. O'Callaghan, Worcester	1880	.....
W. H. Lincoln, Hubbardston	1864	.....	George E. Adams, Worcester	1880	.....
L. F. Billings, Barre	1864	.....	Daniel W. Niles, Worcester	1880	.....
Silas P. Holbrook, East Douglas	1865	.....	M. G. Halloran, Worcester	1881	.....
Marquis Hale, Spencer	1865	1884	J. G. Thomas, Worcester	1881	.....
George F. Francis, Worcester	1865	.....	C. W. Stickney, Holden	1881	.....
F. W. Brigham, Shrewsbury	1865	.....	E. T. Aldrich, West Boylston	1881	.....
Albert Wood, Worcester	1865	.....	Everett Flood, Worcester	1882	.....
Joseph Draper, Worcester	1866	.....	Ernest V. Scribner, Worcester	1882	.....
C. H. Perry, Webster	1866	.....	John A. Houghton, Worcester	1882	.....
A. L. Stickney, Sutton	1866	.....	William B. Oshman, Oxford	1882	.....
George Brown, Barre	1866	.....	Jonathan H. Woods, Barre	1882	.....
Wm. H. Parker, Milford	1866	1883	George M. Morse, Clinton	1882	.....
J. G. Park, Worcester	1866	.....	Frederick Scott, Worcester	1882	.....

<i>Name and residence.</i>	<i>Admitted.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
Orlando Mixter, Worcester.....	1882	
Francis L. Banfield, Worcester.....	1882	
Charles A. Huss, Worcester.....	1882	1884
Roscoe W. Swan, Worcester.....	1882	
Lemuel F. Woodward, Worcester.....	1882	
Chas. Mackin, Milford.....	1883	
Edgar C. Atkins, Milford.....	1883	
William C. Fogerty, Worcester.....	1883	
Chas. W. Harwood, Worcester.....	1883	
Eben M. Perkins, Worcester.....	1883	
Thomas E. Roche, Clinton.....	1883	
William G. Reed, Sturbridge.....	1883	
Fred. F. Bigelow, Worcester.....	1883	
Dean S. Ellis, Worcester.....	1883	
Fred G. Sainborn, Holden.....	1883	
Geo. F. Woodbury, Worcester.....	1883	
Edward R. Wheeler, Spencer.....	1883	
Geo. M. Fokett, Dana.....	1883	
William C. Stevens, Worcester.....	1883	
Fred. H. Daniels, Worcester.....	1883	
Cassius H. Darling, Worcester.....	1883	
Charles S. Bradley, Westboro.....	1883	
Joseph H. Kelley, Worcester.....	1884	
William J. Delahanty, Worcester.....	1884	
David Harrower, Jr., Worcester.....	1884	
E. L. Sawyer, Oakham.....	1884	
Geo. A. Brown, Barre.....	1884	
Wm. Dan Lamb, Southbridge.....	1884	
Rebecca Barnard, Worcester.....	1885	
Mary V. O'Callaghan, Worcester.....	1885	
Edward H. Trowbridge, Worcester.....	1885	
Albert C. Getchell, Worcester.....	1885	
H. F. M. Smith, Worcester.....	1885	
C. A. Deland, Warren.....	1886	
Jra C. Gupitt, Northboro.....	1886	
Ira T. Duggan, Worcester.....	1886	
Lawrence T. Newhall, Brookfield.....	1886	
William H. Danforth, Worcester.....	1886	
Charles H. Brockway, Worcester.....	1874	
F. C. Jilbon, Sterling.....	1887	
E. W. Norwood, Spencer.....	1887	
Chas. L. French, Clinton.....	1887	
Henry J. Kenyon, Worcester.....	1883	
M. B. Warriner, North Brookfield.....	1887	
Bessie C. Earle, Worcester.....	1887	
Geo. W. H. Libby, Worcester.....	1887	
J. H. Maynard Bellerose, Worcester.....	1887	
J. J. Brennan, Worcester.....	1887	
Alfred I. Noble, Worcester.....	1887	
Ray W. Green, Worcester.....	1887	
Charles G. Stearns, Leicester.....	1887	
Geo. O. Ward, Worcester.....	1888	
Daniel P. Cilley, Westboro.....	1888	
Homor Gage, Worcester.....	1888	

Even of those physicians claiming Worcester as a home it will be manifestly impossible to mention all. An attempt will be made to give attainable particulars of the leading men only.

1807.—JOHN GREEN, M.D., A.B. (Brown, 1804), born in Worcester, April 19, 1784, who began practice in 1807, less than a year before the death of Dr. John Green, his father, and but eight years after that of the Revolutionary Dr. John Green, his grandfather, is destined to be longer remembered than either; for, with that enduring monument, a public library, his name will always be associated. Having early decided to devote a liberal portion of his fortune to the founding of such an institution, he was, for many years, personally engaged in collecting books, which, in 1859, he presented to the city, adding continually

to the number afterwards, and leaving, by will, thirty thousand dollars as a fund for further increase. He studied medicine with his father, succeeded on the latter's sudden death to his large practice, and continued for more than half a century the recognized leader of the profession in the county. Prudent and cautious almost to a fault, he is said to have realized Thomas Fuller's idea of the "good physician": "He hannels not his new experiments on the bodies of his patients, letting loose mad receipts into the sick man's body to try how well nature in him will fight against them, while himself stands by and sees the battle."

Holding no public office, and devoting himself entirely to his profession, few men were better known than Dr. John Green. "His name," says Judge Thomas, "was a household word. Not to have seen him, as, under that brown, broad-brimmed soft hat, he rolled from side to side, in that old time-honored gig, through the streets of the village, town and city, was to have missed one of the most striking institutions of Worcester."

His personal appearance, at least in old age, is well-known to all frequenters of the "Green library," where statue and picture well represent his slight and stooping figure and intelligent features. His modesty was such that he wished this statue removed, as it seemed to him to suggest a "kind of arrogance" that he did not feel. His manner was quiet; his tastes simple; he cared nothing for display.

In 1815 he was granted the degree of M.D. by Harvard College, and in 1826 Brown followed the example of her sister university. Of the district medical society he was three years treasurer, seven librarian, five vice-president, and seven president, when he declined further service. He was vice-president of the American Medical Society in 1854. He was the first president of the Horticultural Society, councillor of the Massachusetts Medical and of the American Antiquarian Societies, and an early and constant patron of the Natural History Society. Feeble health and increasing age compelled him to retire from active practice about ten years before his death, which took place after several weeks' illness, October 17, 1865, he being then in his eighty-second year. Early in life he married Dolly, daughter of David Curtis, but survived her many years. He left no children, and was the last of the line of doctors of his name¹ that, for more than one hundred years, had been largely responsible for the health of the inhabitants of Worcester.

1808.—DR. BENJAMIN CHAPIN, son of Captain Thaddeus Chapin, was born in Worcester, May 29, 1781. He studied medicine with the second Dr. Green, practised in Marlborough until 1808, when he returned to Worcester, and remained here until his death, January 15, 1835, at the age of fifty-four. His

¹ His nephew, John Green, is a distinguished ophthalmologist in St. Louis, Missouri.

office and drug-store stood at the corner of Front and Carlton Streets. He was town clerk from 1818-1833 and in 1830 a member of the Legislature.

1815.—BENJAMIN F. HEYWOOD, M.D., A.B. (Dartmouth, 1812), son of Hon. Benjamin Heywood, a graduate of Harvard College, officer in the Revolutionary army, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas, was born in Worcester, April 24, 1792. He attended lectures at the medical schools of Dartmouth and Yale, graduated from the latter in 1815, and began practice in Worcester immediately afterwards. For more than fifty years he was in active business, twenty of them in partnership with his brother-in-law, Dr. Green, and, at the time of his sudden death, December 7, 1869, at the age of seventy-seven, was the oldest physician in Worcester, and had been longest in practice. A permanent member of the American Medical Association, he held in turn, and for long periods of time, all the offices in the gift of the District Society, and was for many years councillor in the State Society. He was for forty years a trustee of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, and was a director of the Worcester Bank, of which his father was one of the founders. In 1848 he served one term in the Common Council, and from 1848-1856 was a member of the Board of Aldermen. In 1859 he became, by right of his father, a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. His first wife, sister of Dr. John Green, died Aug. 4, 1836; his second wife, also a sister of Dr. Green, still lives in this city.

1826.—O. H. BLOOD, M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1821), was the son of Gen. T. H. Blood, of Sterling. He studied medicine with Dr. Lemuel Capen, of that place, and attended lectures at the Harvard Medical School, where he graduated in 1826. He practised in Worcester until 1828, when he went to Brookfield. In 1831 he returned, but soon turned his attention to dentistry, in which business he continued until his death, April 8, 1858, at the age of fifty-seven. His wife, now living, is a sister of Mr. H. G. O. Blake.

1829.—JOHN S. BUTLER, M.D., A.B. (Yale, 1825), is a son of Daniel Butler, of Northampton, where he was born October 12, 1803. From 1825-28 he attended lectures in Boston and Philadelphia, and after receiving his degree spent one more year in study, finally opening his office in Worcester in 1829. Early in his career he became interested in the subject of insanity, and, as he himself says, was "a frequent visitor to the newly-established Insane Asylum, and a careful observer in its wards." In 1839 he was appointed resident medical officer of penal, charitable and reformatory institutions, and superintendent of the Insane Asylum of Boston, where he remained until 1842. In 1843 he became superintendent of the Hartford Retreat, which position he resigned in 1873, after nearly thirty years' service. He resides in Hartford; is a member of the State Board of Health, of the American Academy and of the Medico-Psychological Society of Great Britain. From 1870-73 he was

president of the Association of Superintendents of American Insane Asylums.

1831.—GEORGE CHANDLER, M.D., A.B. (Union, 1829), son of Major John W. Chandler, was born in Pomfret, Conn., April 8, 1806. He attended the academies of Dudley and Leicester, spent two years at Brown University and graduated at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1829. He read medicine with Dr. Holt, of Pomfret, attended lectures in Boston and New Haven, and received his medical degree from Yale College in 1831. The same year he opened an office in Worcester. For part of one year he was in practice in Auburn, and in March, 1833, became Dr. S. B. Woodward's assistant at the Lunatic Hospital. In 1842 he was appointed superintendent of the New Hampshire State Lunatic Asylum, at Concord, erected after the plans submitted by himself. Three years later he resigned this position against the expressed wish of the trustees, and the next year (1846) succeeded Dr. Woodward as superintendent of the Worcester Hospital. This institution was successfully managed by him for ten years, when he gave up his charge and at the same time retired from practice, having devoted twenty-five years to care of the insane. Dr. Chandler has been a member of the Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut State Medical Societies. In 1859 he represented Ward 8 in the Legislature, and in 1862 was a member of the Board of Aldermen. He is a member of the Antiquarian and Worcester Fire Societies and has devoted much time to the voluminous "Chandler family records." In 1862 he responded to the call for volunteer surgeons, went to Fortress Monroe and returned in medical charge of a transport. His first wife, Josephine Rose, who died in 1868, was a granddaughter of Dr. Wm. Paine. He married, April 8, 1874, Mary E. Douglass, widow of Charles A. Wheeler.

1831.—DR. JOHN PARK, A.B. (Dartmouth, 1791), although never in active practice, resided here for many years. He was born in Windham, N. H., in 1775. From 1793 to 1801 he served in the West Indies, at first as surgeon in the English service and later in the United States Navy. He settled in Newburyport and later moved to Boston, retired from practice, and, in 1811, opened the Boston Lyceum for young ladies, which he successfully managed for twenty years. From 1831 to his death, in 1852, he was in Worcester. He was a member of the Antiquarian Society, to which he presented the greater part of his library. A daughter was the wife of the late Benjamin F. Thomas. Another became the second wife of Rev. Dr. E. B. Hall, of Providence, R. I., father of Rev. Edward H. Hall, who from 1869-82 was the pastor of the Second (Unitarian) Church.

1833.—SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, M.D., son of Dr. Samuel Woodward,¹ himself a physician of ability,

¹ Dr. Samuel Woodward was in practice in Torrington for nearly sixty years. He was distinguished not only in his profession, but in

was born in Torrington, Conn., June 10, 1787. He studied medicine with his father, and, having been licensed to practice by the Connecticut State Medical Society in 1809, assisted him for a year or more, and then removed to Wethersfield, near Hartford. Here he remained twenty-two years, for a large part of the time the only physician in the place. During this period he was elected secretary of the Connecticut Medical Society; vice-president of the Hopkins Medical Society, and one of the medical examiners of Yale College, from which, in 1822, he received the degree of M.D. From 1827-33 he was physician to the Connecticut State Prison. He became early interested in the subject of insanity, and, in 1824, was strongly urged for the position of superintendent of the Bloomingdale Asylum, then opened in the State of New York. He was largely instrumental in the establishment of the Hartford Retreat for the Insane, traveling over the greater part of the State of Connecticut in his doctor's gig, explaining its necessity and soliciting funds. Some negotiations took place for his taking charge of this institution, but he used his influence in favor of his friend, Dr. Eli Todd, who was appointed. On the latter's death, in 1834, the position was again offered him, and in 1840 the offer was repeated, with the promise of a home outside the hospital walls. These offers, as well as a similar one, in 1842, from the trustees of the then new asylum in Utica, N. Y., were declined; but while in Wethersfield he served on the Board of Visitors of the Hartford institution, and "devoted to its prosperity the weight of his personal exertions and influence." In 1832 came the call to take charge of the asylum then in process of erection in Worcester, which call he accepted, came here in 1833, and remained almost without rest for fourteen years. In 1846, with shattered health, he retired to Northampton, where he died January 3, 1850, at the age of fifty-three. Dr. Woodward was an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society from 1833, and of the Connecticut State Society from 1835. In 1832 he represented the Hartford district in the State Senate, his object in accepting the position being the furtherance, by legislation, of the interests of the insane, whose acknowledged champion he already was. In 1838 he became a fellow of the Albany Medical College. He was the first president of the Association of Insane Asylum Superintendents and the founder of the society; a member of the Ohio State Medical Society and Ohio Historical Society. He wrote much for medical and other scientific journals, and, from 1828-43, delivered occasional lectures on temperance and education throughout Connecticut and Massachusetts. Of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic Youth he was a firm friend, and, as early as 1840, had pre-

pared a plan for an asylum for inebriates, of which he would willingly have been superintendent. The times were, however, not ripe; the plan was considered chimerical and the project abandoned. An authority on the subject of insanity, and occupying the position of a reformer in its treatment, his private correspondence shows that his opinion was sought by physicians of reputation, not only in this State, but throughout America. Dr. Edward Jarvis, in 1842, calls him "the leader in the great reform in the management of the insane," and says that the example of the hospital and its reports "have done more than any other thing to extend this reformation throughout the Union." Personally popular, on his removal to Worcester six hundred and seventy of the inhabitants of Wethersfield signed a memorial of their regard for his person, respect for his talents and regret at his removal; and, after his departure for Northampton, his bust was placed in the corridor of the Lunatic Hospital by the people of Worcester, while the trustees individually subscribed for the portrait now at the asylum. Six feet two and one-half inches in height, and weighing two hundred and sixty pounds, Dr. Woodward commanded attention wherever he appeared. Of his personal appearance, Mr. Stanton, in his reminiscences, says: "I boarded in Boston at the United States Hotel. Whenever he visited the city, Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, principal of the Insane Asylum at Worcester, dined there. As he walked, erect and majestic, through the long room to the head of the table, every knife and fork rested and all eyes centred on him. He received similar notice when appearing as an expert in the courts. The reason was this: young men who saw George Washington after he passed middle life traced the very close resemblance between him and Dr. Woodward."

1834.—AARON G. BAIRCOCK, M.D., son of Amos Baircock, of Princeton, where he studied medicine with Dr. Chandler Smith, graduated at the Bowdoin Medical School in 1830. For four years he practised medicine in Holden, then came to Worcester, where he was at first physician, and later physician and druggist. From his drug-store was developed the present extensive establishment of Jerome Marble & Co.

1835.—WILLIAM WORKMAN, M.D., was born in Colrairie, Mass., in 1798, and was fitted for college at Hopkins Academy, in old Hadley. His health failed, he was unable to graduate and was twenty-four years of age before he began to study medicine. After a three years' course with Drs. Washburn, of Greenfield, Flint & Mather, of Northampton, and at the Harvard Medical School, he received his degree in 1825, and immediately opened an office in Shrewsbury. In 1835 he came to Worcester and continued in active practice until 1869, when, at the age of seventy-one, he retired. He died sixteen years later (October 17, 1885), at the age of eighty-seven. Dr. Workman was a member of the American Medical Association, and

political life; was for twenty years a member of the Legislature, and from 1800-10 Democratic candidate for Congress. He died January 26, 1835, aged eighty-four. Of his six sons four studied medicine, and all were in practice in Connecticut at one and the same time.

for twenty-four years councillor of the Massachusetts Medical Society. In 1854 he delivered the annual address before that body, it being the second time that the honor had been conferred upon a Worcester physician. In 1862, requested to send out surgeons to care for the wounded of the "Seven Days' Fight," he attended to that duty, and although in his sixty-fourth year, went himself to the front. He was connected with the School Board of town and city from 1840 to 1859, was president of the Worcester Lyceum, and from 1862 to '72 trustee of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital. He married, in 1828, Sarah P. Hemenway. His son, William H. Workman, M.D., was in practice here from 1873 to '87.

1836.—JOHN A. ANDREWS, M.D., who is the oldest physician in the city, was born in Hopkinton, September 30, 1802, and has been fifty-two years in practice here. In 1850 and '51 he was connected with the Worcester Medical Institution.

1836.—CHANDLER SMITH, M.D., born in Peru, Berkshire County, in 1803, graduated at the Berkshire Medical School in 1825, and for ten years practised in Princeton. From 1836 until his death—June 28, 1843—he lived in Worcester, and for four years of the time was town physician. He was a trustee of the Worcester Manual Labor High School.

1840.—JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1834), son of Colonel Henry Sargent, was born in Leicester, December 31, 1815. He studied medicine one year with Dr. Edward Flint, of Leicester, and three at a private school in Boston, of which Dr. James Jackson was the head, attending lectures at the medical schools of Harvard University and in Philadelphia. After receiving his degree of M.D. from Harvard, in 1837, he spent one year as house-officer in the Massachusetts General Hospital, and two years in study in Paris, and in 1840 opened an office in Worcester. In 1850 he spent another year in study in Europe, and visited it again in 1868.

For forty-eight years Dr. Sargent has been a leader in the medical profession. Holding, in turn, all the offices in the District Society, he was councillor in the State Society for a long time, and in 1874-76 vice-president. He was one of the original members of the Boston Society for Medical Observation, and the first out-of-town member of the Boston Society for Medical Improvement. He founded the Worcester Medical Improvement Society. To his exertions is largely due the present prosperity of the City Hospital of which he was trustee from 1871 to 1886, serving at the same time as a member of the consulting staff. From 1843 to 1848 he was a trustee of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital, and is at present, and has always been, a trustee of the Memorial Hospital and Dispensary. He has been medical director of the State Mutual Life Insurance Company since 1844. At his suggestion gas was introduced into Worcester, and he is president of the Worcester Gas Company. He is a

trustee of Clark University. He married Emily Whitney September 27, 1841.

[The death of Dr. Sargent, on October 13, 1888, since the above sketch was prepared, makes it proper here to add a few words. It is impossible, however, within the limits imposed upon us, to do justice to the character and position of the doctor. He brought to Worcester a store of knowledge and skill, which made him pre-eminently the most conspicuous member of the profession in Central Massachusetts, and which would have secured for him fame and success in whatever field of practice he should have selected anywhere. This position he maintained throughout his lifetime. He was, at the same time, a public-spirited citizen, and his services to leading local institutions, as well as to the body politic, were of the highest value. The natural refinement of his character served to elevate the tone of any circle or any business interest with which he was connected. A more full acquaintance with the life of Dr. Sargent may be obtained from the biographical sketches and the proceedings of the various bodies with which he was connected, which appeared in the Worcester *Spy* and *Evening Gazette* immediately following his death, and also from the printed "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society," at their meeting on October 22, 1888.—C.]

1840.—CALVIN NEWTON, M.D., was born in Southboro' in 1801, and was educated for the ministry. For a number of years he was settled over a church in Great Barrington, and was later Professor of Rhetoric and Hebrew in Waterville College, Waterville, Maine. Deciding to study medicine, he attended lectures at the Berkshire Medical School, where he graduated in 1840. He immediately opened an office in Worcester. In 1846 he established a medical journal, known as the *N. E. Medical Eclectic*, and later as the *Worcester Journal of Medicine*. This he continued to edit until his death. He lectured to classes of students, and devoted all his energies to the establishment of a school which should raise the standard of practice of those persons known as eclectic or botanic physicians. In this he succeeded, against great opposition, but wore himself out in the attempt, and died in August, 1853, aged fifty-two. He was president of the Worcester Medical Institution and Professor of Pathology. He was, also, in 1852, president of the National Eclectic Medical Society.

1845.—BENJAMIN HEYWOOD, M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1840), son of Dr. Benjamin F. Heywood, was born in Worcester, July 16, 1821. He studied medicine four years at the University of Pennsylvania, graduated in 1844, and after one year spent in study in Europe, came to Worcester, where his ability was soon recognized, both by the profession and the community. He practised medicine here for fifteen years; was from 1847-54 secretary, treasurer and librarian of the District Society, and in 1859, surgeon of the Tenth Regiment of Militia. He died July 21, 1860, aged thirty-nine.

1845.—RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1841), was the son of Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, and born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, October 3, 1819. He was fitted in the Worcester schools for Harvard College, which he entered in 1837. After graduation he began the study of medicine with Dr. Joseph Sargent, and in 1842 entered the Harvard Medical School, where he graduated three years later. For three years he was assistant physician at the State Lunatic Hospital, and then spent two years in study in Europe, devoting much time to the subject of insanity, with the intention of assisting his father in a private asylum for mental diseases in Northampton. His plans were changed by the latter's sudden death, in 1850, and on his return to this country, soon after, he established himself in general practice in Worcester. For thirty-three years he devoted himself to his profession, seeing patients on the very day of his own sudden death, December 30, 1885, at the age of sixty-six. A member of local and State Medical Societies, he was, during the war of 1861-65, examining surgeon for volunteers, and in 1862 volunteer surgeon under the Sanitary Commission. From 1863-66 he was city physician, and on the formation of the Board of Health, in 1877 was induced to again accept this position, which he held at the time of his death, being also chairman of the board, of which he was *ex-officio* a member. From 1871-1880 he was visiting surgeon to the City Hospital, consulting surgeon to the Washburn Dispensary from 1874 until his death, and was also physician to the House of Correction, and to the Orphans Home. For twelve years he was a member of the School Board, and from 1861 a member of the Anti-quarian Society. In natural history and botany he was always greatly interested; he was, in college, a member of the Harvard Natural History Society, and was one of the founders and for many years president of the local society. Much of his spare time was spent in his garden, and that wild flower whose haunts, in the neighborhood of Worcester, he did not know, was rare indeed.

1845.—SAMUEL F. GREEN, M.D., a grandson of the first Dr. John Green, was born here October 10, 1822, studied medicine with Dr. McKiever, in New York, graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1845, and immediately settled in Worcester. A year later he became physician to the American Board, and went to Ceylon. Learning the Tamil language, he established a college for the education of young men in European medicine and surgery. For twenty-one years he lived there, teaching, attending to an extensive practice, and at the same time performing the tremendous task of editing, in Tamil, a complete set of works on medicine. His health was undermined by the climate; he was obliged to return to America, and the last years of his life were spent in Worcester. Wishing to continue his work, the manuscript was, for a long time, prepared here, sent to India, and the proofs in Tamil returned for revision

and correction. He completed text-books on Obstetrics, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology, Physics and Chemistry, and parts of works on the Pharmacopœia of India, and Medical Jurisprudence—in all three thousand six hundred pages. Many of these are standard in India, and a small annual appropriation to assist in defraying the expense of preparing them was allowed him by the English Government. He died in the Green Hill house, May 28, 1884.

1845.—GEORGE A. BATES, M.D., son of Dr. Anson Bates, of Barre, where he was born in 1820, studied medicine with his brother, Dr. Joseph N. Bates, in that town, and with Dr. N. S. Perry, of Boston, attending also lectures at the Berkshire and Harvard Medical Schools. He graduated from the latter in 1844, and began practice in Barre. In 1845 he came to Worcester, where, with one interval of five years, he remained until his sudden death, August 9, 1885. In 1856 he removed to Washington, D. C., returning in 1861, when his brother left Worcester as surgeon of the Fifteenth Regiment. From 1844 he was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society; from 1871-83 surgeon at the City Hospital, and, at the time of his death, surgeon of the Worcester Continentals. Never married, he almost lived in his office, where he surrounded himself with old furniture and curiosities of every description. In fact, so great was the accumulation that many were, of necessity, packed away and unearthed only after his death.

1845.—SAMUEL FLAGG, M.D., A.B. (Dartmouth, 1841), son of Samuel Flagg, was born in Worcester July 16, 1821. He studied medicine with Dr. Amos Twitchell, in Keene, N. H., and at the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated in 1845. In practice in Worcester until 1861; he was from 1852 connected with the militia, at first as assistant surgeon of the Eighth Regiment, and later as surgeon of the Third Battalion of Rifles. He went to the front in 1861 as hospital steward in the Twenty-fifth Regiment, and in 1862 was commissioned assistant surgeon. For two years he was on detail duty in various hospitals and forts in North Carolina. In 1863 he resigned on account of ill health, but soon after went as contract surgeon to the Government Hospital on Long Island, Boston Harbor, remaining there and at Galloupes Island until 1865. Since 1881 he has lived in his cottage on the shores of Lake Quinsigamond. From 1867-69 he was surgeon of the Tenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, and from 1867-77 surgeon and medical director of the Third Brigade.

1845.—WORCESTER SOCIETY FOR MEDICAL IMPROVEMENT, organized for "medical improvement and the cultivation of good-fellowship." It was discontinued in 1846, revived in 1857, and continued until 1874. In 1876 it was re-organized, and until 1886 meetings were held every alternate Wednesday evening, from September to June, at the house of members in turn. Each member was chairman of his own

meeting and read a paper on some scientific subject. There were usually about twenty medical men connected with the society. Its meetings are for the present suspended.

1846.—R. L. HAWES, M.D., was born in Leominster, March 22, 1823. After graduating at the Harvard Medical School (1845), where he took high rank, he began practice in Worcester; but, having invented a machine for folding envelopes, soon turned his attention to business. He died in travelling in Europe in 1867.

1846.—ARMET B. DELAND, in practice here for forty-three years, was born in Brookfield in 1823. He studied medicine with Dr. George Bates and attended lectures at Pittsfield, Mass., Castleton, Vt., and Charleston, S. C.

1847.—HENRY SARGENT, M.D., A.B. (Yale, 1841), son of Colonel Henry Sargent, was born in Leicester, November 7, 1821. His medical studies were pursued with his brother, Dr. Joseph Sargent, with Drs. Bowditch, of Boston, and Gerhardt, of Philadelphia, and at the Harvard Medical School, from which he graduated in 1847, having previously spent two years in Enrope, largely in the hospitals of Paris. His health was never good after 1844, when he was poisoned at an autopsy, and he was repeatedly obliged to withdraw from business, visiting Europe in 1851 and again in 1854. With these exceptions, he was in practice in Worcester from the time of his graduation until his death, April 26, 1858, at the age of thirty-six. He was highly esteemed by the profession in Worcester, and to an unusual degree beloved by the community. His wife was Catherine Whitney, to whom he was married in May, 1849. She died in September of the same year.

1848.—PIERRE B. MIGNAULT (of Acadian ancestry) was born in the parish of Chambly, Province of Quebec, August 28, 1818. He became involved in the "Rebellion of '37," and was forced to flee the country. He reached the frontier after various adventures, worked his way to Burlington and later to Boston, and entered the Harvard Medical School, where he graduated in 1846. For two years he practised in Boston, and then came to Worcester, where he remained until 1871, living on Trumbull Square. He now resides in Montreal. In Worcester he was widely known as "The French doctor," and was largely interested in the Sisters' Hospital.

1848.—MERRICK BEMIS, M.D., was born in Sturbridge, Mass., in 1820; studied medicine with Drs. Gilmore, of Brookfield, and Winslow Lewis, of Boston, and received his degree from the Castleton (Vt.) Medical School in 1848. For eight years he was assistant to Dr. Chandler, at the Lunatic Hospital, and in 1856 succeeded him as superintendent. In 1872 he resigned the position and established the private asylum known as Herbert Hall. A member of various medical societies, Dr. Bemis is president of the Worcester Medical Association. During the War

of 1861-65 he did much to encourage recruiting. He has served on the School Committee and in 1860 was a member of the Board of Aldermen. For years he has been prominently identified with the Natural History Society.

1850.—ORAMEL MARTIN, M.D., was born in Hoo-sick, N. Y., July 21, 1810. He attended lectures at the medical schools of Pittsfield, Mass., and Castleton, Vt., from 1829 to 1832, receiving diplomas from both places. In 1833 he began practice in New Braintree. The years 1845-46 he spent in study in the hospitals of Paris. Returning, he practised two years in North Brookfield and two in Hopkinton, and in 1850 removed to Worcester, where he has since remained. "He participated largely in the Anti-Slavery movement and in the formation of the Republican party." In 1861 he went to the front as surgeon of the Third Battalion of Rifles. In August of the same year he was commissioned brigade surgeon by President Lincoln. Invalided after four months' service at Fort McHenry, he no sooner recovered his health than he went to Missouri on General Hunter's staff, and was placed in charge of the hospital village of Otterville, with twelve hundred patients. He was then sent to Kansas, and, after the battle of Pittsburgh Landing, was placed in charge of the Pacific Hospital in St. Louis. Later he was on General Granger's staff in Mississippi, but his health again gave out, and he was obliged to send in his resignation in June, 1862. Until the end of the war he was surgeon of the Board of Enrollment. From 1862 he was also examiner of pensioners; at first alone, and afterwards as one of a board of three, until 1886, when, with one of his colleagues, Dr. J. M. Rice, he was, for political reasons, removed. He is a member of the American Medical Society and of the Massachusetts and Vermont State Societies. He was surgeon of the City Hospital until 1882, and is now a member of the consulting staff. He is also consulting physician to the Washburn Dispensary.

1850.—DEAN TOWNE, M.D., born in Windsor, Vt. February 7, 1810; studied medicine in Woodstock, Vt., and graduated at Castleton in 1833. He practiced twelve years in Windsor, Vt., six years in Shrewsbury, and has, since 1850, been in Worcester. He practically retired from business many years ago.

1851.—HENRY CLARKE, M.D., was the son of Benjamin Clarke, a prosperous farmer of Marlboro', Mass., where he was born October 3, 1824. Spending some years at the academies of Marlboro' and Leicester, he began his professional studies in the office of Dr. Henry Sargent in 1847. In 1848 he entered the Harvard Medical School, where he distinguished himself and received the Boylston prize. He graduated in 1850, and, after a year spent in the hospitals of Paris and Vienna, began practice in Worcester in 1851. To his practice he devoted himself with a zeal and industry that often overtaxed his physical strength, never very robust, and, in 1861, in 1867, and again in

1876, he went to Europe for rest and study. In 1862 he was, for some months, at the front as volunteer surgeon. He was city physician for several of his first years in Worcester; a member of the School Board, and, for fourteen years, physician to the county jail. He was one of the original trustees of the Memorial Hospital under Mr. Washburn's will, and surgeon at the City Hospital from the beginning. He died after a short illness, April 17, 1880, aged fifty-five years. Though at his death he had barely passed middle life, and in aspect and manner younger than his years, he stood in the very first rank of Massachusetts physicians. As a surgeon he was remarkably bold and skillful, and his services were often in demand for difficult cases. Working long after he should have rested, he died "in harness," and prematurely, for his patients—to him his world.

1851.—SETH ROGERS, M.D., born in Danby, Vt., February 13, 1823; graduated in medicine at Castleton in 1849. He had been previously assistant to Dr. Joel Shew, and was, for two years more, with him in a "hydropathic" establishment in New York City. In 1851 he came to Worcester, and established the Worcester Water Cure, which he maintained for some thirteen years. He gave lectures at the Worcester Medical Institution on hydro-therapeutics in 1850 and 1851, and from 1852 to 1854 studied in Paris, leaving Dr. George Hoyt in charge of the hospital here. In 1858 his health failed, and he spent a year in Brazil and France. From 1859 to 1862 he was again in Worcester. In 1862 he joined Colonel T. W. Higginson in South Carolina, and was for a year surgeon of the First Regiment South Carolina (Colored) Volunteers. In 1864 he left Worcester permanently, expecting to live but a short time, but is now in Pomfret, Ct., where, since 1883, he has received at his house patients suffering from chronic disease. In 1867, and later, he was in practice in Florida in the winter. In Worcester he was in general practice, and while using water extensively, was not a "hydropathist."

1851.—ALBIN J. EATON, M.D., was born in Ashburnham June 19, 1809; graduated at the school in Pittsfield in 1836, and was in practice in various places in Massachusetts (among others, in Oakham) until 1851, when he came to Worcester. In 1855 he entirely withdrew from the profession.

1852.—F. H. KELLEY, M.D., was born in New Hampton, N. H., September 9, 1827. He began the study of medicine in Dover in 1847; attended lectures in Cincinnati, Ohio, and at the Harvard Medical School; came to Worcester in 1851, and graduated from the Worcester Medical Institution in 1852. Soon after he formed a partnership with Dr. Calvin Newton, which lasted until the latter's death the next year. Dr. Kelley was in active practice (somewhat interfered with by his official duties) until 1883, and in 1874 became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. In December, 1879, he was elected mayor of Worcester, and re-elected in 1880, having previously served the

city four years in the Common Council and six on the Board of Aldermen. He was a member of the first Board of Trustees of the City Hospital; was elected presiding officer, and served in this capacity until 1883. From 1877 he was one of the commissioners of the "Jacques" and other funds of the hospital, and chairman of the committee.

1852.—JOHN E. HATHAWAY, M.D., son of Samuel Hathaway, was born in Worcester in 1828. In 1846 he left home to take a position in the apothecary store of Theodore Metcalf & Co., in Boston, and not long after received an appointment as house apothecary to the Massachusetts General Hospital. Here he became interested in medical pursuits, and, connecting himself with the Tremont Street Medical School, began the study of medicine. As a student he took high rank, and received the Boylston prize. He was for a few months house physician at the hospital, and graduated from Harvard with the medical class of 1852. In the same year he came to Worcester, and, after the usual struggle of the young doctor, had just acquired a good practice when, in 1859, the first symptoms of the disease from which he afterwards died, appeared. Receiving no benefit from either the South or Europe, in April, 1861, he removed to Shrewsbury, to try the effect of an out-door life, but gradually sank, and died January 12, 1862, at the age of thirty-four. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, of the Worcester Society for Medical Improvement, and from 1855 to 1858 secretary of the District Medical Society.

1854.—J. MARTIN RICE, M.D., was born in Milford, N. Y., July 31, 1827; he graduated in medicine at Castleton, Vt., in 1853, and, after a year spent in the hospitals of London and Paris, opened an office in Worcester. He was for several years city physician, and in 1859 was appointed coroner by Governor Banks, which position he held until the coroner system was abandoned, since which time he has been "medical examiner" for this district. In 1861 he examined recruits for the Twenty-first Regiment, and went with it as far as Annapolis, but declined a commission and returned, to become surgeon of the Twenty-fifth, with which he went to the front September 16th. He served throughout the war, and spent the summer of 1865 as health officer to the port of Norfolk. At the battle of Roanoke Island he was wounded in the chest. While on outpost duty near Newbern, N. C., in 1863, he was captured and spent six weeks in Libby Prison. He was successively regimental, brigade and division surgeon, acting medical inspector of the Eighteenth Army Corps, and medical inspector of the Army of the James. At the expiration of his term of enlistment his application to be mustered out was returned, endorsed as follows: "The services of this officer are so valuable that his application is returned in the hope that he will retain his present appointment, with the assurance that he shall be mustered out at any future

time, should he so desire." Dr. Rice is a member of the American Medical Society of Paris; of the Massachusetts Medico-Legal Society, and of the Royal Geographical Society of London. He served fifteen years as surgeon to the City Hospital, and is now a member of the consulting board. During 1879-80, and again in 1880-81, he represented Ward Eight in the Legislature.

1855.—FRANK H. RICE, M.D., born in Rowe, Mass., in 1831, graduated at the Medical School at Woodstock, Vt., in 1854. From 1857-64 he was assistant physician at the Lunatic Hospital, and from 1864-71 in general practice in the city. In the latter year he removed to Passaic, N. J., where he still remains.

1856.—JOSEPH N. BATES, M.D., was born in Barre, March 16, 1811, and began the study of medicine with his father, Dr. Anson Bates, of that town, in 1829. He attended lectures at Bowdoin, Me., in Philadelphia, and at the Dartmouth Medical School, where he graduated in 1831. For twenty-five years he practised medicine in Barre, and was well and favorably known throughout the whole of that section of country. In 1856 he came to Worcester, and in 1861 went to the front as surgeon of the Fifteenth Regiment, but was forced by ill health to resign in July, 1862. He remained in Worcester in active practice until his death, February 22, 1883, at the age of seventy-two. He was a permanent member of the American Medical Association, a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and, in 1857-58 a trustee of the State Lunatic Hospital. A son of Dr. Bates is now in practice in Baltimore.

1856.—THOMAS H. GAGE, M.D., is the son of Dr. Leander Gage, of Waterford, Me., where he was born May 22, 1826. He studied medicine at the Tremont Street Medical School, in Boston, and at the Harvard Medical School, where he graduated in 1852. He was for one year house-surgeon at the Massachusetts General Hospital. From 1853-56 he practiced in Sterling. In 1856-57 he was assistant physician at the State Lunatic Hospital in Worcester, and has since that time been in general practice here. In 1880 he delivered the annual address before the Massachusetts Medical Society, of which he was in 1881-82 vice-president, and in 1886-88 president. He was for nine years a member of the visiting staff of the City Hospital, for seven years a member of the consulting staff, since 1880 has been one of its trustees and is now the president of the board. Of the Memorial Hospital and Washburn Dispensary he was one of the original trustees under the will, and is vice-president of the board. Since 1876 he has been a trustee of the State Lunatic Hospital and of the Asylum for the Chronic Insane, is a trustee of the Old Men's Home, of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, a director of the City National Bank and of the State Safe Deposit Company, a past member of the Worcester Fire Society, member of

the American Antiquarian Society, and medical director and vice-president of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company.

1858.—ANSON HOBART, M.D., A.B. (Williams, 1836), was born in Columbia, N. H., in 1814. He fitted for college at the Meriden Academy. After graduating, he taught school for some years in Freehold, N. J., and then studied medicine with Dr. Lloyd, of that place. He graduated at Castleton, Vt., in 1843, spent some months in study in New York, and began practice in Southborough, where he remained fourteen years. In 1858 he came to Worcester, where he has since remained.

1858.—SAMUEL F. HAVEN, JR., M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1852), son of Samuel F. Haven, so long librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, was born at Dedham May 20, 1831. He studied medicine with Dr. Henry Sargent, and at the Harvard Medical School, from which he graduated in 1855. In the school he took a leading position and received the Boylston prize. One year was spent as house physician in the Massachusetts General Hospital, and two in study in Europe, where he particularly devoted himself to diseases of the eye, visiting London, Paris, Vienna and Berlin. On his return, in 1858, he opened an office in Boston, but soon removed to Worcester. In 1861 he went out as assistant surgeon of the Fifteenth Regiment, and in July, 1862, was appointed surgeon, on the resignation of Dr. Bates. At the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13th of the same year, he was assigned to hospital duty, but, at his own earnest request, was allowed to go forward with his men, and while caring for the wounded, was so severely injured by a shell that he died on the field four hours later. His death in such a manner, at the age of thirty-one, made a profound impression, and his funeral in Worcester, December 24th, resembled that of some man long in public life. Flags were everywhere at half-mast, the Home Guards performed escort duty, and eight of the oldest physicians in the city acted as bearers.

1859.—PETER E. HUBON, M.D., was born in Ireland about 1833. In 1848 he came to this country, by his own exertions acquired an education, studied medicine and graduated from the Albany Medical School in 1858. He was, for a few months, in practice in Springfield, but in 1859 came to Worcester, where he was the first, and for many years the only, Irish physician. In 1861 he was city physician. He served throughout the war in various regiments, being promoted for efficiency to the position of "Surgeon of Division." He resigned in 1865, and, after spending six months in Europe, resumed practice in Worcester, where he remained until his death, March 3, 1880. From 1865-71 he was in charge of the Sisters' Hospital on Shrewsbury Street.

1865.—ALBERT WOOD, M.D., B.S. (Darmouth, 1856), son of Samuel Wood, born in Northborough, Mass., February 19, 1833, taught school from 1856-

59, and then entered the Harvard Medical School, from which he graduated in 1862. He was assistant surgeon of the Twenty-ninth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers from July, 1862, to August, 1863; surgeon of the First Massachusetts Cavalry from August, 1863, to November, 1861; and acting staff surgeon to the close of the war, when he settled in Worcester. He was city physician five years, surgeon at the City Hospital ten years and is now one of the trustees. He is now, and has been for thirteen years, treasurer of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital and, since 1877, of the Worcester Insane Asylum. He has been superintendent of the Washburn Dispensary since 1874, and is a trustee of the Memorial Hospital. He was director of the Public Library six years, and for one year a member of the State Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity. He is a director of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company, surgeon to Post 10, G. A. R., and a member of the Loyal Legion. He is one of the Board of Pension Examiners, connected with various medical societies, and councillor of the State Society.

1865.—GEORGE E. FRANCIS, M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1858), son of James B. Francis, was born in Lowell May 29, 1838. He began the study of medicine in 1859 at the Harvard Medical School and Chelsea Marine Hospital. From June to September, 1861, he was assistant surgeon at Fortress Monroe. In May, 1862, he was appointed house surgeon in the Massachusetts General Hospital. From August to October, 1862, he was at the front as volunteer surgeon. Receiving his medical degree from Harvard in 1863, he was, in May, appointed assistant surgeon in the navy. He served in the West, chiefly on the Mississippi River and at Cairo, and was in the Red River expeditions. He resigned his commission in October, 1865, and has since been in practice in Worcester. He is a member of various medical societies and councillor of the State Society. For a short time he was connected with the Washburn Dispensary, has been fifteen years surgeon to the City Hospital and is consulting surgeon to the Memorial Hospital. He is a member of the Antiquarian and Worcester Fire Societies, has served one term as director of the Public Library and was for some years a member of the School Board.

1866.—EMERSON WARNER, M.D., A.B. (Wesleyan, 1856), was born in New Braintree in April, 1831. For five years he was instructor in Wilbraham Academy. Studying medicine as opportunity offered, he entered the Harvard Medical School in 1861, and graduated in 1863. He practised three years in Shrewsbury, and then removed to Worcester. He has been connected with the Washburn Dispensary and is consulting surgeon to the Memorial Hospital. He has been surgeon of the City Hospital seventeen years and is a councillor of the Massachusetts Medical Society. For twenty years he was a member of the School Board, and in 1883-84 and again in 1884-85

represented Ward 7 in the Legislature. During the latter term he was chairman of the committee on public health.

1866.—JOHN G. PARK, M.D., A.B. (Harvard, 1858), was born in Groton, Mass., in 1838. He studied medicine three years at the Harvard Medical School, and in 1861 was appointed *interne* in the Massachusetts General Hospital. In February, 1862, he became assistant surgeon in the navy, and served until November, 1865, when he was honorably discharged. He took his medical degree in 1866, and opened an office in Worcester. Five years later he was appointed superintendent of the Worcester City Hospital on Front Street. The next year (1872) he became assistant superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital, in 1877 superintendent of the Asylum for the Chronic Insane and in 1879 superintendent of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital. He spent the summer of 1881 in Europe, devoting special attention to English methods for the care and management of lunatics. He is consulting physician to both the Memorial and City Hospitals.

1867.—H. Y. SIMPSON, M.D., was born in New Hampton, N. H., September 13, 1843. After one year's study at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, and two in the Harvard Medical School, where he received his degree, he opened an office in Worcester. He was one of the original members of the City Hospital staff, but resigned, and, at the same time, withdrew from the profession in 1872.

1869.—WESLEY DAVIS, M.D., was born in Northfield, Vt., September 15, 1841. His father's death, in 1862, closed abruptly his academy life and plans for college. In 1863 he joined the army, was detailed as hospital steward, and until the end of the war remained at the base of supplies of the Army of the Potomac. He studied medicine with Dr. Bradford, of Northfield, Vt., and attended lectures at the University of Vermont, taking his degree at the Berkshire Medical School in 1866. For three years he practised in Westport, N. Y., since then in Worcester. He is a councillor of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and since 1881 has been physician to the City Hospital.

1886.—WORCESTER MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.—October 27, 1886, a general meeting of the Worcester members of the Massachusetts Medical Society was called "to consider the formation of an association to supplement the work of the district society." Such an association was formed. Bi-monthly and monthly meetings are held, at each of which a paper on some medical subject is presented and discussed. Dr. Merriek Bemis has been president for the past two years and Dr. A. C. Getchell secretary. All Worcester members of the Massachusetts Medical Society are eligible for membership, together with those living within a radius of fifteen miles.

Among the numerous other physicians here for

short periods only were John Homans, afterwards of Boston, for a few months in 1815; Erasmus D. Miller (in 1838-39), afterwards successful in Dorchester, Mass.; Henry Bigelow (son of Captain Lewis Bigelow), A.B. (Harvard, 1836), M.D. (Harvard, 1839), afterwards a leading man in Newton; Amory Hunting, here for four or five years about 1840, and then in Kansas; H. F. Johnson, with a large business, from 1840 to 1849; Henry G. Davis (in 1839-41), later of New York, where he became known as an orthopedist; John R. Lee, assistant physician at the Lunatic Hospital from 1842 to 1854; E. A. Smith, nephew of Dr. Chandler, assistant at the hospital from 1852 to 1857, and later assistant to Dr. Kirkbride in Philadelphia, now living in New York City; Frederick Heywood, born in Worcester, June 30, 1823, A.B. (Dartmouth, 1845), M.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1848), who soon went to Central America, where he died in 1855; H. C. Prentiss, A.B. (Harvard, 1854), at the hospital from 1858 to 1863, now of Boston; C. W. Whitcomb, for many years in practice in Barre; Joseph Draper, M.D. (Jefferson, 1858), since 1873 superintendent of the Vermont State Lunatic Hospital, who was assistant at the hospital here from 1865 to 1870; H. O. Palmer, M.D., for the last sixteen years in practice in Hubbardston, who was in general practice here from 1867 to 1870, and assistant at the asylum in 1870-71; Dr. L. S. Dixon, now of Boston, was in practice here from 1871 to 1887; Dr. G. J. Bull, now of Paris, France, from 1874 to 1881, and Dr. W. H. Workman, now of Nantucket, from 1873 to 1887.

HOSPITALS.—The first, and for more than one hundred years the only, hospitals were those for the treatment of the small-pox. Patients with this disease were, in the epidemic of 1752, and later, taken to Dr. Robert Crawford's house on the Green Hill farm. In 1776, when four per cent. of the inhabitants died (which in 1888 would mean three thousand deaths from the disease), Dr. Joseph Lynde had charge of the hospital. In 1794 so severe was the epidemic that several hospitals were opened in various parts of the town, and placed under the supervision of Dr. Elijah Dix. One of these stood near Nelson Place, in the northern part of the city, where a head-stone in a field still marks a solitary grave. Dr. Jenner's discovery of the protection afforded by vaccination in 1798 and the gradual abandonment of inoculation, made the small-pox hospital of less and less importance, and the present pest-house of the city of eighty thousand persons is little, if any, larger than was that of the hamlet of fifteen hundred. In 1888 five thousand dollars were appropriated for the purchase of land and the building of a hospital for contagious diseases. This appropriation has not yet been used.

STATE HOSPITALS.—1832.—*Worcester Lunatic Hospital* (formerly *State Lunatic Hospital*).—The opening of this hospital was a notable event, as it

was the third insane asylum in New England, antedated only by the Hartford Retreat and the McLean Asylum, in Charlestown, and was the first lunatic hospital established by a State government in this country, primarily for the reception of patients "who had committed deeds, which, committed by persons in sane mind, are heinous crimes, of pauper lunatics, & of those who at large would be dangerous to the community." A large proportion of the one hundred and sixty-three patients admitted during the first year after it was opened had been confined in jails and almshouses, many of them in chains, and for long periods of time—some of them for more than twenty years.

Its establishment was largely due to the exertions of the Hon. Horace Mann, who, representing the town of Dedham in the Legislature in 1829, reported orders for the "appointment of a committee to ascertain the practicability of procuring an asylum for the keeping of lunatics and persons furiously mad, and to ascertain from the various towns of the Commonwealth the number, age, sex and color of persons reported to be lunatics." Two hundred and sixty-nine insane persons were found in jails, almshouses and other places, besides sixty in Charlestown (McLean Asylum).

In 1830 it was determined to build, and the town of Worcester having, at an expense of two thousand five hundred dollars, purchased and presented to the State twelve acres of land to build here, thirty thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose. To this sum twenty thousand dollars was afterwards added for furnishing. March 24, 1832, the Governor and Council appointed, as the first board of trustees, Horace Mann, Bezaleel Taft, Jr., William B. Calhoun, Eben Francis and Alfred D. Foster. Francis C. Gray was appointed in place of Mr. Francis, who declined to serve. Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, of Wethersfield, Conn., was selected as "Superintendent & Physician." The centre building of the Summer Street Asylum and two wings, ninety feet long and three stories high, were built on what is described as "land of a singularly regular and beautiful location, commanding a view of the town and the rich surrounding country, sufficiently near to the market, and yet so retired as to be secure from improper intrusion or disturbance, and within a short distance of the head-waters of the Blackstone Canal." The first patient was received January 19, 1833, and by the end of the year the hospital was full to overflowing. Two lateral wings were built in 1835, and other additions were made from time to time, generally by legislative action, but, in one notable instance, by private generosity,¹ until, in 1877, the number of patients had risen from one hundred and twenty to over four hundred. In the mean time the

¹ The Johnsonot gift, from which two wings of three wards each were built.

new hospital on Belmont Street had been built on land purchased by the State of various private owners at an expense of \$110,000 (the buildings costing enough to bring the total cost of the completed hospital to nearly \$1,200,000), and to it the patients were in this year transferred.

Two large wards for suicidal cases have been built since that time; otherwise the hospital remains as then planned. Eight hundred patients can now be accommodated. Fifteen thousand have received treatment since 1833. The number of trustees has been increased to seven, two of whom are ladies.

The superintendents have been: Samuel B. Woodward, M.D., 1832-46; George Chandler, M.D., 1846-56; Merrick Bemis, M.D., 1856-72; Barnard D. Eastman, M.D., 1872-79; John G. Park, 1879. There are at present five assistant physicians,—Dr. Alfred I. Noble, Dr. Frederick H. Daniels, Dr. Hartstein W. Page, Dr. Elmer E. Brown and Dr. Laure Hulme.

1877.—*Worcester Insane Asylum* (formerly Temporary Asylum for the Chronic Insane at Worcester).—After the transfer of patients to the new buildings of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital the deserted Summer Street Asylum was converted into an hospital for the chronic insane, and opened for this purpose under the superintendence of Dr. John G. Park, October 23, 1877. The inmates consist only of "such chronic insane as may be transferred thereto from other hospitals by the Board of State Charities." No private patients are or can be received. It was supposed that the Worcester Lunatic Hospital would eventually furnish accommodations for this class of patients and that the old buildings would be abandoned. Such has not proved to be the case, and in the ten years since its establishment nine hundred and twenty-three patients have been received. The hospital can accommodate about four hundred patients, and is kept constantly full. Dr. H. M. Quinby succeeded Dr. Park as superintendent, in 1879. Dr. Ernest V. Scribner, appointed in 1884, is assistant physician; Dr. Albert Wood, treasurer. The trustees are the same as for the Worcester Lunatic hospital.

1864.—*Dale United States Army General Hospital*.—Established by order of the War Department, in the spring of 1864, and designed to receive chiefly soldiers from Massachusetts regiments. This hospital was formally dedicated February 22, 1865, in the presence of the Governor and his staff, and many gentlemen distinguished in military and civil life. The brick Academy building on Providence Street served as a nucleus for offices, etc., and in the rear were erected fourteen wooden pavilions, each one hundred and sixty by thirty feet, all connected by a corridor along the frontage, and that again with the main building. Stables, carpenter shop and bakery were also built. The whole would accommodate one thousand patients, but there were never more than six hundred in the hospital at any one time.

Dr. C. N. Chamberlain, now of Lawrence, was in

charge from August, 1864, to October, 1865, when he left the service, and was succeeded by Surgeon Warren Webster, United States Army, who remained a few months longer, soon after which, the emergency for which the hospital was created having passed, it was discontinued.

The name, Dale Hospital, was in compliment to the surgeon-general of Massachusetts.

1871.—*City Hospital*.—Dr. Albert Wood, city physician, in his annual report to the city government in 1870, strongly advised the establishment, by the city, of a hospital to accommodate at least twenty-five patients.

After much agitation of the subject, an act of Legislature (approved May 25, 1871) provided that the city of Worcester might "establish and maintain a hospital for the reception of persons who, by misfortune or poverty, should require relief during temporary sickness."

The Abijah Bigelow estate, on the northwest corner of Front and Church Streets, was rented and the old house altered to accommodate eight to ten persons. Dr. John G. Park was appointed superintendent of a staff of twelve physicians chosen, and the first patient received October 26th of the same year. The building was immediately crowded, and during the last three months of the first year twenty patients were rejected for want of room. In March, 1872, Mr. George Jaques, always interested in the hospital project, and secretary of the Board of Trustees, presented to the city the deed of three and a half acres of land, valued at thirty-five thousand dollars, on the south side of Prince Street (Jaques Avenue), as a site for a hospital. He died in August of the same year, leaving the bulk of his property—of the estimated value of over two hundred thousand dollars—for the furtherance of the same object.

This property included a large tract of real estate on Wellington and Chandler Streets, and in January, 1874, the Front Street property was abandoned and the hospital transferred to the Jaques homestead, on Wellington Street, as quieter and more commodious. This building stood at the head of the present Jaques Avenue. Sixteen patients could now be cared for, but there was still constant demand for more room, and in 1876 two pavilions of wood were added to the house, one accommodating eight and the other five patients. By the terms of Mr. Jaques' bequest, the city was obliged to pay a forfeit of two hundred dollars a month until a permanent building should be erected on the site bequeathed for that purpose. Strong objections to this site existed in certain quarters, but work on a permanent structure was begun in 1880, and, December 8, 1881, the patients were transferred to the present building, then consisting of the administrative building, and the two wards, known as F and M, with kitchen and laundry.

In 1882 an isolating ward—now a corridor—was added. In 1884 a new isolating ward of wood was built, and in 1885 the gift of Mrs. Sarah Gill and Mr. Stephen Salisbury enabled the trustees to build the Gill and Salisbury wards—both imperatively demanded by the great increase in applications for admission. A bequest of Mrs. Helen C. Knowles, of the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars, became available in 1887, and in 1888 the Knowles Lying-in Ward, admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is designed, was erected and is now in operation as part of the hospital. In seventeen years the number of beds has been increased from eight to sixty, and the yearly number of admissions from one hundred and sixty-nine to eight hundred and forty-five. A training-school for nurses was established in 1883; during the last year extensive improvements were made in kitchen and general arrangements, and the hospital may now fairly be considered to fill the place, not only of a city, but, to a large extent, of a county hospital,¹ many of its patients coming from the neighboring and more distant towns.

More than six thousand patients have been treated since it was opened. Dr. John G. Park was superintendent in 1871-72, Dr. L. Wheeler in 1872-74, Dr. C. A. Peabody in 1874-76, Dr. J. B. Rich in 1876-81, and Dr. C. A. Peabody from 1881 to the present time.

Of the original visiting staff, Drs. E. Warner and G. E. Francis still remain; Drs. J. G. Park and H. Y. Simpson resigned in 1872, Dr. Gage in 1880, Dr. Martin in 1882, Drs. R. Woodward and G. A. Bates in 1883, Drs. Wood and J. N. Rice in 1886, while Drs. H. Clarke and J. N. Bates died while still members, the former in 1880 and the latter in 1883. Vacancies thus occasioned were filled by the appointments of Drs. J. O. Marble and L. Wheeler in 1872, Drs. J. B. Rich and C. A. Peabody in 1880, Drs. W. H. Workman and Wesley Davis in 1881, Dr. O. H. Everett in 1883, Dr. S. B. Woodward in 1886 and Dr. A. C. Getchell in 1888.

At present the staff consists of—physicians: Drs. J. O. Marble, Wesley Davis, J. B. Rich, A. C. Getchell; Surgeons: E. Warner, G. E. Francis, O. H. Everett, S. B. Woodward. Dr. Dixon, oculist and aurist from 1874, was succeeded in 1888 by Dr. D. Harrower, Jr., and Dr. W. H. Danforth was appointed pathologist. Dr. L. Wheeler has charge of the Knowles Maternity Ward. On the consulting staff are Drs. Martin, J. M. Rice and J. G. Park.

The Board of Government consists of seven trustees, chosen by the City Council in concurrence in

January,—one from the Board of Aldermen, two from the Common Council and four from the citizens at large. On this board the medical profession has been represented by Drs. Sargent, Kelly, Gage and Wood.

PRIVATE HOSPITALS.—1863.—*Wellington Hospital*.—From January to October, 1863, Mr. Timothy W. Wellington maintained, at his own expense, on Mason Street, a hospital for sick and disabled soldiers. There were accommodations for thirty persons, and, perhaps, one hundred in all received treatment and care. "Dr." Lunsford Lane, once a slave, was in charge and was assisted by his wife and daughter. Dr. O. Martin, who, as surgeon of the board of enrollment, had charge of everything medical or surgical pertaining to soldiers in this Congressional district, visited the sick as opportunity offered, other physicians occasionally assisting.

1867.—*Sisters of Mercy Hospital*.—In January, 1867, Rev. John J. Power, pastor of St. Anne's Church, on Shrewsbury Street, opened, in the building next east of that structure, a hospital for the benefit of girls living out in service. To "encourage providence and maintain self-respect," a trifling monthly sum (twenty-five cents) was required by which the payer became entitled to a bed, nursing and medicine in time of sickness. Eighty-three hundred dollars was obtained by a fair held in October, 1866, and the hospital remained in operation until the City Hospital was opened in 1871. About fifteen patients were treated each year; the nursing was done by the Sisters of Mercy. Dr. Peter E. Hubon was in regular attendance, but the institution received visits from other physicians of the city, many of whom offered their services.

1872.—*Herbert Hall*, a private hospital for mental disease, established by Dr. Merrick Bemis, who still manages it, is situated on Salisbury Street, near the Highland School.

1874.—*Washburn Free Dispensary*.—By the will of Ichabod Washburn, who died in 1869, a generous sum was left in the hands of trustees to be expended in the foundation and maintenance of a hospital and dispensary in memory of his deceased daughters. When, in 1873, the bequest became available, the City Hospital was in operation, and, as another would at that time have been superfluous, it was determined, after ineffectual attempts to consolidate the interests of the two institutions, to open the dispensary only. Accordingly the building on Front Street, just vacated as a hospital, was secured and the dispensary maintained there, and at the building No. 11 Trumbull Street until 1888, when it was transferred to a house fitted up for it, on the grounds of the Memorial Hospital on Belmont Street. Physicians are in attendance daily from 11.30 to 1, Sundays and holidays excepted. Patients unable to come to the dispensary are visited at their homes.

In the fourteen years since it was established about

¹ In 1880 great efforts were made for the establishment of a county hospital here, but sufficient money could not be secured. Dr. Wilder, of Leominster, first presented the subject at a meeting of the District Medical Society.

thirty-five thousand poor persons have received medical advice and treatment, to whom eighty thousand visits and consultations have been given.

The attending physicians at present are Drs. O. H. Everett, David Harrower, Jr., A. C. Getchell, W. H. Danforth and Homer Gage. Drs. E. Warner, G. E. Francis, L. S. Dixon, L. Wheeler, W. H. Workman, S. B. Woodward and L. F. Woodward have at various times been members of the staff.

1888.—*The Memorial Hospital*, incorporated under the will of Ichabod Washburn, April 20, 1871. This hospital was first opened in June, 1888, in the Samuel Davis house on Belmont Street. It is designed exclusively for women and children, and can accommodate eighteen patients. Since it was opened it has been quite constantly full, and additional buildings will evidently be needed in the near future. Miss F. F. Rice is superintendent. The visiting staff of six physicians includes: For women, Dr. L. Wheeler, Dr. O. H. Everett, Dr. S. B. Woodward; for children, Dr. L. F. Woodward, Dr. G. O. Ward, Dr. Homer Gage.

MISCELLANEOUS.—1850.—*Worcester Medical Institution* (Worcester Medical School, Worcester Botanical-Medical College).—This school, for which the many turreted building on Providence Street now occupied by the Worcester Academy was originally erected in 1850–51, was founded by the efforts of Dr. Calvin Newton, for the instruction of those practitioners of medicine variously known as Thompsonians, Beachites, eclectics and botanic physicians. Courses of lectures had been given in rooms in Waldo block in 1846–47; an act of incorporation was obtained from the Legislature March 10, 1849; finally sufficient funds were secured to build a school on land given for the purpose by John W. Pond. Instruction was given by a full faculty, and in 1851 a class of fourteen was graduated, while nearly two hundred students had been in attendance since 1846, some from States as remote as Mississippi, Indiana and Tennessee. The school collapsed from want of patronage soon after the death of Dr. Newton, always its leading spirit.

The Worcester Water Cure, established by Dr. Seth Rogers in 1851 in a building rented by him of Mr. Edward Earle on Fountain Street, was maintained there with varying success until Dr. Rogers' withdrawal from the city in 1864. (See biographical notice of Dr. Seth Rogers.)

1877.—*Board of Health*.—This important board, established in accordance with legislative enactment in 1877, consists of three members, of which the city physician is *ex officio* one. The remaining two are appointed biennially by the mayor and aldermen. Its duties involve the abatement of nuisances, investigation and regulation of contagious diseases, and general oversight of all that pertains to the health of the city.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

HOMŒOPATHY.

BY CHARLES L. NICHOLS, M.D.

JOSEPH BIRNSTILL had the honor of introducing the practice of homœopathy to the citizens of Worcester in the year 1844. His office was in the west side of the house on Walnut Street, at the corner of Maple Street, and he continued here in practice until 1847. He then removed to Boston, where he remained for several years in active work, until his removal to Newton, where he died in 1865.

J. K. CLARK came to Worcester May 8, 1849, and remained here until 1855, when he removed to Elizabeth City, Ohio, and thence, in 1858, into Kentucky. A few years later he moved to Sacramento, Cal., where he continued to practice for a number of years.

DR. BUGBEE was in practice here in 1853 and 1854, and then removed to Warren, Vt., where he died in 1859.

LEMUEL B. NICHOLS was born in Bradford, N. H., October 6, 1816. His father though a physician of considerable skill and attainments, had destined him for a farmer's life, but literary tastes and hereditary instinct prevailed and he entered Brown University and graduated in 1842. The next four years he spent in teaching, and was instrumental in raising the grade of the public schools of Providence. While there he married Lydia C. Anthony, daughter of James Anthony, a prominent manufacturer in Providence. In consequence of the sickness of his family he became acquainted with homœopathic practice and studied its principles with Drs. Okie and Preston in that city. After the required amount of study he received his degree as a regular physician, in 1848, at the Philadelphia College of Medicine. In 1849 he came to Worcester, where he practiced as a homœopathic physician until the time of his death. Although slight in form and delicate in appearance, in consequence of his sedentary life, he possessed a wonderful constitution and great power of endurance. His quiet confidence and ready sympathy won him a large place in the public heart and gave him an extensive practice from the beginning. His death, September 28, 1883, left a wide circle of friends and patients to deplore their loss. He was one of the founders of the Worcester County Homœopathic Medical Society, and was its first president in 1866. It was his custom to avoid all public office and to confine himself strictly to the limits of professional life, seeking to elevate his chosen profession by steady, conscientious effort.

J. E. LINNELL was born at Orleans, Barnstable County, Mass., June 9, 1822. He removed to Amherst at the age of sixteen, and was educated at

Amherst College. Having studied medicine with the late Dr. L. J. Gridley, of Amherst, he obtained his diploma at the Medical Department of Dartmouth College in 1844. He began the practice of medicine in Prescott, Mass., in the spring of 1845, where he remained for one year and then formed a partnership with Dr. Wood, of East Douglas. Soon after this, in consequence of the death of Dr. Wood, he succeeded to his extensive practice, covering a large circle of families. The long rides, extending often into Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the constant strain of work at the end of nine years rendered it necessary for him to withdraw for a time. During this resting time, his attention being called to the favorable effects of homœopathic treatment, he attended a course of lectures at the Homœopathic Medical College of Philadelphia, and then settled in Worcester, January 1, 1855, as a homœopathic physician. For ten years he continued practice here in connection with Dr. L. B. Nichols, but again in consequence of failing health he was obliged to retire and gave up his practice to Dr. W. B. Chamberlain. He removed, in 1865, to Norwich, Conn., as general agent of the New York Life Insurance Company, but feeling again recruited, in a few years resumed his practice, which was continued until 1886. Since that time, his health being seriously impaired, he has withdrawn from active practice. He married, November 27, 1848, Fanny A. Graves, of Sunderland, Mass. He was a member of the Massachusetts Homœopathic Medical Society for many years and was, in 1864, president of that society. By his kindly and sympathetic manner he attracted many friends, and by his careful and conscientious treatment he aided materially the establishment of homœopathy in this city.

JOHN B. MOORE was born in Concord, N. H. After his academic education he studied medicine in the office of Dr. Alpheus Morrill in his native town. He came to Worcester in 1869, but in consequence of the death of his father a year later he returned to Concord, where he still continues in active practice.

W. E. RICHARDS practiced in Worcester during the years 1868-69. In 1870 he removed to Syracuse, N. Y., but the climate proving too harsh, he settled in Boston, where his practice was very extensive. He spent much of his time, also, in extending the advantages of homœopathic practice to the poor in the dispensaries; but a few years ago, his health being broken down by work and necessary exposure, he retired to Newton, where he now resides.

DAVID HUNT, born in Providence, received his degree at Harvard Medical School and began practice in Worcester as a homœopathic physician in 1868. Soon after his marriage he removed to Boston, where he was associated with Dr. I. T. Talbot for a short time. After several years of study in this country and abroad he returned to Boston, where he has since practiced as a specialist in dis-

eases of the eye. He was an active, earnest worker settled in Worcester.

WM. B. CHAMBERLAIN was born in Loudon, N. H., September 15, 1827. After a good academic education at Tilton, he entered as student of medicine in 1849 the office of Dr. Alpheus Morrill, in Concord, N. H. With him and with Dr. S. M. Cate, of Augusta, Me., as preceptors, he studied during the intervals of lectures at the Dartmouth Medical School. Later he attended a course at the Cleveland Medical College, where he graduated in 1854. He at once settled in Keene, N. H., where he remained until May, 1863. He was one of the first to introduce homœopathy to that part of the State, and by his natural qualities and earnest labors he succeeded in making the new method very popular, as well as in gathering for himself an extensive field of practice. His health giving way under the strain, he was obliged to resign his work. He went to Fitchburg for a few months to assist his brother-in-law, Dr. J. C. Freeland, and thence to New York to study in the hospitals and gain a much-needed rest. On January 1, 1866, he was called to Worcester to take the field of Dr. J. E. Linnell, and has remained here since that time. He was one of the founders of the Worcester County Homœopathic Medical Society, was twice its president and was, in 1872, president of the Massachusetts Homœopathic Medical Society. Since the beginning of his labors in Worcester he had associated with him some other physician, either as partner or assistant, each of whom, in turn, has settled here in independent practice. His ever-ready and generous aid has endeared him to his professional brethren, while his personal qualities and extensive medical knowledge have everywhere surrounded him with numerous friends and a large clientele. Though frequent absences from work have been necessary in consequence of the strain of his professional labors, he has always been overburdened with the number of those seeking his aid as soon as he resumed practice, and he still continues to do good work for the cause of homœopathy, as well as in aid of suffering humanity.

MARY G. BAKER came to Worcester in the fall of 1868, from Middleboro', Mass., where she had been engaged in a large practice in association with her husband. She gained many friends during her labors here, and was engaged in active practice until her death, February, 1880.

JOHN M. BARTON, born in Worcester, September 4, 1845, graduated at the Homœopathic Medical School of Philadelphia in 1870. After two years of practice in Newark, N. J., he came to Worcester in 1872, and was associated with Dr. W. B. Chamberlain for the succeeding three years. Since that time he has engaged in independent practice.

JOHN H. CARMICHAEL, born at Sand Lake, Rensselaer County, N. Y., January 29, 1851, graduated from the Medical Department of Union University in

1874. He settled in Worcester February, 1874, where he remained for two years, and then removed to Warren. After two years of practice in that town, and a year of renewed medical study at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, he returned to Worcester in 1879, where he remained until January, 1883. In 1883 he entered into partnership with Dr. L. A. Phillips, of Boston, but in consequence of the death of Dr. H. A. Collins, of Springfield, he removed to that city, succeeded to his practice, and still continues to enjoy a large field of labor.

FRANCIS BRICK was born in Gardner in 1838, his ancestors being among the original settlers of that town. Having studied with Dr. Sawyer, of his native place, he entered the Homœopathic Hospital College of Cleveland, from which he graduated in 1861. After some years of practice in Keene, N. H., he came to Worcester in 1875, where he took the practice of Dr. Chamberlain for one year during his absence abroad. The subsequent year he remained with Dr. Chamberlain as equal partner, and then established a separate office.

CHARLES L. NICHOLS, born in Worcester, May 29, 1851, studied at the Highland Military School. He graduated at Brown University in 1872, and at Harvard Medical School in 1875. After a year at the Homœopathic Hospital of Ward's Island, New York, he entered the office of his father, Dr. L. B. Nichols, in 1876, and was associated with him until his death, in 1883, when he succeeded to his practice.

C. OTIS GOODWIN was born in Reading, Mass., April 19, 1849. Educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, he studied for some years in the office of Dr. J. N. Bates, of Worcester. He attended the Homœopathic Medical School of Boston University, and graduated in 1877. In the summer of this year he settled in Worcester, where he has remained since that time.

EDWARD L. MELLUS was born in Lubec, Me., May 24, 1848. After being engaged in business in the West for seven or eight years, he determined to enter the medical profession, and studied at Jefferson Medical School, in Philadelphia, whence he graduated in 1878. He settled in Cherry Valley in 1878, where he remained for one year, and then entered the office of Dr. W. B. Chamberlain, with whom he was associated until 1883. Since this time he has been in independent practice.

JOHN K. WARREN was born in Manchester, N. H., March 1, 1846. He graduated at the New York Homœopathic Medical College in 1870, and settled at once in Palmer, Mass. He remained there for nine years and then went abroad for a year's study in the Hospitals, returning to Palmer, where he practiced until 1882. He then came to Worcester in December of that year and has remained until the present time.

ADALINE WILLIAMS graduated from the New York Hospital College for Women in 1880, and came to Worcester after the death of Dr. Mary G. Baker, in

1880. She is now associated with Dr. W. B. Chamberlain.

In addition to those mentioned, several have established themselves in Worcester during the past two years, and the number of homœopathic physicians in the city at this time being fifteen, there seems to be a very satisfactory growth among the public in favor of this method of practice. Among the societies and associations under the auspices of the homœopathic physicians, two only need be noticed here:

1. THE WORCESTER COUNTY HOMŒOPATHIC MEDICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1866, with a membership of eight, to-day numbers forty-five active members and holds its meetings quarterly, at the society rooms, 13 Mechanic Street, where a library of about one thousand volumes has already been collected.

2. THE WORCESTER HOMŒOPATHIC DISPENSARY ASSOCIATION consists of all homœopathic physicians in the city. The meetings, on every alternate week during the winter months, are held at the rooms of the association. The dispensary, established at No. 58 Mechanic Street, October 4, 1880, by the labors of Drs. Charles L. Nichols and J. H. Carmichael, was incorporated January 15, 1885, and is supported by voluntary contributions and by a legacy of the late Mrs. L. J. Knowles. The dispensary rooms are at 13 Mechanic Street, and the hours are from ten to eleven, every forenoon. The work is in charge of the homœopathic physicians of the city, each one of whom has contributed his share of the labors of this charity.

CHAPTER CXC.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MILITARY HISTORY.

BY J. EVARTS GREENE.

DANIEL GOOKIN was the first person of distinction bearing a military title whose name is connected with the history of Worcester. He was appointed in 1665 chairman of the Committee of Proprietors of Lands near Quinsigamond, to promote their settlement. He was appointed in 1681 major-general of the colony, after holding minor military titles for many years. His services were highly esteemed by his associates, as those of a man so justly eminent in the councils and active service of the colony could not fail to be. He never lived here and his part in the founding of Worcester was of a civil rather than a military nature. But no military history of Worcester would be reasonably complete without mention of the name at least of this wise, valiant and humane man.

Worcester, like other early New England settlements, was at first and for many years a military colony. The need and opportunities of defence

against the savage inhabitants of the country were considered in choosing the site of the settlement, and among the earliest buildings were those strong places, fortified against Indian attack, called forts, garrisons or block-houses, built of squared logs so notched or framed at the corners as to fit closely together, and strongly pinned. The entrance was secured by a heavy door of plank. The upper story was made to project two feet or more beyond the lower, with loop-holes for the fire of the garrison, so that an attacking enemy might not take shelter against the walls out of range of the muskets fired from the loop-holes in the lower story. Block-houses so built were proof against arrows or the musketry of that time, and perfectly defensible against any attacking force unprovided with artillery. One of these block-houses was built very early, a little to the north of the present site of Lincoln Square, and on the bank of the brook which from it was called Fort River. Others were built later, one about a mile farther south on the west side of the Leicester road, another to the eastward and still another to the northward of Adams Square. At the last named a long iron cannon was mounted, rather to give the alarm in case of danger than for the effect of its shot upon the enemy.

Scarcely had the first systematic settlement of the town begun, with hopeful prospects, when Philip's War broke out, in 1675. It is unnecessary here to consider its origin or detail its incidents, since Worcester was the scene of scarcely any of its operations nor did its inhabitants, as such, take part in them. The people, few in number, far from succor and in the immediate neighborhood of the haunts of hostile savages, deserted their new homes and took refuge in the older towns. Some of them, however, performed notable feats of valor and leadership. Captain (afterwards major) Daniel Henchman commanded, in April, 1676, a force consisting of three companies of infantry and three of cavalry, co-operating with a force from Connecticut to scour the forests on both sides of the Connecticut River from Hadley northward, to harass the savages and prevent them from fishing there, as was their custom at that season. Lieutenant Ephraim Curtis, described as of Sudbury, was one of Captain Wheeler's company, who were ambushed near Brookfield and suffered great loss, and the survivors of whom were besieged in that town by several hundred Indians. Curtis, after two unsuccessful attempts, eluded the watchfulness of the besiegers and made his way on foot, through the hostile country, at great hazard, to summon relief to the beleaguered garrison.

After the sharp lesson of Philip's War the Indians of the neighborhood were no longer formidable, but the frontier settlements were harried and distressed by the incursions of the Western Indians, the Mohawks from beyond the Hudson, and in Queen Anne's War by the French and Indians from Canada.

Among the other consequences of the arrogant ego-

tism of Louis XIV. were the death or captivity of many hapless people in the frontier towns of Massachusetts and the wasting of their homes. The feeble foothold which civilization had gained in the forests and meadows of Worcester was again relinquished, because a foolish old man on the other side of the Atlantic insisted upon making his grandson King of Spain. The weariness of Europe brought peace to New England, which was weary enough, too, of alarm, ambush and massacre. The peace of Utrecht put an end to the raids from Canada, and Worcester was replanted.

But Captain Francis Nicholson, next in authority to Governor Andros, found some people in Worcester in 1688, for he writes near the end of August in that year that, finding the people disturbed by fears of Indian attacks and especially by the gathering of Indians at two forts not very far away, he sent them word not to quit the place, for they might be sure of help. He then went to Worcester, where he found some few men left and directed them to fortify the place and by no means to quit it. Captain Nicholson also visited the Indian forts, finding the Indians there afraid both of their white neighbors and of strange Indians from the West, and he persuaded them to leave their forts and go down "among the English plantations." But in spite of Captain Nicholson's encouragement and the importance of the place as a station on the road to the settlements on the Connecticut, the settlers here not being strong enough in numbers to defend themselves, again abandoned their homes, and the place lay desolate until the attempt at settlement was renewed in 1713.

Peace prevailed without serious interruption for about nine years, but in 1722 a war, not European, but American, in its origin, began. The disturbers of the peace were the Indian tribes on the north and east, the allies of the French in Canada. Five men of Worcester were employed in the defence of the settlements as scouts in the company of Major John Chandler. Sergeant Benjamin Flagg had two of them under his immediate command in the town; two others were stationed in Leicester. In the next year seven men of Worcester were enlisted as soldiers in the autumn and served through the winter. In 1724 hostile parties of Indians were discovered or suspected in the forests to the north of the town, and the selectmen, representing to the Governor that Worcester, by its position, covering the long interval between Rutland and Lancaster, lay "much exposed to the Indian rebels," petitioned for soldiers to strengthen the front garrisons and to scout the woods as a relief to the inhabitants, who were very much disheartened by reason of the present danger they believed themselves to be in. Otherwise they feared it would be impossible for the garrisons to keep their stations. Other urgent petitions for relief were made during the spring of this year, but it was not given until the summer was well advanced, when nineteen soldiers were

stationed in Worcester and remained here until near the end of October. They had no commissioned officer, but were posted as independent guards under general instructions to keep their stations, watch for the enemy and protect the inhabitants. In the same year Uriah Ward, an enlisted soldier from Worcester, was killed by the Indians at Rutland. No attack was made upon Worcester, though hostile Indians were seen and fired upon by the guard in a garrison-house. In the spring of 1725, again, the people were alarmed by the presence of hostile Indians in the neighborhood and petitioned for succor. Twelve men at least, and perhaps more, were sent by Colonel Chandler, whose military charge embraced this town with others. Indians were seen, but no attacks were made. Captain Samuel Wright, who seems to have been in command, reports in a letter to Colonel Chandler: "We have now taken a method to hunt them with dogs, and have started them out of their thickets twice and see them run out, but at such a distance we could not come at them." The Indian troubles were ended for the time at the close of this year by a treaty made with the Indians.

Since that time no public enemy, unless we may include under that description the force gathered in Shays' Rebellion, has appeared in Worcester. Instead of begging for help to defend their own homes, the people of the town have contributed largely, according to their numbers and their means, to the common defence, and never more generously than in the wars with the French and Indians, which were almost continuous from 1744 to 1763. Up to this time the men enlisted or employed as soldiers in Worcester had but short terms of service, and were not trained or instructed to march in compact bodies or to perform those movements and evolutions which are now required of all military bodies, and proficiency in which is expected of every soldier, and especially of every officer. Such training would then have been useless or worse. The operations of that time seldom required a large force—never more than a few hundred—and the nature of the country in which operations were conducted, covered with dense forests or thickets and deep morasses, intersected only by narrow paths, made movements in close columns impossible, while the skulking tactics of the enemy would have made such movements or regular formations ineffective and disastrous, as General Braddock found in Virginia. They were rather scouts than soldiers. Their equipment was simple, consisting of scarce anything besides the long king's or queen's arm, with a few spare flints and powder-horn and bullet-pouch. Their supplies of ammunition and provisions were carried on pack-horses. All the able-bodied men were enrolled in the militia. Each was required to be constantly provided with a gun in good condition for service and a supply of ammunition. All were practiced in the use of their weapons, and most of them were expert marksmen.

The colonel's command had territorial limits. He was charged with the protection of the towns within his district or within his regiment, as the familiar phrase was. It was his duty to be vigilant, to keep well informed of the condition of his frontier, to repel sudden attacks and to report his doings and news of military importance to his superior officers. He received, from time to time, as occasion required, authority to enlist, or even to impress men, for particular duty.

The officers of his regiment—major, captains, lieutenants and ensigns—were expected to look after the military interests of their respective neighborhoods, to take command according to their rank in case of attack and to report to the colonel all military information. The soldiers specially enlisted, when not employed in expeditions against an enemy in force, were posted at the garrison-houses of the frontier towns, often only one or two at a house. Their duty was to be constantly on the alert, to scour the woods in their front, so as to detect the presence of hostile Indians and, in case of attack, to form a nucleus of defence, to which the inhabitants might rally when the alarm was given. The officers were chosen by the men of their commands. The system, except the substitution of popular election for inherited rank, has a certain resemblance to the feudal military organization, and the duties of the colonel in charge of his portion of the frontier were not unlike those of such mediæval officials as the "Count of the Saxon shore" or the much later "Warden of the marches" on the Scottish border.

Henceforth Worcester, needing no immediate defence, was to contribute to aggressive military operations and to distant expeditions. In the latest Indian war the towns of Worcester, Leicester and Rutland had screened Brookfield and Mendon, which, in Philip's and Queen Anne's Wars, had suffered as frontier towns. Now the frontier had been pushed forward to Concord, New Hampshire, and Charlestown, on the Connecticut. In Massachusetts only Northern Berkshire was exposed to attack from Canada and the Northern Indians. The first of the distant expeditions in which men from Worcester were employed was that of 1745, projected by Governor Shirley and commanded by Sir William Pepperell, for the reduction of the fortress of Louisbourg, Cape Breton, esteemed the strongest place on this continent, described by Bancroft as "the key to the St. Lawrence, the bulwark of the French fisheries and of French commerce in North America." Its walls were forty feet thick at the base, and from twenty to thirty feet high, surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide.

Massachusetts sent for the conquest of this fortress more than three thousand volunteers. Worcester's share, in proportion to her population at that time, would have been, perhaps, eight or nine men. How

many of her townspeople enlisted for that enterprise it is impossible now to ascertain, but it is known that the first-born of her native inhabitants, Adonijah Rice, was one, and that another, Benjamin Gleason, died in the service before the surrender of the place. Here our townspeople first saw and formed part of an army, though it was small, scarcely more than four thousand men, and shared in the labors and dangers of a siege.

In this war, too, there was Indian fighting after the old fashion. Eight Worcester men were of the garrison of Fort Massachusetts, in the winter of 1747-48. This fort stood where Williamstown now is. It was the extreme outpost and had been taken by the French in the year before. The next summer fifty-three Worcester men formed a part of the force of two hundred, under Brigadier Dwight, which took the field to repel an incursion of the French. The enemy retired before them, and the campaign lasted but seventeen days. The officers of the Worcester contingent were Daniel Heywood, major; John Stearns, captain; Tyrus Rice, lieutenant; Richard Flagg, ensign.

The war was brought to an end, in 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, because England and France were just then tired of fighting, and their Colonies in the New World were also well content to rest a while. But, as the treaty settled nothing, and left all the old causes of complaint and quarrel, hostilities were soon resumed—this time for the final death-struggle between England and France for dominion in North America.

In 1754 thirteen Worcester men, under Captain John Johnson, served in Maine, as a part of the garrison of the forts on the Kennebec River. In the next year John Walker, of Worcester, a soldier of experience in the service of the Province, was commissioned captain in the Royal Army. Seventeen men from Worcester served in Nova Scotia, this summer, in the force commanded by the Massachusetts general, John Winslow, and, we must presume, took part in that shameful business—the removal of the Acadians from their homes, which that hard-hearted commander executed with every aggravation of deceit, treachery and cruelty. One thousand of these wretched exiles were distributed among the towns of Massachusetts, and eleven were assigned to Worcester. "These families," says Lincoln, in his "History," "torn from their homes, reduced from comparative affluence to desolate poverty, thrown among strangers of different language and religion, excited pity for their misfortunes. Their industrious and frugal habits and mild and simple manners attracted regard, and they were treated here with great kindness."

In the same year seventeen other Worcester men were stationed at Fort Cumberland; two were in the expedition against Crown Point, and fourteen others volunteered for enlistment in September, when Colonel Chandler was directed to impress men for the reinforcement of the army.

Fifty-five men of Worcester, therefore, appear to have been in the military service in that year. That was the year in which, of the four great expeditions planned against the French, three (that of Braddock for the conquest of the Ohio Valley, that of Shirley against Fort Niagara, and that of Johnson against Crown Point) came to a disastrous end, and only the operations in Nova Scotia were successful.

The year 1756 was a time of great military activity in the colonies, activity of preparation, that is to say, for little was accomplished by the incompetent commanders whom the English Government had sent. Worcester saw more of martial display than it had ever seen before. Colonel Chandler established his regimental headquarters here, and the town was designated as the rendezvous for troops to be mustered into the service. A depot of munitions was made for the arming of the levies as they gathered here to be forwarded to the seat of war, on the western frontier. Detachments of troops arrived, camped for a while on the hills about the town, received their marching orders and were succeeded by others. One company of forty-three men was raised in the town and forty-four others were borne on the rolls of Colonel Rugles' regiment. Many died of disease in the course of the campaign, and three were made prisoners and detained in captivity at Montreal, until the exchange in 1758. After the disastrous surrender of Fort Oswego, Lord Loudoun, commander-in-chief, fearing an attack from the French, now "flushed with success," ordered a levy of the militia for the reinforcement of his army, and the companies of Worcester, under the command of Major James Putnam, marched as far as Westfield, when Lord Loudoun, having got over his fright, countermanded his orders and they returned.

But the spirit of the colonies was not broken by the disasters of that year, and the mother-country was resolved upon the conquest of Canada. On the 20th of July, 1757, Colonel John Chandler, Jr., commanding the First Regiment, made the following report of the condition of his command, which is of interest, as illustrating not only the military demands upon our town, but also the militia system of the time:

Agreeably to an order of the honorable his majesty's council, of the fifth of July last, requiring me to take effectual care that every person, both upon the alarm and train-band lists, within my regiment, and the several stocks in said regiment, be furnished with arms and ammunition according to law, if not already provided; immediately on the receipt of said order, I forthwith sent out my warrant requiring a strict view into the state of the respective companies and town stocks in my regiment, and returns have since been made to me that they are well equipt.

And agreeably to an order of the honorable, his majesty's council of the 6th of June last, requiring me, in case of an alarm being made, or notice given of the approach of an enemy by sea, to cause my regiment to appear complete in arms, with ammunition according to law, and each man to be furnished with seven days' provision of meat, I also sent out my warrant, requiring the several companies, in such case, with the utmost expedition to march to Boston, and further to act agreeably to such orders as they shall receive. Agreeably to the order afore-

said, return has been made from the respective companies that they are ready to march at an hour's warning.

JOHN CHANDLER, JR., Colonel.

Colonel Chandler's regiment, with its Worcester companies, was soon called upon to test its readiness for service. Montcalm, with a force of French and Indians, besieged Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George. General Webb, who was within supporting distance with a sufficient force, and had actually left the fort, with a large escort, just before the place was invested, hesitated and dawdled, and at length sent a letter advising the commander to capitulate. The stout-hearted Colonel Monro held the fort until half his guns were burst and his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and then, on the 9th of August, surrendered. Loudoun, the commander-in-chief, and General Webb were terrified by the prospect of attack from the victorious French army, and Loudoun even talked of retreating to Long Island and there making a stand for the defence of the continent. Colonel Chandler was ordered to march with his regiment to the western frontier. All the militia of the town promptly answered the summons. One company of fifty-six men had for Captain, James Goodwin; for Lieutenant, Noah Jones; for Ensign, Daniel Bancroft, and Nahum Willard as surgeon. The other company, numbering fifty-four men, was commanded by Captain John Curtis, and Luke Brown and Asa Flagg were lieutenant and ensign respectively. With them marched Colonel Chandler and Major Gardner Chandler. But by the time the regiment had reached Sheffield General Webb's terror had abated, the French made no further advance, and the regiment was disbanded on the 18th of August. Eight Worcester men, in a troop of horse commanded by Lieutenant Jonathan Newbold, of Leicester, were in General Webb's army at Fort Edward. Ten from this town, regularly enlisted, served during the campaign.

The incompetent and faint-hearted English commander-in-chief was recalled, and Pitt, the new minister, infused fresh spirit and energy into the councils of his country. He invited the colonies to raise armies for the conquest of Canada, promising that England would provide everything except the levying, pay and clothing of the men, and that the King would strongly recommend to Parliament to make proper compensation for these expenses. Massachusetts answered promptly and generously to this summons. Nine soldiers from Worcester were in the army which General Abercrombie, in the summer of 1758, foolishly wasted in his rash and blundering assault upon Ticonderoga. After his failure, General Amherst, having taken Louisbourg, marched from Boston for the West, with an army of forty-five hundred men. He halted in Worcester, September 17th, for a day, and was here joined by Captain Samuel Clark Paine, with his company, mostly men of Worcester, and having Daniel McFarland for lieutenant,

and Samuel Ward, of Lancaster, for ensign. This company served with the army during the winter and through Amherst's successful campaign of the next year, in which he reduced the fortress of Ticonderoga, and recovered for the English the control of Lake Champlain. In Captain Paine's company were twenty-three non-commissioned officers and privates from Worcester, and fourteen more were in other companies of General Ruggles' regiment. Besides these were William Crawford, chaplain of Colonel Willard's regiment, and Benjamin Stowell, lieutenant in Captain Johnson's company. Captain Paine died in December, 1759, and Lieutenant McFarland succeeded him in command of the company. William Ward was made lieutenant, Ensign Samuel Ward having been promoted to the rank of adjutant of Colonel Willard's regiment. Thomas Cowden, from Worcester, was lieutenant in Captain Jefford's company, which had the names of twelve Worcester men on its rolls. Cowden was made captain in the following year, 1761, and twenty-five Worcester men were in the army in that year. In the last year of the war, 1762, Worcester appears to have had, so far as is known, only nine men in the military service. The population of the town at this time was probably not far from one thousand. From this number she gave to the provincial service between the years 1748 and 1762, according to Lincoln, who made a careful study of the rolls and other records at the State House, which it was not in my power to make, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, six captains, eight lieutenants, seven ensigns, twenty-seven sergeants, two surgeons, one chaplain and one adjutant, besides about four hundred and fifty privates. These numbers do not include those—of whom there were certainly some, but how many cannot be known—who enlisted in the royal army, nor the militia called into service for short terms of active duty. To furnish so much of strength, valor and enterprise required great exertions and sacrifices, and the military rank which so many of its sons attained implied great honor to a little and poor town, which saw but few years of settled peace since its establishment. While sending one-third, at least, of their effective men into the field, the people of Worcester, in common with their fellow-citizens of other Massachusetts towns, were taxing themselves for war expenses to an extent that would be deemed ruinous and intolerable in these days. The tax in one year was, says Bancroft, thirteen shillings and four-pence on the pound of income, besides various excises and a poll-tax of nineteen shillings on every male over sixteen. Such was the martial temper, and such the generous public spirit of our ancestors.

The people of Worcester, and of other towns of New England, were prepared for the great military struggle of the Revolution by almost continuous warfare since the founding of the colony. The Indian war taught them self-reliance, vigilance, mastery of their weapons, endurance and prompt and strenuous action in

emergencies. The later French wars, with their larger armies and the sieges of Louisbourg, Ticonderoga and Quebec, gave them lessons in the art of organizing, disciplining, marching and subsisting a considerable force, in manœuvring in the presence of an enemy, in fighting battles, in the use of artillery, in constructing, defending and attacking fortifications. Very few, if any, of them were masters, or even scholars of the science of war, but many were admirably proficient in the practical duties of the soldier and the officer. Twelve or thirteen years had elapsed, it is true, since the end of the last French war, before the clash of arms at the beginning of the Revolution, and doubtless much the greater number of the men called to arms to maintain the rights of the colonies had no military experience, but many of them had served under Amherst and Abercrombie and Howe in battle and siege. They knew what the King's troops could do, for they had seen and helped them do it. They knew that the man in a red coat, though a good soldier, was no better than his comrade in the dress of the provincial levies, and not always so good. They remembered that the largest and most perfectly-equipped army ever mustered on this continent, commanded by a famous British general, was repulsed with terrible slaughter under the walls of Ticonderoga, and that under the command of a Massachusetts merchant, a much smaller New England army had compelled the surrender of Louisbourg, a much stronger fortress. These veterans leavened the army and preserved it from an inordinate respect for the King's troops.

Political movements tending toward revolt against the authority of the mother country had been in progress for some time when the first action of a military nature was taken, late in the summer of 1774. Some of the Tories of Worcester, about this time, irritated and alarmed by the strong measures adopted by their townsmen, withdrew to Stone House Hill, in the corner of Holden, either for their personal safety, or with some vague notion that the position might be of advantage in case of an advance of the royal army into the interior. They strengthened somewhat the natural defences of the place, and, with their arms and a store of provisions, kept their position for two or three weeks, and then, having no reason for staying longer, they went home. Their stronghold was afterwards known as the Tory Fort. But this was a burlesque of military operations. More serious was the general alarm, given a little later, that hostilities had broken out at Boston, whereupon thousands of the militia set out for that place. In Worcester the companies were summoned and the night was spent in running bullets and in other preparations for the field. In the morning the march was begun and continued as far as Shrewsbury, where advices from Boston were received, showing that the movement was needless. But the incident proved that the people

were ready for resistance, and would not shrink from the conflict of arms, if it must come. The need of preparation was manifest, and it could not wisely be postponed. The Political Society—an organization of patriots, which had for some time taken the management of town affairs—bought two pounds of gunpowder for each of its members, and required each inhabitant to sign an agreement to provide arms and ammunition. Captain Timothy Bigelow enrolled a company of minute-men and drilled them diligently every evening. Muskets had been procured for them in Boston. The town bought four field-pieces, which Jonathan Rice and others, at considerable cost and risk, brought out from Boston, and Captain Edward Craft organized an artillery company. September 21st a convention of the Committees of Correspondence for the towns of the county was held in Worcester, which, among other things, undertook the task of reorganizing the militia. All the subordinate officers were directed to return their commissions to their colonels, and the colonels to publish their resignations in the newspapers. A new division of the militia into regiments was made, the First Regiment including Worcester, Leicester, Holden, Spencer and Paxton. It was directed that the companies should elect their own officers, and that these should meet and elect the colonels and other regimental officers. One-third of the men fit for duty between the ages of eighteen and sixty were to be enrolled, organized into companies and hold themselves ready to march at a minute's warning, and committees were to be chosen to keep them equipped and provisioned should they be called into service. The towns were invited to provide and mount field-pieces, procure ammunition and otherwise make ready for defence. In the general condition of revolt this company of resolute men, the Committee of Correspondence, in harmony with the mass of the people, though without lawful authority, having definite purposes and plans, assumed the power of legislation, and were respected and obeyed accordingly.

Later in the year a depot of munitions and supplies was established here. Provisions of beef, pork, flour and grain were collected; a quantity of lead was procured, and the inhabitants were requested to give their pewter dishes for melting into bullets. In January, 1775, the company of minute-men were exhorted to meet frequently for drill, and payment was promised them for the time so employed. Early in the spring the town was visited by two scouts or spies sent out by General Gage to examine the roads and other features of the country, and report such topographical information, by sketches, plans and descriptions, as might be useful for the guidance of a force advancing into the interior. Those employed for this purpose were Captain Brown, of the Fifty-third Regiment, and Ensign Berniere, of the Tenth. Their report was discovered among the papers left by General Gage after the evacuation of Boston a year later. With it was a plan of the village, with a

sketch of proposed works, among them an entrenched and fortified camp for two regiments on Chandler Hill, to the east of the town. These officers, disguised as countrymen, arrived in the town on a Saturday evening, and remained until Monday morning. Their appearance excited suspicion, and their character was recognized by some of the loyalists; but they took no one into their confidence, and having made all the observations and sketches they wished, went away unmolested.

In March the minute-men were directed to train half a day in each week. Each man was allowed one shilling for this duty, and a fine of like amount was imposed for absence from drill. The company, in fact, met nearly every day, and, under Captain Bigelow's command, paraded in the streets or on the Common in fair weather, and were drilled under shelter when the day was stormy. So efficient was their zealous captain as an instructor that the company, when mustered for service at Cambridge, attracted attention and praise for its discipline and proficiency in military exercises.

The event was at hand for which these preparations had been made. Before noon on the 19th of April, a horseman, dusty and weary with hard riding, galloped through the town, shouting: "To arms! to arms! The war is begun!" His white horse, bloody with spurring and spent with fatigue, fell near the meeting-house. Thus came to Worcester the news of the affair at Concord,—the first encounter of the war whose issue was to be the independence of the United States. The alarm rang out from the meeting-house bell, and the long cannon, which, in the infancy of the town, had given warning, from the block-house north of Adams Square, of the approach of savage enemies, now from the ridge at the back of the court-house roared, from its iron throat, a call of the people to arms, and defiance to King and Parliament. The men of Worcester were ready. Captain Bigelow's company of minute-men reported for duty at once, and were paraded under arms on the Common. The village pastor, the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, invoked the God of battles in their behalf, and the citizen-soldiers marched out, seventy-six in number, besides their commissioned officers, to meet the enemy. Captain Timothy Bigelow was in command; Jonas Hubbard and John Smith were lieutenants; the sergeants were William Gates, Nathaniel Harrington, John Cannaday and William Dana; the corporals, John Pierce, Cyprian Stevens, Joel Smith and Nathaniel Haywood; Eli Putnam beat the drum, and John Hair and Joseph Pierce were fifers. When Captain Bigelow and his minute-men marched, Captain Benjamin Flagg, with William McFarland, lieutenant, and Ebenezer Lovell, ensign, and twenty-eight enlisted men of the militia, was almost ready. They moved within an hour or two, and overtook the minute-men at Sudbury, where they had halted for a short rest. Both

companies then marched on together to Cambridge. There the militia which had assembled was, within a few days, reorganized. Captain Bigelow was appointed major in Colonel Jonathan Ward's regiment. Fifty-nine Worcester men were enrolled in a company under Captain Jonas Hubbard, promoted from lieutenant, and Lieutenants John Smith and William Gates, the latter having been first sergeant in Captain Bigelow's company. Seventeen other Worcester men were enlisted in other companies of the regiments commanded by Colonel Ward and Colonel Doolittle, and twenty more were enrolled in Colonel Thomas Crafts' artillery regiment, in which Edward Crafts, who had organized the Worcester battery, was captain, and William Dana and William Treadwell were lieutenants. Dana had left Worcester a sergeant in Captain Bigelow's company; William Treadwell had marched in the ranks of the same company as a private, and Captain Crafts had marched as a private under Captain Flagg.

The town had now put more than one hundred men into the field, and was pledged to keep them there until their purpose was accomplished. This would require exertions and sacrifices greater than those made in the French wars, which had so drained the resources of the town a few years before. One hundred men, with their equipment and maintenance, certainly bore a larger ratio to the numbers and means of the town than five regiments of a thousand men each, and their support, would bear to its present resources. If they had known from the beginning how long the war would last, and how grievous would be its demands for men and money, perhaps our forefathers would have shrunk from entering upon it. But when the demands came, faster and heavier, for men, for clothing, for provisions, for ammunition and for money, they made the necessary efforts without much flinching. And when, by these efforts and losses, they had achieved the independence of their country, they were not quite exhausted, though inexpressibly glad of the return of peace.

In the army besieging Boston the Worcester men in Colonel Ward's regiment were with the right wing at Dorchester. Fifteen prisoners of war, captured from the British army, were sent to Worcester for safe keeping early in May, and many more came later. They were paroled and encouraged to find work in the town. The Assembly of Massachusetts made provision for their support.

In the months of May and June two requisitions were made upon the town for blankets and clothing for the men in the service—one for thirty guns with bayonets, and one for powder, of which the town supplied three barrels, retaining only half a barrel for its own possible needs. Two cannon, owned by the town, were delivered to the Board of War in November for the defence of Gloucester.

Major Timothy Bigelow, Captain Jonas Hubbard and twelve other men of Worcester were among the

volunteers for Arnold's daring, arduous and futile expedition against Quebec. On the 19th of September they sailed from Newburyport, landing the next day near the present site of Augusta, on the Kennebec. Thence they made their way up that river and across the divide into the valley of the St. Lawrence. The march was toilsome in the extreme. Their baggage, ammunition and provisions were conveyed in boats, which were forced up the rapid current with great labor, and had often to be dragged or carried past unnavigable rapids or across the water-sheds between the sources of one stream and those of another. On the route Major Bigelow, in order to make out their route more clearly by the view from its summit, climbed the high mountain which still bears his name in Northern Maine, near the head-waters of the Kennebec. It is a monument to this heroic townsman of ours, grander and more lasting than any ever reared by human hands.

Arnold's little army at length arrived before Quebec near the middle of November, having suffered terribly from cold, as well as from hunger and excessive labor, for the winter sets in early in that northern region. The town, besides its great natural strength of position and its formidable defensive works, had a garrison exceeding Arnold's force in numbers. With admirable impudence he sent a flag of truce, demanding the surrender of the place. But the commander would neither surrender nor come out to fight, and Arnold did not see his way to getting in. He had, moreover, only five rounds of ammunition for each man, and was therefore in no condition to maintain a siege, even if he had force enough to invest the town. So he moved up the river twenty miles or more to await the orders of Montgomery, who, in a campaign of extraordinary brilliancy, had made him-elf master of the Lake Champlain country, the Upper St. Lawrence and Montreal. On the 3d of December Montgomery arrived with three hundred men, artillery and provisions, and what Arnold's men needed most, a supply of clothing suitable for the season, which was intensely cold. That patriot army, after their dreadful march through the Maine and Canadian forests, were barefooted and in rags.

Montgomery, though not sanguine, thought there was a chance of success in attempting to storm the place in a night attack. On the 30th of December the attempt was made, one party, led by Montgomery in person, attacking the defences of the lower town from the southeast, and another, under Arnold, assaulting at the same time from the northwest. The fall of Montgomery at the head of his column by the first fire from the enemy put an end to the attack in that quarter. Arnold's command, with which were Major Bigelow and the Worcester men, had at first better success. Arnold was disabled by a severe wound in the leg. Captain Jonas Hubbard was also wounded beneath the walls, and, refusing to be re-

moved, died of exposure to the fierce snow-storm. Major Bigelow and some two hundred others, under the command of Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, carried the first battery, and penetrated so far into the town that, when they were repulsed at the second barrier, and, instead of retreating, as would have been prudent, held their position, their retreat was cut off and they were compelled to surrender. Sergeant Silas Wesson was killed and Timothy Rice mortally wounded in this attack; both were Worcester men. Major Bigelow and the other soldiers from this town were made prisoners and held in captivity until November of the next year.

In the mean time the people at home were not allowed to forget that men were wanted in January, 1776, to reinforce the army before Boston. Worcester's share was thirty-two. In May blankets were wanted, and Worcester supplied on requisition twenty-seven. In June it was men again, five thousand from the State to operate in Canada and New York. Worcester's quota was fifty-six, and the men were provided. Now, for the first time, we begin to read of bounties for enlistment. The State allowed to each man under this call a bounty of three pounds, with eighteen shillings in addition for the use of his arms and equipments. The town voted to add nine pounds to the bounty of its soldiers, and a tax of four hundred and eighty-six pounds was levied for that purpose. In July the General Court ordered that every twenty-fifth man on the train-band and alarm lists, in addition to those already raised, should be put into the service to form two regiments for duty in the Northern Department. In September there was further need of men, and one-fifth part of the militia was mustered for service with the army in New York, and at the same time a fourth of the remainder was directed to be completely equipped and held ready for the field upon receipt of orders. In December the Governor of Rhode Island called for help, fearing an invasion of his State. Two regiments marched promptly to his relief, and many from Worcester were volunteers in the ranks. Eight men of Captain William Gates' Worcester company were killed in battle or died of disease this year in the army under General Washington in New York.

In January, 1777, thirty-two blankets for the army were demanded of Worcester, and later in the same month every seventh man over sixteen years of age was drafted for eight months' service at least, to fill the quota of Massachusetts in the Continental army. In February Worcester, like all other towns in the State, was required to furnish clothing, including shirts, stockings and other articles, at the rate of one suit for every seven male inhabitants over sixteen years old. The number required at this rate was sixty-two. In March a bounty of twenty pounds, in addition to the State and Continental bounties, was voted to every volunteer who should enlist to fill the town's quota, and a tax was levied of £1,656 2s. 2d.

to pay bounties and other war expenses. A committee was also chosen at this time to ascertain how much each person had paid for the support of the army, and who must pay and how much to equalize the burden. A little later the town voted to buy one hundred muskets and bayonets and a supply of powder, to be sold to the militia at a reasonable price. As the soldiers generally furnished their own arms, there was an obvious advantage in keeping a supply for sale at a fixed price. Every sixth man was drafted in August to serve three months in the Northern army.

The experience of the French War was repeated with singular accuracy this summer. Just as Loudoun and Abercrombie, in a panic, called for immediate reinforcements to repel an invasion by the French, so General Schuyler, alarmed by the steady advance of Burgoyne, urged that every available man from New England should be sent to strengthen his army. Massachusetts responded promptly, as she did twenty years before. Again the Worcester militia—sixty-eight rank and file—commanded by Benjamin Flagg, a lieutenant-colonel by this time, with Captain David Chadwick and Lieutenants Abel Holbrook and Jonathan Stone, marched westward for Albany, but when they arrived at Hadley, the success of Herkimer at Oriskany and Stark's brilliant victory at Bennington had brought relief, and they were ordered to return.

In September again the Northern Army, now under Gates, and preparing to entrap Burgoyne, needed reinforcements, and the General Court recommended that at least half the militia of Worcester and the western counties should march to strengthen it. In December a committee to provide for the families was appointed. The sums spent in this behalf from this time to the end of the war were considerable. A report of the selectmen shows that sixty-eight men of Worcester were serving at this time in the Continental Line under enlistment for eight months, three years or the war, and received their clothing for the most part from the town. In February Worcester again furnished sixty-two suits of shirts, shoes and stockings for the army in obedience to a requisition. In April the town furnished fifteen men for service in Rhode Island with a battalion from the militia of the county, and in the same month twelve men were drafted for nine months' service to fill up the quota of the State in the Continental Army. Six more were drafted in June for an expedition to Rhode Island, and four to serve as guards for the prisoners of Burgoyne's army. In March, 1779, the town levied a tax of two thousand pounds for war purposes, and the militia officers were instructed to raise men for the service by enlistment or draft. Ten soldiers were enlisted in June, and the town borrowed £5,200 for the payment of bounties. Sixty-two suits of clothing were again provided, and in September thirty-one blankets. The selectmen about this time reported

that forty-eight soldiers then in the service had received \$1,906 as bounties on their enlistment for three years. The families of nine of them had needed assistance, and had received it during the year at the cost at current prices of £509. In August £892 was granted to pay for clothing. In September eight soldiers were raised for the army in Rhode Island at a cost for bounties of £638, and in October thirteen more for Washington's army on the Hudson. To these thirty pounds each was paid in bounties, and they were enlisted for three years. Their support by the town cost £2,515 10s.

Demands upon the town for men and supplies for the war continued unabated, if not increased in frequency and weight during the next year. In June no less than three calls for men were made and answered. Twenty-two were enlisted as the town's share of three thousand nine hundred and thirty-four required of the State for six months' service with the Continental Army. Each of these, by vote of the town, received twenty-seven pounds in agricultural produce, at the prices of 1774. In the same month twenty-eight three months' men were obtained, and five at the same time for duty at Springfield. In December twenty-nine men more were wanted for three years or the war, but the endurance of the people seemed to be exhausted and the means hitherto effectual for obtaining recruits failed. As bounties did not tempt the young men, and as the people were disinclined to submit to the process of drafting, as heretofore practiced, a new scheme was hit upon. The inhabitants were divided into twenty-nine classes, of equal taxable valuation. Each class was required to supply one soldier, and provide for his wages and maintenance. Each member paid his equitable portion of the expense, and if he was delinquent the amount was added to his tax for the next year, and collected by the usual process. By this means the men needed were mustered in February.

Worcester was required to draw heavily upon its resources of money and supplies as well as men. In May forty-three sets of blankets, shirts, shoes and stockings for the army were required; in July, twelve horses. About the same time 17,640 pounds of beef was provided at a cost of £539, and in December about twice the quantity of beef, for which £1270 was paid. In this year a tax of £30,000 in Continental currency was levied for the payment of the town's soldiers. There was no relaxation of the war exactions for the next year, 1781. In June twenty-three men for three months' service were raised by great exertions, and Worcester supplied her share of a force of five hundred for service in Rhode Island. A quarter of the militia were required to hold themselves ready to march to reinforce General Washington's army. The annual demand for blankets and clothing required from Worcester twenty-nine blankets and forty-nine sets of shirts, etc. The town this year would vex itself no more with the paper currency of

the time, but voted hard money to the amount of £414 for the payment of its soldiers and £400 for another purchase of beef for the army. The last demand for men came in March, 1782, when six were drafted for seven years.

During three years of war much more than half of Worcester's adult male population must have been in the military service, either by enlistment in the line or by being summoned for special tours of duty as militia. The whole number of Worcester men doing military service in the war is thus stated by Lincoln in his history,—one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, seven captains, ten lieutenants, five ensigns, twenty sergeants and three hundred and eighty-nine privates.

In later wars, until that of the great Rebellion, Worcester bore no part that need be mentioned here, except that the gallant service and death at Buena Vista of Captain George Lincoln must not be passed in silence. Captain Lincoln was the son of the late Governor Levi Lincoln, an officer of the regular army, and at the time of his death was serving as assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Wool, who said of him: "He was as brave, gallant and accomplished an officer as I ever knew."

At the outbreak of the Rebellion Worcester had among her citizens, available as military leaders, no veterans of former wars, or men of experience in actual service, but she had a considerable number who, by long service as officers of the militia, had acquired such military knowledge and training as can be gained in that service. These men, with the true instinct of the patriotic soldier, came promptly forward when the country called her sons to her defence. The value of a trained militia, as a preparation for war, was proved by the honorable military record of such soldiers as Devens, Lincoln, Ward, Sprague, Pickett, Studley and others, who in the uniformed and disciplined militia of Massachusetts, had learned the duty of the soldier, the elements of tactics and the rudiments of military organization. Some of them were unusually proficient in the discipline and movements of small bodies of troops, and were as competent to instruct and organize companies and regiments for service as professional soldiers would have been. The troops whom they commanded and prepared for the field, after a few months' practice with arms, and training in camp and on the march, became efficient soldiers, winning applause from generals commanding in the field, for their military obedience, promptness and precision of movement, steady valor and all the qualities of veteran soldiers.

The great Civil War was the third period in the military history of Worcester, as of New England. The first period, covering nearly a century, was a war for existence, against the savage tribes at first, and later against the French of Canada, and their Indian allies. Then, after a short interval of peace, began the war for political independence—a strenuous and

exhausting struggle of seven years, against the military power of Great Britain, demanding intense exertion and grievous sacrifices, which were given with a cheerful resolution and intrepid constancy that win our admiration. Then followed eighty years of peace, for in the War of 1812, with Great Britain, and that with Mexico, in 1846, Worcester, as a town had no part, and very few of her citizens were in the military service.

The third military period was shorter, but the conflict was not less terrible, and the demands of the country for men and supplies, peremptory and exacting as they were, were all honorably and cheerfully met. It is interesting to note how the methods and conduct of the rural village of Worcester, in 1775, were repeated by the busy city eighty-six years later, with such variations as the enlarged resources of the community, and the changed conditions, brought about by the wonderful progress of nearly a century in science and the mechanical arts, made possible and necessary. In each case, popular assemblies were stimulated to patriotic efforts by ardent orators. In each the people, in their municipal capacity, promptly took the initiative, without waiting for the slower movement of State and national governments. In each the town or the city raised money for the equipment and training of soldiers. In each the citizens, and especially the women, by voluntary organization and effort, provided for the relief of the families of soldiers in the field. In each the municipal government offered liberal bounties to encourage enlistments. In each resolutions were passed and pledges given by the town or city to fortify the courage of the soldiers in the field and the patriotic purpose of the general government. This close repetition by the men of Worcester, in 1861, of the acts of their forefathers, in 1775, was not the result of conscious imitation, but was due to the fact that the spirit of the people was the same and their native vigor of character had not diminished; that they had kept their political institutions and habits substantially unchanged, and therefore met an emergency in the nineteenth century with the means suggested by the genius of the people and supplied by their municipal institutions and habits of association, as their fathers had met a like emergency nearly a century before. Like causes, acting under similar conditions, produced like effects, differing chiefly in magnitude, because the people were now more numerous and their resources larger.

On Sunday, the 14th of April, 1861, the news of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, after a bombardment of two days, was received in Worcester. The heart of the people was stirred as it had never been before within the memory of men then living. Wrathful and determined, they gathered in the streets, snatched eagerly and read with fierce indignation the shameful story, hastily printed in special editions of the newspapers, that the flag of their country had been displaced on one of the national forts by the ensign

of rebellion. The next day came the President's proclamation convening Congress in extraordinary session, and calling for a force of seventy-five thousand men to take the field immediately. The Governor's order promptly followed, requiring the militia companies to hold themselves in readiness for active service. There were then two militia companies in the city,—the Light Infantry and the City Guards, both having been organized for many years and having officers of long experience in the militia service. The former was attached to the Sixth Regiment of the State militia; the latter, to the Third Battalion of Rifles. Besides these, was another volunteer company,—the Emmet Guards,—a purely voluntary organization, not a part of the State militia, but efficiently officered and well drilled.

All these companies were promptly recruited to their full standard; private business was arranged, and every man held himself in readiness for the word of command. In the mean time the citizens who had yet no call to arms cheered the young soldiers by act and word. Young men and maidens, and many whose blood-age could not cool, wore the national colors as a symbol and pledge of loyalty. From every flag-staff—and there were never before so many in Worcester—flew the flag of our Union, "not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured." The air was crisp with patriotism; men inhaled it with every breath. The whole community was aglow with devotion to the Union and defiance to its enemies. Doubtless the general belief was that the conflict would be short. The bombastic vaunts of the Southern politicians had become so familiar, and seemed so ridiculously inflated to Northern ears, that our people could not believe that every fantastic display of the garb of rebellion had a real man inside it, and that behind the melodramatic eloquence of treason was a resolute and solid purpose. Northern people also knew their immense superiority in numbers, wealth and military resources, and therefore had no doubt that the Rebellion would be crushed by a few heavy blows or speedily strangled in the grasp of its mighty antagonist. These beliefs made the popular spirit more cheerful, if not more determined. The soldiers about to respond to the call of their country were encouraged by the sympathy and admiration of their companions. Banks and other employers assured their clerks that enlistment should not deprive them of employment at home; but their places should be reserved for them on their return. A meeting of citizens passed without dissent a resolution, which was confirmed by the City Council at its next meeting called for the purpose, that four thousand dollars, as the citizens' meeting passed it,—five thousand, as it was adopted by the Council,—should be appropriated "in aid of the families of such of the troops of the city as have been or may hereafter be called into the service of the country, and to provide uni-

forms and supplies for such members of the company as may need them."

The call came first to the Light Infantry, who, in the evening of Tuesday, April 16th, received orders to report in Boston to the commander of the Sixth Regiment. At ten o'clock the next morning the company marched with full ranks to the Boston and Worcester Railroad station. The rollicking, yet pathetic, strains of "The Girl I Left Behind Me," filled the air of that raw April morning with a melody which was to become sadly familiar during the next four years. People of the city and from neighboring towns thronged the streets to see the martial display, and bid the departing heroes God-speed. Several eminent citizens made parting addresses of praise and cheer, and thus the first Worcester men, with high hopes and dauntless courage, marched gaily into that vortex of Civil War, whose awful depths would engulf so many of our worthiest and dearest. Captain Harrison W. Pratt commanded this company; George W. Prouty was first lieutenant, and J. Waldo Denny second lieutenant. The company left Boston for the seat of war in the evening of the same day, and on Friday, the 19th, passed through Baltimore, where the regiment was attacked by a city mob. The regiment was the first militia regiment from any State to report with arms and equipments complete, ready for active service. Its term of service was three months, and it was employed chiefly in guard duty at Washington and Baltimore and on the railroad line between those cities.

In the mean time the Emmet Guards had been incorporated with the State militia and assigned to the Third Battalion of Rifles, which now consisted of three companies—the City Guards, Company A; the Holden Rifles, Company B, and the Emmet Guards, Company C. Their ranks were full; the men were hardy young fellows, instinct with courage and patriotism. They waited with impatience the order of march. Charles Devens, Jr., then the foremost advocate at the Worcester bar, who had formerly held rank in the militia, was elected major, and reluctantly accepted the responsibility for which he doubted his own fitness, and the honor which he thought should be given to one who had earned it by more continuous service in the militia. He was persuaded, however, to withdraw his objection and to accept the command of the battalion. On Saturday, the 20th, permission came from the Governor that the battalion should go to the front. That afternoon, affecting farewells having been spoken at a public meeting in Mechanics' Hall, Major Devens started for the front. His command comprised two hundred and thirty-eight men of all ranks. The commissioned officers were: Major, Charles Devens, Jr.; Adjutant, John M. Goodhue; Quartermaster, James E. Estabrook; Surgeon, Oramel Martin.

Company officers—Company A, Worcester City Guard: Captain, A. B. R. Sprague; First Lieutenant,

Josiah Pickett; Second Lieutenant, George C. Joslin; Third Lieutenant, Orson Moulton; Fourth Lieutenant, E. A. Harkness.

Company B, Holden Rifles: Captain, Charles Knowlton; First Lieutenant, J. H. Gleason; Second Lieutenant, P. R. Newell; Third Lieutenant, Edward Devens; Fourth Lieutenant, Samuel F. Woods.

Company C, Emmet Guards: Captain, Michael S. McConville; First Lieutenant, Michael O'Driscoll; Second Lieutenant, Matthew J. McCafferty; Third Lieutenant, Thomas O'Neil; Fourth Lieutenant, Morris Melavin.

These three months' troops were not actually engaged with the enemy. But their service was valuable. They protected Washington from attack, and opened and maintained a new route to the city, avoiding the dangers which, for a time, attended the passage of Union troops through Baltimore. The turbulent and treasonable elements of that city were, however, speedily quelled by the energy of General Butler and the efficiency of the troops he commanded, prominent among which were the Worcester company of the Sixth Regiment and the battalion of Major Devens, which latter was stationed during most of its term of service at Annapolis or at Fort McHenry, near Baltimore. The term of service of both these corps expired just before the disastrous battle of Bull Run. They had not been mustered out when the confusion and discouragement consequent upon the defeat of our army before Washington made it necessary to retain in the service all the troops near the Capitol whose courage and organization had not been shaken by the disaster. They cheerfully responded to the appeal to remain on duty for a few days longer, while the defeated army was reorganized. The Light Infantry, with the Sixth Regiment, had marching orders for home on the 29th of July, and arrived in Worcester on the 1st of August. The battalion of rifles began their return on the 30th of July, and were welcomed in Worcester on the 2d of August. Both, of course, were received with rejoicing and hearty congratulations.

Major Devens did not return in command of the battalion, for he had already been commissioned as colonel, and had taken command of the Fifteenth Regiment, comprising ten companies, recruited in Worcester and the towns of the county, which, since the 28th of June, had been encamped on the Brooks Farm, near South Worcester, the place being known then and for years after as Camp Scott. The regiment was busily occupied with the work of organization, discipline and instruction, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Ward, a capable and hard-working officer. This regiment was composed of the staunchest material, the sturdy yeomen and mechanics of Worcester County. Except the colonel, the surgeons and the chaplain, there was scarcely a professional man in the regi-

ment, commissioned or enlisted. Colonel Devens took command June 26th. As the military plans of the commander-in-chief did not call for large and rapid additions to the force already assembled near Washington, and as this regiment was composed for the most part of officers and men who had the whole duty of the soldier to learn, not having yet been even in the militia service, it was the original purpose to retain them in their camp of instruction for two months longer. But the result of the battle of Bull Run changed the plans of campaign. The army was to be reorganized by General McClellan, and troops were hurried forward to Washington from all quarters.

On August 8th the Fifteenth left the city, having received the day before a beautiful flag at the hands of the Hon. George F. Hoar, as a gift from the ladies of Worcester. Mr. Hoar's speech in presenting the flag and Colonel Devens' remarks in accepting it were eloquent and affecting. The Fifteenth passed through Baltimore near midnight of the 10th of August. The streets were thronged with people, many of them sullen and defiant in manner, but quiet. They did not want a lesson in deportment from the men of those ten great companies, a full thousand in line, all told, who marched steadily and swiftly through the streets in that hot summer night, with their muskets loaded and their ranks as firm and well closed as if they were marching in review. The accidental discharge of one of the soldier's muskets caused a momentary apprehension that the Baltimore mob would have a lesson, but nothing came of it. The next day the regiment arrived in Washington, and as it marched up Pennsylvania Avenue by company front, with alert and martial tread, its long company lines, with one hundred men in each, filling that spacious avenue from curb to curb, with the National and State colors waving in the summer air and the muskets flashing bright in the August sun, the Fifteenth presented a spectacle such as Washington, even in those days of military activity, had seldom seen.

From Washington the regiment marched, a few days later, to Poolesville, a little Maryland village, about half-way to Harper's Ferry, and there came under the command of General Charles P. Stone, who was forming a corps of observation for the Upper Potomac. With daily drills and the routine duties of camp life, varied by picket duty at the river, the time passed until October 21st, when the regiment first met the enemy and showed by the trial of battle of what stuff its soldiers were made.

I cannot here describe the battle in detail or discuss the causes of the disaster in which it ended. Briefly, General Stone was apprised by General McClellan of certain operations of the right wing of the Army of the Potomac, and was directed to reconnoitre the enemy's position at Leesburg, on the Virginia side of the river, opposite the station of the

Fifteenth. A scouting party having reported a small camp of the enemy between Leesburg and the river, and a mile or two from either, Colonel Devens was directed with five companies of his regiment to cross the Potomac on the night of the 20th, surprise this camp, if possible, and then reconnoitre in the direction of Leesburg. The remaining five companies, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, were to march to the river and be prepared to support Colonel Devens if necessary. Some companies of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts and a portion of Baker's California regiment were also ordered to the river in the morning. Colonel Devens found that the scouts had been deceived and that there was no camp where he expected to find one. Reconnoitering cautiously toward Leesburg in the early morning, he encountered a troop of cavalry with which he had a short skirmish, and then fell back toward the river.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, hearing the firing, hurried his battalion across the river to reinforce Devens. In the river at this point was Harrison's Island, about a mile long, which delayed and embarrassed the crossing. The river was much too deep to be forded; the boats provided were few and small; not more than a company at a time could be transported, and it was necessary to cross the Maryland arm of the river, then march across the island and embark again for the Virginia shore. The landing was at the foot of a steep bluff; along the face of this ran a narrow, crooked trail, up which men could scramble with difficulty. Colonel Ward's battalion arrived at the top of the bluff a little before noon, and moved forward at once across an open field of a few acres surrounded by wood to join Devens, who was still skirmishing with the enemy. After the regiment was united the firing ceased for a short time, but a brisk attack was soon made upon our position, and easily repulsed. The regiment then fell back to the bluff and there found that the portions of regiments already mentioned had arrived and also three pieces of artillery—a twelve-pound rifle-gun and two light howitzers. Colonel Baker took command by seniority of commission and formed his line of battle with the Fifteenth on the right and his own regiment on the left. Colonel Cogswell came up soon after with two companies of his, known as the Tammam Regiment. During nearly the whole of the action the enemy were concealed in the woods in the front and on the flanks of the Union force, which they considerably outnumbered. A scattering fire of skirmishers and sharp-shooters had been going on for some time, when about two o'clock the regiment forming the enemy's left wing opened the action with a volley which silenced the light guns in front of the position of the Fifteenth, killing or disabling almost every man serving them. They had been discharged not more than twice.

One incident of the battle deserves mention as

illustrating the steadiness of these Worcester County boys under fire for the first time: While the Fifteenth was exchanging a sharp fire with the rebels in its front a small force of the enemy, under cover of the woods, passed around its flank and opened fire from the rear. The line did not waver, but at the word of command faced "about," charged into the woods, dispersed the force attacking from that direction and then returned to its former position and renewed the fight with the enemy in front. The steadiness which this unexpected and most alarming attack did not shake would have been creditable to veteran troops of any army.

Toward the close of the afternoon the right wing was drawn in and the Fifteenth took position at what had been the centre of the line, and another vigorous attempt was made to drive the rebels from their position. By this time Colonel Baker had been killed and Colonel Cogswell had assumed command. The ammunition of our men was exhausted; the rebel fire continued. Further resistance seemed hopeless, and Colonel Cogswell directed Colonel Devens to retreat. "Will you please repeat the order in the presence of my major?" said Devens. Major Kimball was called up (Lieutenant-Colonel Ward having some time before been carried from the field severely wounded) and the order was repeated and obeyed. The regiment fell back to the river-bank, where some were shot by the enemy from above, some escaped across the river, some were drowned and some were shot in attempting to cross, and the remainder were taken prisoners. To whatever causes the disaster may have been due, it was not the fault of the soldiers of the Fifteenth, whose valor and steadiness could not have been surpassed. They saw many greater battles in the three following years, but it is not too much to say of them, on their first battle-field, that they would have gone anywhere and done anything that could have been expected of veteran troops in the highest state of efficiency. They would then have attempted some things which they would not, after three years of experience had taught them the limitations of military achievement.

The Fifteenth Regiment went into action with six hundred and twenty-one men. The killed, wounded and missing were three hundred and ten. Among the killed was John William Grout, second lieutenant, from Worcester. Lieutenant-Colonel Ward was wounded; Captain Studley, of Worcester, was taken prisoner. This engagement has been described at some length, because it was the first in which Worcester men met the enemy in battle. The news from the regiment caused a great sensation in Worcester. Public meetings were held to express the general admiration for the prowess of the regiment and sorrow for its losses. Energetic efforts were made to supply, by enlistments, the places of the fallen and captured and to make good the losses of clothing and personal equipment. Letters of applause, sympathy and en-

couragement were received in great numbers from friends in Worcester and elsewhere, and the valor of the regiment and its commander received fitting official commendation.

Other incidents of the war must be mentioned more briefly. The next regiment organized in Worcester was the Twenty-first, composed of men recruited chiefly in Worcester County, though companies raised in Springfield, Pittsfield and Belchertown were also included in it. Its camp, on the grounds of the Agricultural Society and named Camp Lincoln, was first occupied by six companies on the 19th of July. Its colonel was Augustus Morse. It had one Worcester company, commanded by Captain B. Frank Rogers. This regiment marched for the front August 23d. Within a month Governor Andrew authorized Edwin Upton as colonel and A. B. R. Sprague as lieutenant-colonel to raise another regiment in Worcester. Recruiting was begun about the middle of September, and on the last day of October, with full ranks, armed and equipped, the regiment, designated as the Twenty-fifth, left Worcester for the seat of war. This regiment, more than any other, was then and has since been regarded as the Worcester Regiment. Seven of its ten companies were recruited in the city; the other three in Milford, Fitchburg and Templeton, respectively. It was a splendid regiment of stout-hearted, intelligent, faithful men, and it could be matched by few in the service for the cheerful heroism and gallantry of its soldiers, their hardships, labors and losses in action. These two regiments, the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth, were assigned to the expedition destined to operate in North Carolina, under the command of General Burnside. Early in the year 1862 they were engaged with great credit in the capture of Roanoke Island and Newbern. The Fifteenth lay at Poolesville all winter. In March, after a short and unimportant advance by way of Harper's Ferry up the Shenandoah Valley, the regiment, as a part of the Army of the Potomac, embarked at Alexandria for the momentous Peninsula Campaign under General McClellan. It fought bravely at Yorktown, Fair Oaks, the seven days' battles before Richmond and returned to the vicinity of Washington in season to take part in the unfortunate campaign of General Pope. In September the Fifteenth was again at the front in the great battle of Antietam and suffered terribly. The number of officers and men of the Fifteenth who went into action was almost precisely the same as that of the famous Light Brigade at Balaklava. The time they were engaged was very nearly the same and the proportion of losses was almost precisely equal. On that 17th of September, at Antietam, twenty-four officers and five hundred and eighty-two enlisted men of the Fifteenth went into that murderous corner. Twenty minutes later the killed, wounded and missing numbered three hundred and forty-three. Of the killed were five officers and sixty enlisted men; wounded (one officer and many

enlisted men mortally), six officers and two hundred and forty-eight enlisted men; missing, twenty-four men. A loss of nearly three-fifths in less than half an hour is an experience that has befallen few regiments or companies.

The Twenty-first Regiment also had a period of harassing and dangerous service in the autumn and winter of 1861. Transferred from North Carolina to Virginia in August, it was engaged in Pope's campaign in the battles of the Second Bull Run, of Chantilly and later at Antietam, doing heroic and valuable service and suffering heavy losses, and in December it was in the hottest part of the battle in General Burnside's ill-planned and disastrous attack upon Fredericksburg, in which the Fifteenth, too, as usual, had a place of honor and of danger, and also, as usual, lost heavily. The loss most grievously felt was that of its heroic and devoted surgeon, Samuel Foster Haven, Jr. The Twenty-fifth during this year had been doing arduous and useful service—marching, scouting and fighting.

During the summer and fall of 1862 three more regiments were organized in Worcester,—the Thirty-fourth, Colonel George D. Wells; the Thirty-sixth, Colonel Henry Bowman, both of these for three years; and the Fifty-first, Colonel A. B. R. Sprague, for nine months. The Thirty-fourth left Worcester on the 15th of August, the Thirty-sixth on the 11th of September and the Fifty-first on the 25th of November. All of these regiments did heroic service. The Thirty-fourth, composed of companies raised in the five western counties of the State, of course, including Worcester, was noted throughout its term of service for the promptness and precision of its movements, the neatness of its quarters and its equipments, its endurance of marches and labors and its ardor and prowess in battle. These comprehend all the valuable qualities of the soldier, and it is not extravagant praise to say that the Thirty-fourth excelled in all of them. It was commanded during most of its service by Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Colonel) William S. Lincoln. The Thirty-sixth traversed more miles in its time of service than any other Worcester regiment. It served in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia again and North Carolina. The fortunes of these regiments and others cannot be followed in detail. They were all fighting regiments, and did their full duty on such days of carnage and of fate as those which are recalled by the names of Gettysburg, the Wilderness and Cold Harbor. They endured exhausting marches and sieges, hunger, disease, wounds and the horrors of rebel prison pens. This is equally true also of other regiments raised in Worcester, or of which Worcester men formed a part, especially of the Fifty-seventh, whose frightful losses in its first engagement, that of the Wilderness, were only a prelude to a service, which, though short, compared with that of some other regiments, was splendidly heroic,

and crowded with labors and losses. Nor can I mention here the names of many of the Worcester heroes. The officers have their meed of fame in the histories of their respective regiments and in the more elaborate histories of the war. The private soldiers, who deserved as well, are too many to be designated by name here. Sergeant Thomas Plunkett, of the Twenty-first, whose arms were struck off by a fragment of shell at Fredericksburg, just as he had snatched the regimental colors from the relaxing grasp of the dying color-sergeant, must never be omitted when the deeds of Worcester's heroes are recounted. But their names are all perpetuated in the roll of honor; their memories will be fondly cherished for a few years by surviving comrades and kinsfolk and proudly treasured, let us hope, among the most precious family possessions by generations of descendants, who will admire and imitate their patriotic devotion.

Besides the regiments which were raised and organized in the city, almost every other Massachusetts regiment had Worcester men in its ranks or among its officers. A large number also in the aggregate served in the artillery, in military organizations of other States, in the regular army and in the navy. It is impossible even now to state with precision the number of men whom Worcester contributed to the War for the Union. Governor Bullock, in his address at the dedication of the soldiers' monument, estimates it at "not far from three thousand," and that seems to be a moderate statement. Yet, when we remember that it is more than one in three of the adult male population of the city at that time, the number seems almost incredible. They served in fifty regiments of infantry, five of cavalry and fourteen batteries or regiments of artillery organized under the authority of Massachusetts, and probably in fifty other military organizations. Among these Worcester soldiers were one major-general, by brevet; five brigadier-generals, by brevet; four colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, twelve majors, fifty-two captains, fifty-four first-lieutenants, fifty-three second-lieutenants, eight surgeons, four chaplains. These were all in Massachusetts organizations or received promotion while serving with Massachusetts troops. Of Worcester men serving with other troops there were five brigadier-generals, two majors, a captain and a lieutenant, besides one commodore and several lieutenants and ensigns in the navy.

This brief sketch of the military history of Worcester during the Civil War may seem to do less than justice to its subject, as of course it does. A series of volumes, instead of a single chapter, would not exhaust the theme. Names, even of those most deserving of honor, have been mentioned but rarely. It seems invidious further to distinguish by special eulogy those whose rank gave them distinction and personal advantage at the time and whose names will be perpetuated elsewhere, while thousands of obscure men, no

less daring, devoted and unselfish, laid down their lives cheerfully, unnoted, except as units in the great aggregate of patriotic sacrifice. Since the great commanders will not lack their meed of praise, let us here express our admiration and gratitude for the valor, constancy and devotion of the armies, rather than the prowess of the generals.

Even in Worcester, where courage and loyalty were as abundant as anywhere, voluntary enlistment did not supply all the enormous and exacting demands of the military service. Bounties for enlistment were offered after the first glow of patriotic ardor had cooled a little. No bounties were paid for the men, about twelve hundred in number, who enlisted in Worcester under the President's call for volunteers in 1861. But in 1862 the city paid a bounty of one hundred dollars for each volunteer. In 1863 the draft was ordered under an act of Congress, and Captain Samuel V. Stone was appointed provost marshal for the Eighth Congressional District, with headquarters at Worcester, to enforce it. No disturbances took place here while the draft was in progress. Precautions wisely taken to prevent or suppress disorders happily proved unnecessary, or so completely successful as to seem superfluous. Of the men drafted in Worcester, 103 paid the commutation fixed by the law, 53 furnished substitutes, 59 enrolled citizens supplied substitutes before the draft was made. The amount paid by the city and by citizens for bounties and recruiting is estimated at nearly two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the sums paid by individuals for commutation and for substitutes under the draft was nearly one hundred thousand dollars more. In order to ascertain the price in money, besides the cost in blood and sorrow, which Worcester paid for the Union, must be added to this the sums contributed to the Soldiers' Relief Committee, to the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and to various other forms of military charities, and the city's share of the State bounties and State aid to soldiers and their families, which still continues under the nobly generous, yet wisely-guarded regulations prescribed by State laws; and lastly, Worcester's contributions to the national revenues expended in the prosecution of the war, the payment of the debt and the annual cost of pensions, of which latter sum alone, Worcester pays, without realizing it, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually. Truly with a great price we vindicated our title to the precious inheritance of national union.

The oldest of the militia companies now existing here is still known by the name given it in its original charter by a special act of the General Court in 1804, the Worcester Light Infantry. It was preceded in point of time by the Worcester Artillery, which appears to have been organized in 1783. Its organization was maintained until the autumn of 1838, when the last entry on its record is "Company disbanded and officers discharged." Both these companies offered their services in the War of 1812 with Great Britain,

and the town voted bounties for enlistments, but the Governor declined to comply with the President's requisitions for troops, alleging some constitutional objections, and the Worcester troops were not then called to the field. Two years later, however, when the aspect of the war had become more serious, Governor Strong ordered the militia of the State to be in readiness for active service. Two companies of militia were drafted from the county and served in the forts in Boston harbor, and a little later the Light Infantry, and the Artillery marched to the seaboard, and were stationed at South Boston for about six weeks, being discharged on the 31st of October. The Light Infantry as a company of the Sixth Regiment, promptly answered the call of the President, and was among the foremost of military organizations to arrive at the national capital at a critical moment, as already narrated. At the end of the three months' service the Light Infantry returned to Worcester. A large number of its members enlisted or were commissioned in other commands.

The City Guards, organized in 1840, was for many years designated as light infantry, but afterwards became a rifle company, and was attached to the Third Battalion of Rifles, in the State militia. As such it was called into the three months' service with the battalion. The Emmet Guards, organized as a company of the State militia after the first note of civil war had sounded, were also attached to the Third Battalion of Rifles. The two former of these companies, upon being mustered out of the service of the United States, maintained their existence in some form, and upon the reorganization of the State militia, after the war, were re-established and assigned to regiments, in which they have maintained a high reputation for soldierly bearing, discipline and efficiency. The Emmet Guards in 1888 were organized anew and accepted by the Governor for the State service. They are not surpassed for the exact performance of all military duty and for precision and smartness in drill.

The artillery company known as "Battery B" was formed in Worcester at the reorganization of the militia after the war. It has had a succession of competent and zealous commanders, and has been often complimented by superior officers for proficiency in artillery exercises, the admirable condition of its arms and equipments and its evident readiness for any service.

Immediately after the departure of the city militia companies for the seat of war in April, 1861, the honorary and past members of the Light Infantry and the City Guards organized each a company by itself as a Home Guard, and with the intention also of maintaining an active list of volunteers, from whom the ranks of the parent companies in the field might be recruited from time to time. These companies performed various service, at military funerals, as escorts on occasions of public ceremony and as a reserve

force in case of threatened public disorder, until the organization of the State Guard, in June, 1863, under the authority of a law of that year. The State Guard, besides the functions of parade and ceremony, which militia companies are often called upon to discharge, performed duties of real value in preserving the peace of the city, which was endangered, though happily not greatly disturbed, by the elements of discontent and mischief introduced by the bounty and substitute systems of recruiting, and stimulated to an alarming activity by the example of the draft riots in New York and elsewhere. Members of the Guard were detailed for guard duty under the orders of the provost marshal, and the whole company was, in the latter part of July, 1863, on duty for several days at the provost marshal's command, guarding drafted men, preserving the peace of the city and escorting a body of conscripts to the rendezvous at Boston. The State Guard ceased to be a part of the militia of Massachusetts by the repeal, in 1866, of the act under which the company was established. Its existence was maintained, however, as a voluntary organization, and in the next year the Legislature granted the petition of its members for a special charter, under which the company was maintained for several years and for a time was organized as a battalion of two companies.

Thus we close this outline of Worcester's military history. The community has cultivated the arts of peace with signal success, but has never shrunk from doing its whole duty when honor and patriotism called for the labors and sacrifices of war. Her sons were daring, patient and skilled in military arts. These were their qualities from the times when Ephraim Curtis, of Worcester, brought relief to the sorely-beset garrison of Brookfield, and when, a century later, Timothy Bigelow, of Worcester, led his command in that terrible winter march through the wilderness of Maine and Canada, and hurled them in a hopeless assault against the impregnable fortress of Quebec, to that time, after almost another century, when Charles Devens, commanding, by a happy coincidence, another Fifteenth Regiment, made his heroic stand on the banks of the Potomac at Ball's Bluff. And while the men of Worcester marched and fought and died, the women of Worcester, with a constancy and patience deserving of all reverence, suffering the pangs of anxiety and sorrow, toiled and saved to alleviate the lot of their husbands, sons and brothers. Our people may claim as appropriate to their own community, the motto of the older Worcester in England, "A City Faithful in War and Peace."

CHAPTER CXCI.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

BY CHARLES G. WASHBURN, A.B.

Early Encouragement of Manufactures—Saw and Grist-Mill—The Silver-Mine—Potash—Timothy Bigelow—Early Manufacture of Cloth—Paper-Mills—Character of Business prior to 1820—Trades-people Discontented with the Heavy Taxes—Public Men appear in Home-made Cloth—Worcester Honorable Society—The First Exhibition of the Worcester Agricultural Society.

I am indebted to the American Antiquarian Society for access to its valuable collection of books, pamphlets, newspapers and manuscripts, and to Mr. Edmund M. Barton, the librarian, for many courtesies. I have drawn freely from the files of the *Spy* and make the acknowledgment here to save frequent repetition in the text.

C. G. W.

AFTER the first settlement of Worcester had been broken up by the Indians in King Philip's War, a meeting of those interested was held at Cambridge, March 14, 1679, N.S., for the purpose of considering the expediency of again settling the town.¹

As a result of this meeting, it was resolved "to settle the said plantation some time the next summer come twelve months, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1680."

The town was to be built to attain six ends, which were enumerated, chief among them "the better conveniency of attending God's worship," and the "better education of their children;" but provision was also to be made "for the better accommodation of trades-people."

Nothing of a practical kind was done looking toward the settlement until the General Court threatened to forfeit the grant unless the settlement were made; accordingly, an agreement was entered into April 24, 1684, with that end in view. It was voted that the plantation be divided into four hundred and eighty lots, three of these to be set apart for the maintenance of a saw-mill, and three for a grist-mill.

To the builders and maintainers of works promoting useful trades, and for a fulling-mill, when the place is capable thereof, six lots.

The histories appear to agree that Captain John Wing built the first mills in Worcester, some time in 1685, perhaps in the month of March; he probably had both a saw and grist-mill located on the north of Lincoln Square, on Mill Brook, about where the Nashua freight depot is now situated.

Captain Wing appears to have been a man of considerable consequence. He was a resident of Boston, one of the founders of the Old South Church, an officer in the artillery company and kept the Castle Tavern. He was a member of the committee having charge of the plantation of Quinsigamond, and became

a large landholder there, conducting his mill in Worcester and his tavern in Boston at the same time. He died in 1702.²

From 1686 till the fall of 1713 no records appear of the transactions which took place in the settlement, and during a great part of that time the country was exposed to the ravages of the Indians, and, in consequence, the town was almost entirely deserted.

The third attempt to effect a permanent settlement was made in October, 1713; the old saw-mill of Wing appears under the ownership of Thomas Palmer, Cornelius Waldo, of Boston, and John Oulton, of Marblehead.

The next mill to be built was that of Obadiah Ward, which he devised to his son in his will dated December 16, 1717. It was near the upper canal-lock, present site of Crompton's Loom Works.³

Elijah Chase built the first corn-mill, near where the Quinsigamond Paper-Mills were afterwards erected on the Blackstone River. The water privilege, with thirty acres of land at Quinsigamond, was granted by the town to Captain Nathaniel Jones, September 12, 1717, upon condition that he should complete and maintain a grist-mill for twelve years. He built a dam and saw-mill in 1726, but both were probably swept away in the flood of 1728-29, and in 1732 the town took steps to recover the land by reason of the failure of Jones to comply with his contract.⁴ The mills in Worcester at this early period were few in number and simple in character. Saw and grist-mills, with an occasional fulling-mill and trip-hammer shop, were to be found; certainly the demands of two hundred people could not have been very great.

In 1754, according to a description found in Lincoln's "History,"⁵ "a vein of metal, which was supposed to be silver, was discovered near the head of the valley, about a mile north of the town. A company for exploring the spot was formed by some of the most substantial inhabitants, furnaces and smelting-houses were erected and a cunning German employed as superintendent. Under his direction a shaft was sunk eighty feet perpendicularly, and a horizontal gallery extended about as far through the rock, which was to be intersected by another shaft, commenced about six rods north of the first opening.

"Among the masses which were, within a few years, laid around the scene of operations were specimens of the ores containing minute portions of silver, specks of copper and lead, much iron and an extraordinary quantity of arsenic; when struck against steel a profusion of vivid sparks were thrown out, and a peculiarly disagreeable odor of the latter mineral emitted. On the application of heat this profusion increased to

² "Early Settlement of Worcester," by Francis E. Blake.

³ Lincoln.

⁴ "Early Paper-Mills in Massachusetts," E. B. Crane, Proceedings Worcester Society of Antiquity for 1886.

⁵ Lincoln, p. 294.

an overpowering extent. The company expended great sums in blasting the rocks, raising its fragments and erecting buildings and machinery. While the pile of stone increased, the money of the partners diminished. The furnaces in full blast produced nothing but suffocating vapors, curling over the flames in those beautiful coronets of smoke which still attend the attempt to melt the ore.

"The shrewd foreigner, in whose promises his associates seem to have placed that confidence which honest men often repose in the declarations of knaves, became satisfied that the crisis was approaching when it would be ascertained that the funds were exhausted and that stone and iron could not be transmuted to gold. Some papers which exist indicate that he pretended to knowledge in the occult sciences as well as skill in the art of deception; however this may be, he assured the company that the great enemy of man had been busy in defeating their exertions, making his presence redolent in the perfume of sulphur and arsenic. He obtained the sum of \$100 and made a journey to Philadelphia to consult with a person experienced in mines and their demons, for the purpose of exorcising the unsavory spirit of the crucible. He departed with a barrel full of the productions of the mine, but never returned to state the results of his conference.

"The proprietors abandoned the work when they were awaked by the reality of the loss from the dream of fortune, and afterwards destroyed the records of their credulity.

"The spot is easily found. Follow the Nashua Railroad north on foot from its crossing on Mill Brook till you pass the two-mile post. The deserted shaft is about twenty rods to the northeast of this spot. It is readily found, as a pile of slate and stones still lie where they were thrown out by the miners on a slight eminence in the meadow."¹

And yet the German superintendent may have been more superstitious than knavish. The mineral which baffled him, whose arsenical fumes almost suffocated his miners and confirmed his belief in the supernatural, was cobalt, a name derived from Greek *Kobalos*, German *Kobold*, a little devil. German folk-lore is full of the diabolical pranks of the Kobold, and of pity for the unfortunate beings who suffered from the tortures which he inflicted to prevent incursions upon his subterranean dwelling.

POTASH.—In 1760 the manufacture of potash appears to have been carried on quite extensively in and about Worcester; indeed, it was a thriving industry throughout the country. By reason of its scarcity in England, Parliament remitted the duties in 1751, and encouraged its importation from the colonies, where wood was plentiful. Numerous pamphlets upon the desirability of this branch of manufacture

to the colonies, and upon the best methods of making potash, were at this time published.

Its manufacture was urged on the ground of affording the colonies an article of export with which to pay for the manufactures imported from Great Britain, and the North American plantations were thought to be well adapted to the manufacture of potash by reason of the abundance of wood suitable for the purpose. A writer upon this subject, in 1767, makes the following recommendations:

It is supposed that each set of works for carrying on the manufacture of potash will have a range of ten miles round for its supply, less than which would not be sufficient; and I would here, by the way, caution such who may undertake to erect works for this purpose, that the place they fix upon be at least twenty miles distant from any other works of the like kind, lest they only injure their enterprise by thus cutting off the prospect of a sufficient supply of ashes.

Each set of works under such advantages of obtaining stock will, I presume, at the least, annually produce twenty tons of good potash, which, at the lowest rate it has ever been sold for, namely, £25, would amount to £500 sterling, and if twenty of these works were to be erected within the limits of the province of Massachusetts (which I think a moderate number), there might be annually exported out of the province alone 400 tons of potash, which, at the before-mentioned low rate, would amount to £10,000 sterling.²

The process of manufacture was simple, and consisted in treating wood-ashes with water until the potash contained in them was exhausted, and from the lye thus made a salt was obtained by evaporation. The woods chiefly employed in making potash were hickory, oak, beech, birch, elm, walnut, chestnut and maple. Woods like evergreen, or that abound in turpentine, were avoided.

Worcester appears to have been well supplied with wood, and works for the manufacture of potash were established in different parts of the town. Pleasant Street was at one time known as Potash Hill. Lincoln, in his history, says: "Works for making potash were first established in the north part of the town about 1760; buildings for similar purposes were placed on the west side of Lincoln Street, a little above the old Hancock Arms Tavern, by John Nazro; about ten years after; four more were established at much later periods."

Peter Whitney, in his history, published in 1793, says: "The first complete ton of potash was sent to market from the neighboring town of Ashburnham, where it was made at the time of the settlement in 1735." In 1788 there were about two hundred and fifty potash works in Massachusetts. Governor Bowdoin, as a remedy for the distress then prevailing, had recommended in a message to the General Court, 1785, that the farmers in towns where there was an abundance of wood to be cleared away, should devote themselves to the production of potash and pearl-ash, and the ashes should be deposited with the State agent, who should sell them and use the money to pay the taxes of the men who brought them.

² John Mascarence's address to His Excellency, Thomas Pownall, Esq., captain-general and Governor-in-chief to and over His Majesty's province of Massachusetts Bay in New England.

¹ "The Heart of the Commonwealth," Henry J. Howland, 1856.

Isaiah Thomas, in 1793, advertised a book on the manufacture of pot and pearl-ash.

It has seemed worth while to dwell at some length upon the manufacture of potash, as it so clearly shows the narrow resources of the provinces at that time, and the lack of any manufacturing interests beyond the simplest kinds designed to meet the wants of a scanty population.

TIMOTHY BIGELOW.—One of the earliest mechanics to attain prominence in Worcester was Timothy Bigelow, who, before the Revolution, had a blacksmith's shop where the Court Mills afterwards stood, near the present junction of Union Street with Lincoln Square. Of him a somewhat romantic story is told.

There then stood on the site of the block of brick houses, opposite the court-houses, the residence of the orphan daughter of Samuel Andrews, then the principal heiress in Worcester. To quote from an old newspaper story:¹

"In the rear of the Andrews home Tim Bigelow had a blacksmith's shop, where he blew the bellows, heated and hammered the iron, and shod the horses and oxen and mended the plows and chains for the farmers of the country about him. Now Tim was as bright as a button, more than six feet high, straight and handsome, and walked upon the earth with a natural air and grace that was quite captivating. Now Tim saw Anna, and Anna saw Tim, and they were well satisfied with each other; but, as he was then 'nothing but Tim Bigelow, the blacksmith,' the lady's friends, whose ward she was, would not give their consent to a marriage. So, watching an opportunity, the lovers mounted fleet horses and rode a hundred miles, to Hampton, in New Hampshire, which lies on the coast, between Newburyport and Portsmouth, and was at that time the 'Gretna Green' for all young men and maidens for whom true love did not run a smooth course in Massachusetts. They came back to Worcester as Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Bigelow.

"He was a man of decided talent, and well fitted by nature for a popular leader. All the leading men of the town at that time were Tories. He espoused the cause of the people, and soon had a party strong enough to control the town, and, being known as a patriot, he was recognized by Hancock, Samuel Adams, General Warren, James Otis and others of the patriot party throughout the Province. He was sent as a delegate from Worcester to the Provincial Congress, and, as captain of the minute-men, he led his company from Worcester to Cambridge on the 19th of April, 1775, at the summons of a messenger, who rode swiftly into town that day on a large white horse, announcing that war had begun.

"Blacksmith Bigelow soon rose to the rank of major, and, afterwards, to that of colonel of the Fif-

teenth Massachusetts Regiment, which was composed almost exclusively of Worcester County men. He was at the storming of Quebec, at the taking of Burgoyne, at the terrific scenes of Valley Forge and on almost every other field made memorable by the fierce conflicts of the Revolution.

"When the war was over he returned home, his constitution shattered by hard service for his country, his health ruined, his fortune gone in consequence of the formidable depreciation of the currency, under which forty dollars was scarcely sufficient to pay for a pair of shoes."

CLOTH.—In 1789 a few men formed an association for the purpose of manufacturing cloths, that had theretofore been imported from Great Britain, and in the *Spy* of April 30, 1789, the following notice is found:

On Tuesday last the first piece of corduroy made at a manufactory in this town was taken from the loom; and March 25, 1790, the proprietors of the Worcester Cotton Manufactory gave notice that they would not take any more linen yarn for the present, having a sufficient quantity on hand.

May 27, 1790, Samuel Brazer advertises "goods of American manufacture to be sold at wholesale and retail, corduroys, jeans, fustians, federal rib, and cotton, for cash only. The prices are reasonable, the quality of the goods superior to those imported, which will induce all to give preference to the manufactures of their own country." Later, we find:

An Overseer wanted at the Cotton Manufactory at Worcester, also three or four healthy boys as apprentices; two or three journeymen weavers at said manufactory. Apply, for further information, to Saml. Brazer or Daniel Waldo, Worcester.

August 5, 1790, all persons who had demands against the proprietors of the Worcester Cotton Manufactory were requested to present them to Samuel Brazer and Daniel Waldo, Jr., from which we conclude that the enterprise had not prospered, and it is probable that upon the declaration of peace, goods could be obtained more cheaply from England than they could be manufactured here.

This factory, containing crude machinery, stood upon Mill Brook, and was located in School Street, east of the present location of Union Street.

When the manufacture of corduroys and fustians was abandoned, the factory was moved to Main Street, and was thereafter known as the Green store (present site of Parker block). Samuel Brazer was from Charlestown, where he was a baker, and in 1782 engaged in the same business in Worcester; he appears to have been somewhat jealous of his good name, for in 1784 we find him refuting a slander in regard to the size of his bread. In October, 1785, he dealt in crockery and West India goods at the sign of The Old Maid, in the centre of the town. From this time on Mr. Brazer was engaged in a variety of occupations.

Daniel Waldo, Jr., who was associated with Samuel Brazer in the manufacture of corduroys, was a son of Daniel Waldo, who moved to Worcester from Lancas-

¹ "Carl's Tour in Main Street."

ter in 1782, and engaged in the hardware business near the bridge over Mill Brook at Lincoln Square.

PAPER-MILLS.—The manufacture of paper took an early and prominent place among the industries of the Colonies.

May 3, 1775, at a convention of delegates from towns in Worcester County, the following vote was passed :

Resolved, That the erection of a Paper-mill in this county would be of great public advantage, and if any person or persons will undertake the erection of such a mill and the manufacture of paper, that it be recommended to the people of the county to encourage the undertaking by generous contributions and subscriptions.

In the *Spy* of July 5, 1775, the following notice is found :

Any person or persons that incline to set up that useful manufacture, the making of paper, may hear of one who will undertake to give directions for building a mill, and will carry on the business in good shape with assistance.

From the pamphlet on "Early Paper Mills in Massachusetts," by Mr. E. B. Crane, and part of the Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity for 1886, we learn that Mr. Abijah Burbank, of Sutton, was the first to respond to this resolution.

Paper was evidently very scarce, for we find that for want of it but one-half of the *Spy* could be published October 30, 1776. This was no doubt due to the scarcity of rags, which evidently continued for some time, for on October 30, 1777, the following notice was published :

The paper-mills and, of consequence, the printing offices in this county must inevitably stop unless the good people are more careful in preserving their rags. The advanced price of 3d. per lb. for clean linen rags is now given by the printers, which, together with the invaluable benefit which the public must derive from having a plentiful supply of paper books, cannot fail of the desired effect.

This difficulty seems, however, to have been overcome, for in May, 1778, Mr. Burbank advertised,— "The manufacture of paper in Sutton is now carried on to great perfection."

The business of Isaiah Thomas as printer and publisher in Worcester had become of considerable consequence. The Rev. Peter Whitney stated that no person had added more to the consequence and advantages of the town and county of Worcester than Isaiah Thomas. The publishing of the *Spy* was only a part of his business. After the war, in 1788, he conducted a printing-office in Boston and in Worcester, and carried on a large business as printer, publisher, bookseller and bookbinder.

Mr. Thomas lived on the site of the stone court-house, just south of which his office was located. He employed in the various departments of his business one hundred and fifty hands.

To provide paper for his needs, Mr. Thomas, to quote from Mr. Crane's pamphlet, "presumably with the intention of erecting a paper-mill, on January 7, 1785, purchased of Ephraim McFarland, for ninety pounds, the southerly half of a dam and water privilege located at what is now known as Quinsigamond village, and on the northerly side of the street,

in front of the site now occupied by the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company's Mills.

"Owing, perhaps, partly to the unsettled condition of the affairs of state, and to the impoverished plight of the country, the building of the mill was deferred, and November 9, 1787, he sold the property for eighty-five pounds to Dr. Elijah Dix, from whom he again purchased it January 31, 1793, for one hundred pounds, and soon began the construction of a two-vat mill"; and, to again quote from Mr. Crane, "This mill, built by Mr. Thomas, was supplied with two vats of about one hundred and ten lbs. capacity, and they ran usually fifteen hours each day, employing ten men and eleven girls. The main product of this mill was hand-made paper, and from twelve hundred to fourteen hundred lbs. were turned out weekly." As to price of labor: The skilled engineer received about three dollars per week, vat-men and coucher three and a half dollars each without board; ordinary workmen and girls, seventy-five cents per week each; boys, sixty cents each, and they were given board.

It was here at this mill that Mr. Zenas Crane, a native of Dorchester, toiled at the trade of paper-making for several years previous to the summer of 1799, when he set out from Worcester to establish, in company with Henry Wiswell and Daniel Gilbert, a paper-mill in the western portion of Massachusetts, and succeeded so admirably in laying the foundations for a business that, through the careful and skillful management of Mr. Crane and his descendants, has assumed the most flattering proportions, and whose trade-marks, known as "The Old Berkshire," "Old Red Mill," "Pioneer Mill" and "Government Mill," stand for as good an article of paper as can be found in this country or perhaps any other.

Mr. Thomas sold his paper-mill to Caleb and Elijah Burbank, of Sutton, February 24, 1798. This paper-mill was the second in the county and the eighth in the State. Another building was erected shortly after 1811, below the Thomas Mill, and used as a sickle-factory by Gardner Burbank, Elijah's son; afterwards it was converted into a paper-mill. This building was located in what is now the scrap-yard of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company.

In 1778 the principal articles, aside from food and the ruder kinds of cloth, were imported, and mostly from England. The resident of Worcester could find steel, bar iron, choice brandy, New England and West Indian rum, coffee, alum, brimstone, powder and shot at the store of Samuel & Stephen Salisbury, on the north side of Lincoln Square, just east of the Salisbury mansion, where the depot now stands.

Elisha Clark, at this time, followed the business of rope-making about two miles from the meeting-house, on the road to Sutton.

Clock and watch-work was done in a small way, but not of a very fine grade, if we may judge from the following description of a watch supposed to have been stolen: "A large old-fashioned watch with the

glass broken in three places and put together with putty."

As a rule, shoemakers in the early days went from house to house, but in 1779 Nathan Heard appears to have established a small shoemaker's shop in Worcester.

Daniel Waldo, to whom reference has been made, opened, in 1782, a store near the bridge over Mill Brook at Lincoln Square, where he offered for sale best Heart and Club German steel, bar iron, 4dy. and 10dy. nails, window-glass, Dutch looking-glasses, iron shovels, spades, saddlers' ware, and in general, an assortment of hardware and West India goods, choice Bohea tea, etc.

The firm of D. Waldo & Son, dissolved December 31, 1791; Daniel Waldo, Jr., continued.

In 1783, Abel Stowell manufactured clocks and watches in his shop south of the meeting-house, on the west corner of Park and Salem Streets. He made in 1800 the clock formerly in the Old South Church. The business of watch and clock-making appears to have been a considerable industry at this time. Benjamin Willard, of Grafton, who had an office with Isaiah Thomas, had sold two hundred and fifty-three eight-day clocks up to 1784.

The art of hat-making was early practiced in Worcester; John Smith offered one shilling each for cat-skins in 1782, and in 1789 Nathan Blackburn advertises for an apprentice in the hat-making business.

In 1789 Palmer & Daniel Goulding owned a tannery. Almost every town had a tan-yard, and leather of sufficiently good quality was made to serve the needs of the shoemakers and saddlers in the immediate vicinity.

Improvements in the simple conveniences for living were made from time to time, and in 1791 the appreciation of the necessity for a cheap and satisfactory artificial light is found in the construction of a new candle machine,—price, forty-five dollars,—with which it was claimed a boy could make three hundred and sixty rods of candles per day.

Abraham Lincoln had a trip-hammer and grist-mill a few rods from the court-house, which he offered for sale in 1795. It must have been located on Mill Brook. The works are described as containing two pairs of bellows that go by water, a grindstone and mill all under one roof; "said works and grist-mill are as convenient and as well situated for custom as perhaps any in the Commonwealth."

The desire for communication between the seaboard and Worcester appears to have been felt previous to March, 1796, when some persons formed an association at Providence for making a canal to Worcester, and they were at that time invited to a conference in Worcester at the tavern of Ephraim Mower. Later on, no doubt as a result of this meeting, a prospectus appeared setting forth the purpose of the Canal Company, which was to issue four thousand shares of stock at one hundred dollars each, which

it was estimated would cover the cost of building the canal. Subscriptions were solicited in Worcester; William Paine (at Dr. Lincoln's store), Joseph Allen (at his office), Isaiah Thomas, Thomas Payson, Daniel Waldo, Jr., and Samuel Chandler were appointed to receive them.

In October, 1796, a number of individuals petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation for the purpose of cutting a canal from Great Pond in Worcester to Boston, but nothing was done at this time either with the Blackstone Canal or with the proposed canal to Boston. In 1822 surveys were made for the Blackstone Canal, which was afterwards put into successful operation, as appears later in the narrative.

In 1798 Daniel Denny had a card-factory on Mechanic Street near Main, opposite Mower's tavern (present site of Walker's building); later, he moved to Main Street, opposite present site of Bay State House. He, no doubt, bought his wire of Daniel Waldo, who imported it, and who, at this time, announced "Sixteen casks of Wool and Cotton Card wire will be landed in a few days from the brigantine 'Aidar,' just arrived from Amsterdam."

Dutch plows, made in Connecticut, were at this time for sale at Denny's store.

Cornelius Stowell, the clothier, had, in 1785, a shop on the east corner of Park and Orange Streets. Abel (the clock-maker), Peter and Ebenezer were his sons. The two latter he took into partnership with him about 1790, when they began to manufacture woollen goods, print calicoes, carpets, dye and dress woollen goods. They had two fulling-mills, and dyed fine scarlet and deep blue colors in the best manner.

In 1804 Peter & Ebenezer Stowell commenced to weave fine carpets, and at one time had six looms of their own invention and construction in operation. They made the first carpets used in the State-house at Boston. July 19, 1809, a patent on wood screws was granted to Abel Stowell, and in January, 1816, he and his son were located on the Common, a few rods southwest of the Baptist meeting-house, where they conducted a miscellaneous business, dealing in stoves of cast and sheet iron, with their funnels, "as cheap as they can be purchased in Boston or any other place." Machinery of all kinds in brass and iron, particularly such as are used in carding and other factories; clocks for meeting-houses and printers' materials in iron and brass. Among his effects offered for sale by his administrators in May, 1819, was an undivided part of what is called the Black Lead Mine, consisting of two acres. This was, no doubt, what was later known as the Worcester Coal Mine. Black lead was procured here and ground into a paint, which was quite generally used.

In January, 1808, Curtis & Goddard were busy making chaises, and at this time appear to have moved from opposite the jail to a building south of

the bank. Samuel Newhall had taken the noted stand of John Johnson, where he intended carrying on the soap-making business. Thomas Stevens, cabinet-maker, states that he has purchased the right to make and sell two kinds of churns for several towns in the county.

In May, 1810, John Earle and Erasmus Jones erected a wool-carding machine to pick, break and card wool at the building known as Lincoln's Trip-hammer Shop, fifteen rods east of the court-house.

At this time the number and variety of manufactures in Massachusetts appear to have increased considerably. Some idea of these, in 1810, may be had from a notice issued from the marshal's office in Boston July 17th, asking for information in regard to the following industries: tanneries, distilleries, sugar refineries, breweries, paper-mills, oil-mills, snuff-mills, chocolate-mills, gunpowder-mills, glass-works, fulling-mills, carding-machines (going by water), hemp and flax spinning-mills, cotton and wool-spinning mills, rope-walks, furnaces, air furnaces, forges, bloomeries, rolling and slitting-mills, cut-nail factories, trip-hammers and steel-furnaces.

The sudden increase in the variety of manufactures may be attributed to the embargo, declared in December, 1807, and to the complications then existing between this country and France and England, which led to an almost complete stoppage of importations, and manufactories of cotton goods, woolen goods, iron, glass, pottery and other articles rapidly sprung into existence.

Previous to the embargo, according to Hildreth,¹ there were in the United States but fifteen cotton-mills with a total of eight thousand spindles. By the end of 1809 eighty-seven mills were built, of which sixty-two were in operation—forty-eight by water and fourteen by horse-power—working thirty-one thousand spindles, and many more were in process of erection.

Most of the saws used in Worcester in 1810 doubtless came from the works of Elijah Waters & Co., at Sutton, who kept on hand steel-plate and saw-mill saws of various sizes.

One of the earliest machine-shops in Worcester was that of Earle & Williams, in 1812, opposite the court-house, where they carried on the business of machine-making, and advertised for sale machinery for spinning cotton and wool, carding-machines, and brass castings. Their shop was destroyed by fire January 5, 1815.

In April, 1813, the attention of shoe and boot-makers is called to a new and useful improvement, secured by patent, for putting shoes and boots together with copper nails, without any sewing. The patentee announces that he will attend at Captain Mower's tavern in Worcester (the site now occupied

by Walker's building) from the 12th to the 20th instant, for the purpose of selling patent right, and claims that the invention "has been proved to answer every purpose for beauty, ease and convenience, and vastly more durable, at a saving of about half the work, and remedies all the evils attending iron nails and wooden pegs."

In April, 1815, the Worcester Tannery is offered for sale. It is described as situated in the centre of the town, and is one of the most extensive and convenient establishments in the State, in perfect repair, and with all the accommodations and necessary tools for carrying on the business.

"Through the middle of the yard runs a large brook, confined by a very handsome stone wall. A few rods from the tan-yard is a building in which bark is ground by water, and in which there is a patent bark-mill, strong and well-constructed."

This is the tannery formerly referred to as owned by Samuel Johnson, and was located east of the present site of Exchange Hotel.

Some reason for the sale of the tannery may be found in the heavy taxes upon leather. The other tanneries in different parts of the county appear to have suffered, for no less than nine are offered for sale during 1816 and 1817.

The discontent of the workers and makers of leather, and others, finds expression in the following notice, which appeared May 31, 1815:

Shoemakers ahoy! Have you been at the Collector's and given bonds, with two sufficient sureties, to pay duty upon your work?

If you make a single boot or shoe above \$5 value without giving bonds to secure the duty to Government, you do it at your peril, and are subject to a penalty of not less than \$500!

What is your situation better than that of Virginia negroes? You must account for every pair of boots you make to the Collector. You must tell how much you ask for them, whom you make them for, and how many pair you make; and, to crown the whole, all this must be done under oath. No, that does not crown the whole; one thing more, whenever a customer breaks, or runs away, or cheats you, in addition to the loss of the article itself, and the labor, you must pay the duty upon it to the Government! This is the crowning, the cap-sheaf.

Silversmiths, carpenters, joiners, hatters, tailors, tobacconists, boat-builders, tin-men, blacksmiths, and ye mechanics and manufacturers of all articles and commodities of whatever name and nature, be ye also ready. A fine of \$500 awaits you unless you comply with the provisions of these arbitrary, iniquitous laws passed by Congress the 16th and 27th February, 1815.

In May, 1815, Earle & Williams give notice that in addition to machinery for carding wool, they will have in operation, about the 1st of July, machinery for the spinning of wool, which can be spun at a rate greatly below the price of hand-spun. They also give notice, June 21st, that, in connection with Asa Mann, they have in operation, near Stone's tavern, south part of Leicester, machinery for carding wool.

Joshua Hale, at the same time, states that he has put his machines for carding wool and spinning cotton in most excellent order, and attends them himself; also that he has for sale cotton yarn made of cotton selected by himself in Savanuah, which he warrants to be the best.

¹ Richard Hildreth's "History of the United States," Vol. III., p. 210.

In September, 1815, Thomas & William Stowell advertise that they have improved the building lately occupied for a wire-factory, one and a half miles south of the meeting-house, where they have put their works in the best order for dressing cloth, and are in readiness to meet any demands in their business.

It may be interesting to note, in passing, that at this time the postage to Boston, on single letters, was fifteen cents.

John W. Lincoln, in January, 1816, advertises all sizes of nail-plates from the Millbury Rolling-Mill Company. This company was established in the latter part of December, 1815, for the purpose of manufacturing nail-plates and rods.

William Hovey, June, 1816, advertises a double carding-machine in operation for custom work at his factory, one mile south of the meeting-house in Worcester, where merino wool is carded in the best manner.

October 2d he gives notice that he has taken George March into company with him, and that at Hovey's mill they will manufacture wool into cloth; price for spinning wool, three cents per skein.

At this time considerable interest was manifested throughout the country in manufactures, and frequent meetings were held for the purpose of devising means for their encouragement. A committee of the Legislature in New York urged that members of Congress be instructed to attempt to have the duties on woolen and cotton increased; urged the public officers to clothe themselves in American cloth, and that manufactures be exempt from taxation, and manufacturers from serving in the militia, and from other public duties.

It appears to have been quite popular at this time for American statesmen to appear in clothes of American manufacture. It is said that Henry Clay, when once in Millbury, was presented with a roll of blue broadcloth, the product of the mill of Colonel Sheppard, and Mr. Clay remarked that his next suit of clothes would show Congress what American manufacturers could do.

Daniel Webster also had a suit of clothes made for his use in Washington from cloth made by the Goodell Manufacturing Company, at Millbury, woven, very likely, upon looms made by W. H. Howard, of Worcester.

The following notice appears in the *Spy* of October 22, 1817:—

The Members of the Worcester Honorable Society, being prisoners for debt on parole, and deprived of the means of supporting themselves in prison, or their families at home, or of paying their debts, and unwilling their time and talents should be lost to themselves or to the public, hereby give information to their creditors and the good people of this vicinity that there are in the society those who can perform the business of farming, shoemaking, masons, clock and watch repairing, card making, mathematical and meteorological instrument making, painting and glazing, engraving, distilling, rope making, etc., and solicit a share of their patronage in the above-named kinds of business, which they can perform within the limits; and they engage they will promptly and faithfully attend to all business entrusted to them.

Worcester Gaol, Oct. 22, 1817.

This is interesting, as indicating the variety of small manufactures carried on in and about Worcester at this time, and as illustrating the unfortunate working of the law then in force, which deprived many worthy men of any opportunity of escaping from their misfortunes.

In October, 1819, the Worcester Agricultural Society gave its first exhibition. Among the Worcester exhibits of domestic manufactures were two pieces of kerseymere and one calf-skin, tanned and curried in two days by Reuben Wheeler.

Nine skeins of tow yarn, from thirty-three to thirty-eight skeins to the pound, spun on a great wheel by a lady in Worcester.

The judges noted with regret that no hoes, scythes, plows, wool, cotton and machine-cards were exhibited in a county which had long been distinguished for the manufacture of these articles, and, in their opinion, no cotton cloth sufficiently good was offered to be entitled to a premium.

CHAPTER CXII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Streams and Mill Privileges—Population of Worcester—Blackstone Canal—The Railroads—The First Expresses—The Old Coal Mine—Feet—Stage Lines.

THE introduction of steam-power, the opening of the Blackstone Canal and the railroads, have made it possible for a large manufacturing city to grow where otherwise no considerable progress could have been made; for had it been necessary to depend altogether upon water-power, few large factories could have been located upon the small streams which constitute the head-waters of the Blackstone.

These streams, nevertheless, have played a most important part, affording means for starting manufactures which have since so largely developed in size and variety; while the increased demand for power has been met by the introduction of steam-engines, through whose medium the waters which formerly were directly applied to the water-wheels, and whose capacity was consequently limited, are now equal to any demands which may be made upon them. For these reasons the water privileges and streams deserve prominent mention in any account of the manufacturing industries of Worcester.

The Ramshorn stream, so called, rises in Ramshorn Pond, which lies two-thirds in Millbury and one-third in Sutton; it flows in a northerly direction and is joined by Kettle Brook in the northeasterly part of Auburn.

Kettle Brook rises in Paxton, is fed by Lynde and Parsons Brooks, flows in a southerly direction and joins the Ramshorn stream, as above stated; the united streams, known as French River, flow in a

northeasterly direction. At New Worcester, Tatnuck and Beaver or Turkey Brooks unite with French River, and the course becomes a little south of east. At this point the stream is known as Middle River for about a mile; Mill Brook then joins it, and from this point the river is known as the Blackstone.

Ramshorn Pond is owned by the manufacturers on the Blackstone River, who are assessed for all expenses and repairs. The pond and stream have a water-shed of nine thousand two hundred and fifty-five acres. There are five privileges on this stream, previous to its entering the town of Auburn, the third privilege being that occupied by the old shop of Thomas Blanchard, where the eccentric lathe was invented by him, and is of considerable historic interest. The sixth privilege, which is in Auburn, is known as Larned's village or Pondville. There was a saw-mill here as early as 1794; later a mill was built for the manufacture of woolen goods, which has since been used for worsteds. Pond & Larned formerly owned this privilege, which is now occupied by Kirk, Hutchins & Stoddard.

The seventh privilege has long been known as Dunn's Mills; here saw, grist and shingle-mills have been located at different times; plow handles, probably for Ruggles, Nourse & Mason, were at one time made here. The old mills were burned some time ago, and the privilege is now used for a shoddy-mill.

A mile beyond, Kettle Brook and Ramshorn stream unite, not far from the French meadows, on the left of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad coming from Auburn to Worcester.

Kettle Brook flows from a reservoir in Paxton, which was built and is owned by the mill-owners along the stream.

The first privilege is an old saw-mill, but little used and somewhat dilapidated, owned by the town of Leicester. The second privilege down the stream is what was known formerly as Mulberry Grove (now Mannville), and is at present utilized for the manufacture of satinets by the Mann Brothers.

The third privilege is what is known as Kent's, built by the father of Mr. P. G. Kent, of Jamesville, who first built a saw-mill, then changed it to a shoddy-mill, then into a satinet-mill, which is now run by P. G. Kent & Brother.

The fourth privilege is Bottomly's brick mill, built by him, and known as his third mill. It is now owned and occupied by E. D. Thayer, and utilized for the manufacture of satinets.

The fifth privilege is the Chapel Mill, built by Mr. Dickinson, now used for satinets.

The sixth privilege is called the Eli Collier Mill. This was also built by Mr. Dickinson, and is run on satinets.

The seventh privilege was the Watson Mill, used for the manufacture of broadcloth. It was burned some time ago, and has never been rebuilt.

The eighth privilege is the old mill built by Thomas Bottomly, an Englishman. This was one of the first mills built in this region, and is said to have been built before any of the mills on the stream. Mr. Bottomly was one of the pioneers in the broadcloth business, which he conducted at this mill for many years. It has been remodeled, and is now owned and run by George W. Olney. Mr. Hodges was Mr. Olney's predecessor.

The ninth privilege is one on which a mill was built by Thomas Bottomly for the manufacture of broadcloth, and was known as his "second mill."

Lynde Brook empties into Bottomly's Pond, and a short distance up this stream is the Worcester Reservoir. This mill has passed through several hands, and is now owned and occupied by Albert E. Smith, who makes woolen goods.

The tenth privilege was occupied by Robert Young for a saw-mill, which was afterwards changed into a satinet-mill and was washed away in the Lynde Brook disaster; it was then merged in the Ashworth & Jones privilege.

The eleventh privilege was formerly occupied by a grist-mill, built by a Mr. Adams, who sold it to Wadsworth & Fowler. The grist-mill was torn down and replaced by a satinet-mill, which, after some time, was sold to Ashworth & Jones, who erected there a handsome mill, one hundred and seventy by fifty feet, four stories high, which was run on beaver cloth. In 1886 it was purchased by Mr. E. D. Thayer, Jr., who carries on a large business in the manufacture of woolen goods.

The twelfth privilege was originally occupied by a shingle-mill, then by a paper-mill, which was changed into a satinet-mill; it then passed into the possession of Ashworth & Jones, who connected it with the privilege next above.

The thirteenth privilege is known as Darling's, and was first occupied by Solomon Parsons. It then passed into the hands of Mr. Darling. Satinets have always been made here.

The fourteenth mill is known as Hunt's. This was also built by Solomon Parsons, and sold to Bel-lows & Darling. Cotton batting was first made here, and then satinets. It is now run by a Mr. Butler in the manufacture of satinets.

The fifteenth is the Jamesville privilege, which Benjamin James bought of the heirs of the Burnett estate. It was originally a saw-mill in the woods. Mr. James bought soon after 1850 and built the factory, which he ran on hosiery till about 1860; he then changed to army cloth, and after that to fancy cassimeres. It was run up to the time of Lynde Brook disaster, when the dam was destroyed, the water plowing twenty feet beneath the dam. The mill was rebuilt and ran on cassimeres till about 1880. It passed through several hands, and finally came into the possession of P. G. Kent & Co., who enlarged the mill and now make satinets. There is

quite a village at this point, a chapel and depot. One hundred and ten hands are employed in the mill.

The sixteenth privilege is occupied by the Stoneville Mill.

The waters of Kettle Brook come into the Stoneville Pond at the end nearest New Worcester; at the other end a stream comes in which has been known as Young's Brook, and by other names. About a mile up this stream was an old paper-mill, erected about 1834 by Nathaniel S. Clark and Daniel Heywood. Kettle Brook with this stream carries the Stoneville Mill, now operated by the Stoneville Worsted Company in the manufacture of yarn for the carpet-mill of William J. Hogg.

In 1834 Jeremy Stone owned this mill; it then went into the possession of Edward Denny, next of A. L. Ackley, and later was changed from woolen to cotton goods.

John Smith bought the mill about 1858, and it was subsequently run by his sons—C. W. & J. E. Smith—for many years. About a mile from this point Mill Brook joins the Ramshorn stream, and thence proceeds through the French Meadows, and is known as the French River.

At the next privilege Mr. Trowbridge, grandfather of William T. Merrifield, built, in 1810, a mill for the manufacture of cotton yarns. There had previously been a saw-mill, and possibly a grist-mill at this point. At this time Joshua Hale was carding wool at the privilege now occupied by Albert Curtis, and the farmers were in the habit of taking their wool to Mr. Hale to have it carded and spun, and bought their yarn at Trowbridgeville, doing the weaving at their own homes.

Tatnuck Brook has a water-shed of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three acres. Upon an old map, published in 1784, a trip hammer-mill, a corn-mill and a saw-mill are found upon Tatnuck Brook, within the limits of the town of Worcester. The first mill recollected by those now living is a saw-mill in Holden, owned by a man named Hall; this was prior to 1850. The second privilege was near the outlet of the present reservoir, where there was another saw-mill.

The third privilege was at Tatnuck. The fourth privilege was the old mill built in 1834 for David T. Brigham, in Tatnuck, near the bridge on the road to New Worcester; it is now used for making satinetts. It was built by William T. Merrifield in 1834. The fifth privilege was Patch's saw and grist-mills.

The sixth privilege was a small mill, and the seventh, the upper privilege now occupied by the Coes Manufacturing Company. This and the lower privilege on Leicester Street are more particularly described in that part of this article which treats of the wrench business.

Tatnuck Brook was known at one time as Half-

Way River, as the bridge at New Worcester was halfway from Boston to Springfield. On its tributary, Turkey or Beaver Brook, a saw-mill was located in 1784.

At the junction of Tatnuck Brook and Ramshorn Brook was the old original dam which was removed by Mr. Albert Curtis about 1845.

The privilege now occupied by factories of Albert Curtis and Curtis & Marble is described elsewhere.

Next to this privilege is the one occupied by the Hopeville Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of satinetts. This was occupied by Thomas Sutton in 1831, where he put in the first iron water-wheel in the county. Sutton's original mill was burned in 1862. About 1848 there was a cotton-mill here run by S. H. Thayer. This was formerly known as Hornville, so called because, when the first mill was built, there was no bell, and the help were called to work with a horn.

The first mill located here was a grist-mill. Bigelow & Barber bought the privilege in 1853.

Next come the carpet-mills, once the location of White & Boyden's machine-shop, where Mr. Albert Curtis learned his trade. Hatch & Gunn here commenced the manufacture of broadcloth in 1827; they were the first in Worcester to make woolen goods throughout. Then comes the Wicks Manufacturing Company, who recently commenced the manufacture of worsted suitings.

The next privilege is the one now occupied by the Worcester Wire Company, which has been used as a manufacturing site for many years and for many different purposes.

Upon the map previously referred to published in 1784, North Pond is said to cover thirty acres of ground. John Pierce's map, 1795, gives the area of North Pond forty acres, and says that in that year there were in Worcester five grist-mills, six saw-mills, one paper-mill. Near where Mill Brook leaves North Pond there were situated, in 1784, two fulling-mills; just southeast of the court-house was a trip-hammer shop. Between the two and just north of Lincoln Square the old mill of Captain Wing was located in 1685. Then a grist-mill, probably on the site of the Crompton Loom-Works, and a saw-mill was located at Quinsigamond, with the statement that "there is soon to be a paper-mill."

Mill Brook has a water-shed of seventy-seven hundred and fifty acres. The first privilege below North Pond Dam was occupied by a cotton-mill built by George T. Rice and Horace Chenery, about 1830.

The second was a factory built by Frederick W. Paine for Washburn & Goddard, and occupied by them until 1834; then by Goddard & Parkhurst until 1838, when it was leased for a short time by Ichabod Washburn, and was later occupied by William Crompton until it was burned in February, 1844.

The third privilege was the old tannery privilege, originally built by Dr. William Paine, father of F. W.

Paine, for a grist-mill, which was run by the family for many years.

About 1836 N. Eaton & Co. have a paper-mill here. The Olivers, stove dealers, next used the privilege to grind black lead. In the fall of 1854 Mr. Samuel Warren purchased the property of Mrs. Oliver, and ran it as a tannery until 1885. Mr. Warren's ancestors on both sides for three generations were tanners. His main business was to supply the cardmakers with their leather. This water privilege has recently been purchased by Stephen Salisbury.

The fourth privilege is Grove Mill, where the late Mr. Stephen Salisbury built a wire-mill for Ichabod Washburn in 1834.

The fifth, Court Mills privilege. Abraham Lincoln had a trip-hammer shop here in 1795; Earle & Williams a machine shop in 1812, and a bark-mill was probably run in connection with the old tannery located just back of Exchange Hotel in 1815.

Before Court Mill was burned there was an old one-story building located here, used in 1828 by William Hovey for the manufacture of shears and straw-cutters. The basement of the new Court Mills was built of the stones which came from the old jail, which stood on the square facing the present depot.

Howard & Dinsmore took the first lease of the Court Mills, and were succeeded by Mr. Samuel Davis.

The sixth privilege was built by F. W. Paine, at the corner of School and Union Streets. It was occupied at first by a small wooden building, thirty by eighteen, two stories high; the basement was occupied by W. H. Howard, lead pipe manufacturer; the second story by Calvin Darby, who ran a carding-machine. Mr. Howard was bought out by Ichabod Washburn in 1822, and January 1, 1823, Mr. Washburn and Benjamin Goddard formed a partnership, and at the same time bought out Calvin Darby. They manufactured woollen machinery here until their removal to Northville, in 1831. March, Hobart & Co. succeeded them. The premises have been occupied by various parties from 1822 till the present time in the manufacture of woollen machinery, N. A. Lombard & Co. being the present owners.

The seventh privilege was called Flagg Mills, afterwards known as the Red Mills, and owned by William B. Fox.

The Red Mills were occupied by sash and blind and cutlery manufacturers, while from the same privilege was obtained power which ran the woollen-mill of Fox & Rice, on the other side of the street. This privilege was sold, and the site became part of the sewerage system in the mayoralty of James B. Blake.

The eighth privilege was occupied by the upper and lower paper-mills at Quinsigamond, later and at present by the works of Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company.

The ninth and last privilege in Worcester was occupied by the Perry Grist-Mills, which were built in 1831.

Mill Brook has played an important part in the development of the manufacturing interests of Worcester, and three distinct privileges on this stream have been occupied by wire factories, while the first experiments of Ichabod Washburn were conducted at the present location of the Lombard Factory, on School Street. The first wire-mill was located at Northville, and later was moved down the stream to the Grove Mill privilege, and later still the Quinsigamond privilege was used for this business. Mill Brook is now condemned to the main sewer shortly after it leaves the works of Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, in Grove Street, from which it emerges into the Blackstone, just below the works at Quinsigamond.

It was not until 1820 that Worcester took first rank among the towns of the county. The census of 1765-76 gave Worcester the fifth place in population, following Sutton, Lancaster, Mendon and Brookfield. In 1790, 1800 and 1810 Worcester stood third in order, Brookfield and Sutton preceding.

In 1820 Worcester took first place, and from that time to the present has shown a constantly-increasing percentage of the population in the county. That percentage amounted to something over eleven per cent. for the decade ending 1830, and over fifty per cent. for the decade ending 1880; while of the increase (17,142) in the population of the county between 1880 and 1885, 10,098, or nearly fifty-nine per cent., belongs to the city of Worcester; and of the population of the county, which was 244,039 in 1885, Worcester had 68,889, or a little over twenty-eight per cent. In 1820 the population of Worcester was 2,962, and of the county 73,625.

This brings us to the time of the building of the Blackstone Canal between Worcester and Providence, which marks an important epoch in the progress of Worcester, and too much credit cannot be given its projectors for appreciating the necessity to Worcester of communication with the seaboard. It is true that the canal was never of great practical value, by reason of the better facilities for business afforded by the railroads. It is equally true that without the railroads the canal would have ensured the growth and prosperity of the town.

The plan of making a navigable water-way from Providence to Worcester was first suggested, in 1796, by Mr. John Brown, of Providence, and his associates, but the Legislature of Massachusetts, failing to assent to an act of incorporation, it was not then carried into execution.

In May, 1822, "Gentlemen who are friendly to the project of a canal from Worcester to Providence are requested to meet at Colonel Sikes' Coffee-house on Friday evening, at seven o'clock." Another meeting was held on May 24th, and a committee appointed,

upon which the following gentlemen served: Levi Lincoln, John Davis, John W. Lincoln, William E. Green, John Milton Earle, Edward D. Bangs.

In September, 1822, the surveys of the canal were completed. According to the report of the committee, the length of the canal would be forty-five miles and the descent from Thomas Street to tide-water in Providence 451½ feet.

The ground was bored every twelve rods for the whole distance, and upon the route selected no rock was found within the depth of excavation. The engineer reported, "I have come to the conclusion that a canal 32 feet wide at the top, 18 feet at the bottom and 3½ feet depth of water, would be a proper size to be formed, and that locks of 70 feet between the gates and 10 feet in width would be sufficiently large for the trade intended."

The estimated expense of the work, including locks, was \$323,319.

The excavation in Rhode Island was commenced in 1824, and a meeting of the Blackstone Canal Company was called at the Thomas Coffee-House, Worcester, April 9, 1825, for the purpose of forming a corporation.

Great expectations were formed of the amount of business that would be done, and it was claimed that the canal would more than double the value of real estate within six miles of it. The subscription books for \$400,000 of the capital stock, were opened in Providence, April 27th; three times the required amount was subscribed for, and the stock sold at a premium.

In May, 1826, the canal was located in the village of Worcester.

Fears were entertained in Boston at this time that the canal would divert trade from Boston to Providence; to counteract this, a plan for a railway between Worcester and Boston was proposed. It is related that a wag, happening to be in town when the account of the sale of canal stock was received, was asked what the Boston folks would do when they heard of that. "Oh," replied he, "they will rail a-way!"

The first canal-boat to arrive in Worcester was the "Lady Carrington," which arrived from Providence October 7, 1828, and moored in the basin in Central Street, at head of canal at eleven o'clock, and was advertised "To take passengers for Milbury to-morrow morning, returning in the evening, and she will remain here during the present week for the accommodation of parties."

The arrival of the "Lady Carrington," according to an account in the *National Ægis*, October 8, 1828, "was greeted on passing the locks by the cheers of the multitude assembled. On reaching the Front and Central Streets bridges continued cheers hailed its approach. At eleven o'clock the boat arrived in the basin, and the commissioners and the crowd assembled were addressed by Colonel Merrick, chairman

of the Board of Selectmen, who expressed the sentiments appropriate to the occasion. On the conclusion of his remarks, enthusiastic cheers, the thunders of cannon and the peal of bells welcomed the visitant to the town. The commissioners and other gentlemen of both States were passengers on the boat, and with the gentlemen of the town partook of a collation at the house of the Governor."

The following notice appears in the *Spy* at this time:

Port of Worcester, October 8, 1828, Arrived yesterday, Canal-boat "Lady Carrington," Captain Dobson, from Providence, with slate and grain for Nathan Heald.

At the end of October "Lady Carrington" arrived in Providence loaded with domestic goods—butter, cheese, coal and paper.

The following extracts, taken from the papers of the day, will give some notion of the amount and character of the goods shipped:

Canal-boat "Providence," Captain Dobson, with 10,000 lbs. lead pipe from T. & J. Sutton, machinery from William Hovey, and iron castings from Sumner Smith.

Departed, boat "Massachusetts" for Providence, with 26 casks of beer and 11 hogheads from Trumbull & Ward.

Arrived, canal-boat "Worcester," Captain Green, from Providence, with 3457 lbs. of iron for Washburn & Goddard, 4169 lbs. of lead to J. & T. Saffin, 13 bales of cotton, 3 tons of logwood and one ton of copperas for William Buffum, Jr.

But there were three serious drawbacks to the prosperity and profits of the canal, which soon made it unpopular with most of its stockholders and patrons. Unfortunately, a portion of the canal was located in the Blackstone River, and boats were more or less delayed in high, and also in low water, and in some seasons for weeks were detained with goods which were wanted for immediate use or sale. In some years the canal was for four or five months closed with ice. In a season of drought the manufacturers were jealous of the boatmen drawing so much water, and on several occasions in Rhode Island the owners of the mills and of the water-power ordered large loads of stone tipped into the canal-locks to prevent the boats from passing, which almost excited a riot among the boatmen, and some of the mill-owners were afraid their mills would be fired, as they had been threatened.¹

April 22, 1846, the *Spy* states that the canal company had sold all that portion of the canal in Massachusetts, with all the privileges and franchises, except the reservoirs, for the sum of twenty-two thousand five hundred dollars to the Providence and Worcester Railroad Company, and April 25, 1849, the locks, boats and water-rights were advertised for sale. The last toll was collected November 9, 1848, but meantime more efficient means of communication between the sea-board and Worcester was afforded by the railroads.

In March, 1831, subscription books were to be found at the banks, where those who wished could

¹ "History of the Blackstone Canal," by Colonel I. Plummer.

subscribe to the stock for a railroad from Boston to Worcester.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Company was chartered June 23, 1831, to build a line from Boston to Worcester,—a distance of forty-four miles. A train was run through to Worcester July 1th; but it was not until July 6, 1835, that the road was formally opened, although the cars had, for some time previous, been running from Boston to Westboro', and, as early as April 16, 1834, to Newton. The train of July 6th to Worcester consisted of twelve cars drawn by two locomotives, and contained the president, directors, stockholders and invited guests to the number of about three hundred.

The train, which left Boston at a quarter before ten, arrived in Worcester at about one o'clock. It was met by a committee, of which Charles Allen was chairman; a procession was formed under the direction of General Nathan Heard, and proceeded to the Town Hall, where a collation was served and speeches made. At four o'clock the train started on the return trip to Boston.

At the Insane Asylum, when the first locomotive passed, one of the inmates remarked: "Well, that beats the very devil; I never before saw a critter go so fast with such short legs!"

In April, 1836, the business of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company was said to have been more than double the amount of that of the corresponding time of the year preceding; passenger cars were well patronized, and there was more freight than the company was prepared to care for. During the first five months of 1837 the receipts were twenty-six thousand dollars more than during the same period in 1836, and continued to show a steady increase.

The Western Railroad Company was chartered February 15, 1833, to construct a line from the terminus of the Boston and Worcester Railroad to Springfield, and thence to the western boundary of the State. A mass-meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, October 7, 1835, to take measures to ensure the subscription to the capital stock of \$2,000,000. This was accomplished, and the following winter the Legislature authorized a subscription of \$1,000,000 in behalf of the State, making the capital stock \$3,000,000. At this meeting Edward Everett made a speech, in which he insisted upon the importance to Massachusetts of "Communication with the West."

Trains commenced their regular trips between Springfield and Worcester October 1, 1839. The time occupied in making the journey was about three hours. A public dinner was given in Springfield in honor of the opening of the road, October 3, 1839, on which occasion Edward Everett said:

Let us contemplate the entire railroad, with its cars and engines, as one vast machine. What a portent of art! Its fixed portion one hun-

dred miles long; its movable portion flying across the State like a weaver's shuttle. By the seaside in the morning, here at noon; and back in the compass of an autumnal day. And the power which puts all in motion, most wondrous, a few buckets of water! . . . Did we live in a poetic age, we have now reached the region where the genius of steam communication would be personified and embodied. Here we should be taught to behold him a titanic colossus of iron and of brass, instinct with elemental life and power, with a glowing furnace for his lungs and streams of fire and smoke for the breath of his nostrils! With one hand he collects the furs of the arctic circle, with the other he smites the forests of Western Pennsylvania. He plants his right foot before the source of the Missouri and his left on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and gathers in his bosom the overflowing abundance of the fairest and richest valley on which the circling sun looks down.

September 14, 1867, the two Massachusetts corporations were consolidated under the name of the Boston and Albany Railroad Company, and on December 28, 1870, a further consolidation was effected with the New York roads, thus forming the present organization.

The Norwich and Worcester Railroad Company was chartered in March, 1833. The first meeting of the company was held at Webster July 1, 1835. The length of the routes surveyed was a little short of sixty miles, and passed through thriving villages, while upon the banks of the adjacent streams there was said to be water-power sufficient to carry one million spindles; the number of cotton-mills was seventy-five and of woolen-mills twenty-seven, exclusive of Worcester and New London. There were said to be one hundred and forty manufacturing establishments between Norwich and Worcester, within five miles of the road. Though fifteen miles longer than the Boston and Worcester Railroad, it was estimated it would cost five hundred thousand dollars less. Regular trips between Worcester and New London commenced March 9, 1840, and the fare to New York by this route was fixed at five dollars.

R. W. Whiting, Nov. 21, 1838, advertises that, having made arrangements with the Boston and Worcester Railroad Co. to occupy a part of a car, to be run with the passenger train to Boston in the morning and back in the afternoon, commencing on Monday, 26th of November, he will take charge of all packages, bundles, etc., which may be entrusted to his care, and will see them safely delivered the same day, and that he will also transact with promptness any other business committed to his care.

He had an order-box at the Temperance Exchange, Railroad Depot and the American Temperance House, where he could be found after seven in the evening and before seven in the morning.

William F. Harnden has always been credited with being the father of the American Express system. His advertisement is found in the *Spy* of June 24, 1840, where he announces that the Worcester, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston Baggage Express will commence July 1, 1840, running daily, and that he will forward in his express car daily, packages, bundles, etc., to and from each of the above-named places,—to Boston by steambot-train

every morning, and to New York every afternoon at half-past four.

All packages must be marked Harnden's Express, and sent to his office, N. Tead's Hat Store, one door north of the Post-Office, Worcester. Simeon Thompson, agent, Worcester.

WM. F. HARNDEN, Prop.,
8 Court Street, Boston.

S. S. Leonard, in the *Spy* of August 12, 1840, advertises an express between Boston and Worcester.

September 2, 1840, Burke & Co. advertise the New York and Boston Baggage Express, *via* Norwich and Worcester, run by the subscribers, P. B. Burke & Alvin Adams. Packages to be left at J. B. Tyler's, Worcester.

The question of a railroad between Providence and Worcester, a distance of forty-three miles, was seriously discussed as early as 1837, but nothing was done for several years. In August, 1845, the enterprise came nearly to a stand-still, although eight hundred thousand dollars had been subscribed under the Rhode Island charter and one hundred thousand dollars under the Massachusetts charter; but the Rhode Island charter required that the whole capital of one million dollars should be taken up before the company could proceed. The amount was finally raised, and a consolidation was effected November 4, 1845, of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Companies, each of which was chartered in 1844. The main line was opened in October, 1847, when a train, made up of nine covered cars and twelve or thirteen open cars, drawn by three powerful engines, arrived in Worcester with twelve hundred passengers from Providence and towns on the line.

The Worcester and Nashua Railroad Company, organized in November, 1846, was a consolidation of a company of the same name, chartered in Massachusetts March 5, 1845, and the Groton and Nashua Railroad Company, chartered in New Hampshire December 4, 1844. The road was opened from Worcester to Nashua, a distance of forty-six miles, December 18, 1848. The Nashua and Rochester Railroad Company was chartered July 5, 1867, and opened from Rochester to Nashua, a distance of forty-eight miles, November 24, 1874. William A. Wheeler was one of the principal promoters of the Nashua Railroad, and was the superintendent of construction.

December 1, 1883, the Worcester & Nashua and Rochester Railroads were consolidated under the name of the Worcester, Nashua & Rochester Railroad Company, which company was leased to the Boston & Maine Railroad Company October 30, 1885, for fifty years from January 1, 1886.

The Boston, Barre & Gardner Railroad Company, running from Worcester to Winchendon, a distance of thirty-six miles, was chartered April 24, 1847, as the Barre & Worcester Railroad Company, and April 24, 1857, as the Boston, Barre & Gardner Railroad Company. It was opened to Gardner, September 4,

1871, and to Winchendon, January 4, 1874. It was taken possession of by the Fitchburg Railroad Company March 7, 1885, and merged in the latter company as a branch, July 1, 1885.

It will thus be seen that from an early day Worcester had the advantages of the best railroad facilities, and to this, and to the introduction of steam-power, is to be most largely attributed her rapid growth as a manufacturing city. At the present time there is not only direct communication with all points north and south, but there are five outlets and thirteen different lines, more or less, affording direct communication with the West. Edward Everett's wish, so strongly expressed in his speech in Faneuil Hall prior to the opening of the Western Railroad, is most perfectly fulfilled.

In 1823 attention is called to the advantages possessed by Worcester which should make it a large manufacturing centre. Encouragement is found in the fact that towns in the interior of England, with no greater local advantages, have contained from 10,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, and since the introduction of steam-power, a population of from 80,000 to 100,000 has been reached. It was stated that Worcester would soon be at the head of canal navigation, and in addition, her "inexhaustible store of anthracite coal, well calculated for steam-engines," was referred to as being of the greatest value.

Considerable attention was given in 1823 to the examination of the anthracite coal deposits, which were located northeast of the city, west of Plantation Street, and near its junction with Lincoln Street, now known as the Old Coal Mine.

The coal was said to be of the same variety as the Rhode Island, Schuylkill and Lehigh coal, and was found, according to statements then made, to ignite easier than any of them and to burn longer. Careful comparisons were made of the relative value of these different varieties and the result, with a given quantity of each, showed as follows:

Worcester coal lasted five hours; Lehigh, four hours twenty-five minutes; Rhode Island, three hours thirty-six minutes. The thermometer was raised by the Worcester coal to one hundred and seventy-nine degrees; by the Lehigh, to one hundred and sixty; by the Rhode Island, to one hundred and thirty-four.

The Worcester coal burned brighter than the others, and with more flame. It was confidently asserted that when the Blackstone Canal should be completed Worcester coal would be the cheapest fuel for Providence; it was estimated, however, that the Worcester coal was more impure than the Lehigh, containing a considerable portion of earthy matter that remained in the form of ashes after burning; but, in spite of this, it was thought that it would answer a valuable purpose. Tests were made at the Worcester Brewery, which appear to have been satisfactory, for in February, 1824, application was made to the General Court for the incorporation of the Massachusetts

Coal Company, to ascertain the quality and quantity of the coal, and expense of mining and conveying it to market.

For the next two years it appears to have been used as the principal fuel in the brewery of Trumbull & Ward, and was also used in Colonel Gardner Burbank's paper-mill. It was found there, that about half of the bulk of the coal remained after the fire subsided, but upon replenishing with new coal it was mostly consumed in the second burning, and Colonel Burbank found the expense of keeping a fire with this coal to be less than the expense of cutting wood and tending fire, if the wood were delivered at the door free of expense.

In December, 1827, the proprietors of the brewery burned coal taken from the land of William E. Green, which was a little distance from the mine, but appeared to be of a somewhat better quality.

Work at the coal mine must have been prosecuted with some vigor, for in February, 1828, fifteen or twenty young men and a blacksmith were wanted to work there.

In November, 1828, an opening twelve feet wide and eight feet high had been carried into the hill about sixty feet, at a descent of about twenty-five degrees, and a railway was laid, on which the coal was carried from the mine to the place of deposit, in loads of fifteen hundred pounds.

In February, 1829, the Worcester Coal Company was incorporated, and in March, 1829, the Worcester Railway Company, with a capital of fifty thousand dollars, with authority to build a railway from the mine to Lake Quinsigamond and to the Blackstone Canal, but the enterprise appears to have been abandoned shortly afterwards. The coal was found to be too impure for economical use. It was somewhat humorously said that there was a d— sight more coal after burning than there was before.

Peat was also found in the meadows about Worcester. In 1856 it was introduced into the Wire Factory as a substitute for wood and coal; in three years nearly two thousand cords were used in this way, and it was found that a cord of well-seasoned peat would produce as much heat as a cord of dry oak wood; and a cord and a half of peat would generate as much steam as a ton of anthracite coal.

It was estimated that peat could be used to good advantage for manufacturing purposes at a saving of from thirty-three and one-third to fifty per cent. over any other kind of fuel. It had the remarkable quality of keeping fire a long time, even burning for a week after the fire had gone down. In April, 1856, the Worcester Peat Company was formed, but no business of consequence appears to have been done by it. It was no doubt found that coal was the cheaper fuel.

In June, 1827, Worcester is spoken of as containing "the large paper-mills belonging to Elijah Burbank, five machine shops, at which great quantities of machinery of various kinds are made, one small

Cotton factory, a Lead aqueduct factory and other works of minor note."

Prior to 1813 there was no stage or mail route between Worcester and Providence; in that year, or 1814, it was attempted to run a stage, but the business was only sufficient to support a cheap carriage and two or three horses, and the proprietors abandoned it.

Until 1819 the mail was carried once a week in a one-horse wagon; an attempt was then made to run a two-horse stage twice each week, but this did not pay, and was abandoned.

In 1823 a line of stages was started and well patronized.

For a long time the only stages from Worcester were six times each week to Boston, and six times each week to New York.

In 1827 there were eighteen different lines of stages running from Worcester, and the passengers averaged one hundred daily.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Textile Fabrics and Machinery for Making Them—Early Manufacture of Cloth—Condition of Woolen Manufacture—John Goulding—Manufacture of Cotton and Woollen Machinery—Card Clothing—Looms—Curperts—Thread.

WE have already noticed that Samuel Brazier in 1790 advertised to sell "corduroys, jeans, fustians, federal rib and cotton," and that at the same time he and Daniel Waldo were proprietors of the Worcester Cotton Manufactory. There was then scarcely any machinery for the manufacture of cloth in America; it had been introduced into England, but there were severe laws against its exportation to the colonies.

The process of making cloth, as early conducted, was entirely by hand-power. Hand-cards were used for straightening the fibre of the wool or cotton, which was spun by a single spindle driven by a wheel kept in motion by the hand of the operator. The yarn was woven upon hand-looms, and the cloth thus made was sent to the fulling-mill, which was the first branch of the business not conducted in the household.

Fulling-mills were scattered all over the country for the purpose of finishing the cloth made in the farm-houses.

John Earle and Erasmus Jones in 1810 "erected wool-carding machines to pick, break and card wool at the building known as Lincoln's Trip-hammer shop, fifteen rods east of the Court-house."

In 1811 William Hovey, an ingenious mechanic, advertised a new shearing-machine, called the "Ontario Machine," and warned all persons against making or using a machine embodying the principle on which this was constructed, "which covers a

spiral revolving shear working against a straight blade or cutter." One of the advantages claimed for this machine was that it could be carried anywhere in a one-horse wagon, and could be operated either by hand or water-power. It was claimed that this machine would facilitate that laborious branch of the business ten-fold.

Hovey constructed another machine in 1812, in which the shears moved across the cloth on the same principle as hand-shears, and he claimed that with this machine he could shear about two hundred yards of broadcloth a day as well as by hand.

In 1814 Jonathan Winslow engaged in the manufacture of flyers of a superior quality for spinning cotton.

Comb-plates for wool-carding machines were offered for sale in 1814 by Daniel Waldo at his store and by Earle & Williams at their shop. At the same time Merrifield & Trowbridge were engaged in making cotton and woolen machinery at the Trowbridgeville privilege.

The prices generally adopted for wool-carding at this time, in Worcester County, were seven cents per pound for common wool, with an addition of three cents when oil was found by the carders; twelve and a half cents per pound for carding half-blooded merino, with the like addition for oil; twenty-five cents per pound for carding full-blooded merino, with the like addition.

An improvement over the ordinary single spindle spinning-wheel is offered by the proprietor, located at Sikes' Tavern, who offers for sale "The Farmer's Spinner," which carries from eight to twelve spindles attached to a single spinning-wheel.

As an indication of the improvements being made in the construction of machinery, attention is called in 1822 to the fact that William Hovey is constructing cylinders for carding-machines entirely of iron, being cast in four parallel pieces.

Stephen R. Tenney is engaged in building wool-carding, matting, shearing and brushing-machines, in the building formerly occupied by Trowbridge & Merrifield as a cotton factory.

In 1822 Ichabod Washburn manufactured machinery for carding and spinning wool at his shop near Sikes' Inn.

January 1, 1823, Mr. Washburn took into partnership Benjamin Goddard (2d), and continued in the same business, to which they added that of carding wool, having purchased the machines lately owned by Mr. Calvin Darby.

In June, 1824, Brewster & Fox advertised the best carding-machines and workmen at their establishment, one mile south of Worcester Village,—the South Worcester privilege—carding, six cents; oiling and carding, seven cents.

The machine-shops, so called, at this time were almost exclusively engaged in the manufacture of cotton and woolen machinery.

William B. Fox, who seems at this time to have separated from his former partner, Mr. Brewster, dresses "Handsome wear" at his cloth-dressing factory, one mile south of Worcester, at twenty cents per yard, "common at sixteen cents."

Sarah Hale, widow of Joshua Hale, offered for sale, March 1, 1826, the factory at New Worcester, consisting of the building "occupied for many years past for the purposes of manufacturing cotton and carding custom wool;" but not finding a customer, she had the machines put in good order and resumed business.

Simmons & Wilder carded wool and dressed cloth about two miles south of Worcester Street.

September 13, 1826, William B. Fox moved his wool-carding and cloth-dressing business to the new building erected on the privilege formerly owned by Samuel Flagg, a few rods south of Worcester Village.

The woolen business at this time was in a most depressed condition, and was said to be done at a loss, even with the most prudent management. It was feared that the probable stoppage of the mills would be severely felt in the community. A meeting was held about this time in Boston, and it was decided that it would be advisable to apply to Congress for an increase of duties on imported woolens, or a reduction of the duty upon wool.

The cotton fabrics made in this country at this time were of excellent quality, and the business was in a much better condition than the woolen business.

A meeting was called in Worcester for Friday, December 1, 1826, at "Stockwell's," to consider the depressed state of the woolen manufactures. At that meeting a memorial to Congress was prepared, signed by Emory Washburn, James Woolcott and Major John Brown.

One of the most valuable contributions to the woolen machinery of the world was the endless rolling, or American card, invented in 1826, by John Goulding, a native of Massachusetts, and for many years a mechanic at Worcester. Previous to the development of this machine the rolls, or rolling issuing from the carding-machine, were limited to the breadth of the card, and the ends of the separate rolls had to be spliced together by hand process, by a machine called a "billy." Goulding dispensed with the "billy," and, by an ingenious combination of devices, obtained an endless roll, and so perfected his machinery that he could use it successfully from the moment the rolling left the dull end of the first picker until it was converted into yarn fit to be manufactured into cloth. This device has been styled the most important advance in the card-wool industry of that early period.¹

Some knowledge of the equipment of a woolen-factory at this time may be had from a notice of a sale in June, 1827, at the woolen-factory then lately occupied by A. & D. Aldrich, and about one mile south

¹ Boston Advertiser, November 3, 1888.

of New Worcester, at which were to be offered for sale ten satinet-loom, one double carding-machine, one billy, one shearing-machine, one roping-machine, one press, one copper-kettle, one potash-kettle, press-plates.

In February, 1828, William Hovey stated that he is about to stop his manufacture of satinet shearing-machines, but will continue to make broad and cassimere shearing-machines with vibrating or revolving shears, and also metallic grinding-machines for keeping the machines in order.

In March, 1830, it was proposed to erect in Worcester a patent hemp and flax-machine, and the Worcester Hemp Company offered to furnish seed to the farmers on the following conditions:

The company would furnish seed at the market price for cash, or in payment would take good notes on interest payable in hemp stem at eighteen dollars per ton, gross weight, when the crop was harvested and delivered at the machine, or would furnish the seed and sow on shares. The company offered to pay eighteen dollars per ton gross weight for good hemp stem delivered at the machine cut, or fifteen dollars without.

In March, 1831, Lewis Thayer and George Willey commenced the manufacture of loom-pickers at New Worcester. Lewis Thayer "carded wool at three and a half cents per pound and waited one year for his pay."

In August, 1831, Washburn & Goddard sold their business of manufacturing woolen machinery to March, Hobart & Company, composed of Andrew March, George Hobart, Henry Goulding and B. F. Smith. This firm was dissolved in 1832, and was succeeded by Hohart, Goulding & Company, who dissolved March 25, 1832. They manufactured pickers, carding-machines, condensers, jacks, etc., also comb-plates, and were succeeded by Goulding & Smith.

February 24, 1836, Goulding & Smith dissolved, D. T. Brigham having retired from the firm in 1834, and Henry Goulding continued the business alone. A co-partnership was formed, April, 1837, under the title of Henry Goulding & Company, consisting of Henry Goulding, John Gates, (2d), and Luke Withrby. They were burned out in August, 1838; the building, which was of brick, was valued at three thousand five hundred dollars, and was owned by Frederick W. Paine; the tools and machinery, valued at eight thousand dollars, were destroyed. This concern built at that time about sixty thousand dollars' worth annually of woolen machinery.

Nov. 15, 1844, Goulding & Davis, who had succeeded, dissolved, and Henry Goulding continued. April 1, 1851, Willard, Williams & Company, bought out Henry Goulding; the firm was composed of Fitzroy Willard, Warren Williams, N. A. Lombard, Charles A. Whittemore and H. W. Conklin; this firm was succeeded April 2, 1855, by F. Willard & Company, composed

of Fitzroy Willard, Charles Whittemore, N. A. Lombard and H. W. Conklin. This firm was succeeded April 1, 1861, by Bickford & Lombard, who were succeeded by N. A. Lombard, the present proprietor, who has been connected with the business since 1851.

From 1823 until the present time this business has been confined to the manufacture of woolen machinery of different kinds, and at present includes carding and spinning machinery, spinning jacks, pickers, dusters, willowers, etc.

The firm of Phelps & Bickford was composed of Horatio Phelps and William M. Bickford; W. M. Bickford succeeded William Stowell, August 31, 1831, and built woolen machinery, condensing, picking, napping and brushing-machines, also spinning jacks, at the Stowell shop in New Worcester; he was succeeded by Abel Kimball, who continued the business at the same place.

Horatio Phelps manufactured looms of all kinds in the shop formerly occupied by William Howard, at South Worcester, from whom Mr. Phelps had purchased the right to make his patent broad looms. Phelps & Bickford continued to manufacture here, after the formation of their copartnership, all kinds of woolen looms. In October, 1834, they removed from South Worcester to Court Mills, then a new building erected by Stephen Salisbury for the accommodation of parties desiring to lease factory room. Phelps & Bickford afterwards occupied part of the wire factory in Grove Street. Later, Mr. Bickford continued the business alone, and in 1859 he employed twenty-three hands in building looms in the west wing of the Grove Street mill. December 28, 1860, he moved to Merrifield's building, in Exchange Street, where he was prepared to build all kinds of Crompton looms and other fancy looms, broad and narrow; also walking, dressing and spooling machinery, with steam cylinders or pipes for drying; also all kinds of machinery and tools for making wire.

August 17, 1831, John Simmons & Co. announced that they had formed connection in business, and will supply at their new shop in New Worcester the following machinery: Broad and narrow shearing-machines, pressing-machines, napping-machines. This copartnership was composed of John Simmons, Abel Kimball and Albert Curtis, and was dissolved February 21, 1832. Mr. Curtis in 1831 took a lease of Lewis Thayer, the then owner of a part of the water privilege which was originally owned by Joshua Hale. Here he erected a machine shop. The old Hale building was a wooden factory, two stories and a basement, and stood where the middle building of the Curtis & Marble factories now is.

Albert Curtis was born in Worcester, 1807. At the age of seventeen he was apprenticed to White & Boyden, who manufactured woolen machinery at South Worcester, near the present location of the carpet-mills. After learning his trade he worked

here for three years as a journeyman, at one dollar and twenty-five cents per day. In December, 1829, he went to Pittsburgh, but returned in January, 1831, and again entered the employment of White & Boyden. While learning his trade he became acquainted with his fellow-workmen, Kimball and Simmons, and they conceived the idea of going to New Worcester and starting for themselves. The firm of John Simmons & Co. was succeeded by Simmons & Curtis, who continued to make shearing and other machinery. In 1833 Mr. Curtis purchased Mr. Simmons' interest, and continued alone until 1834, when Mr. William Henshaw became a partner and so continued until 1839, the firm-name being Curtis & Henshaw. They had not room enough at New Worcester for their business, and for a time leased room of Ichabod Washburn, in the wire-mill in Grove Street. This copartnership was dissolved January 8, 1839.

In 1835 Capron & Parkhurst occupied the old Hale building, which was owned by Clarendon Wheelock.

About 1840 Mr. Curtis purchased of him the Ranshorn water privilege, building and satinnet machinery, consisting of two full sets. He had previously bought the Lewis Thayer water privilege, where the old dam stood on Tatnuck Brook, to run his machine-shop. Mr. Curtis leased the old building to John Metcalf and William C. Barber, who ran it until 1842, when it was burned, together with the machine-shop of Mr. Curtis, which was a wooden building with a basement. The original dam on the privilege stood one hundred feet from the bridge toward the location of the present dam, and was about sixty feet long and four feet high.

After the fire of 1842, Mr. Curtis immediately rebuilt the machine shop (52 x 30 feet), three stories high. In 1842 he built a factory on the site of the old Hale mill, a portion of which he leased to Sumner Pratt, to make cotton sewing thread. Mr. Curtis afterwards had an equal interest with Mr. Pratt, and bought him out in 1844. The basement of the building was rented to L. & A. G. Coes, who manufactured wrenches. While Mr. Sumner Pratt was here in the thread business, Mr. L. J. Knowles and a Mr. Hapgood purchased his product and spooled it in another room of the same building, and put it on the market.

After Mr. Curtis bought out Mr. Pratt, he put in looms for making cotton sheetings. The mill was continued as a cotton-mill for several years, when it was converted into a satinnet-mill. In 1845 the South Mill was built and used for the manufacture of cotton sheetings and drillings.

In 1870 the South Mill was changed to woolen goods, blankets, shawls and dress goods.

At the north end of Curtis bridge was the old wheelwright shop of E. Graves, now used as a dwelling-house. Mr. Curtis bought out Graves in 1837, and continued the wheelwright business until about 1840.

In 1852 Mr. Curtis bought the Trowbridgeville factory and commenced here the manufacture of cotton

sheetings. In 1860 the mill was burned and partially rebuilt and filled with machinery for making woolen goods.

Mr. Curtis changed the 1845 mill to woolen goods in 1871, and has since put in additional machinery for the manufacture of horse blankets.

The mill built in 1842 was changed to satinets in 1857. In 1862 Mr. Curtis took Edwin T. Marble into partnership in his business for manufacturing woolen machinery for finishing woolen, silk and cotton goods, and that partnership has continued to the present time.

This company makes a specialty of shearing machinery, the improvements in which have been greater than in any other machinery used in the manufacture of woolen goods. Mr. Curtis built the first machines for shearing or trimming cotton cloth built in this country; they were used to remove the fuzz from cotton cloth. In old times this was accomplished by singeing or burning.

A shearing-machine made in France was sent from Pawtucket to Mr. Curtis to be repaired. Mr. Curtis examined it and thought it could be improved. He began building the machines then and has continued ever since. Up to that time the French machines had been used in this country. They had one set of shears; the Curtis machine now has from two to five sets. One machine made at the present day will do as much as twelve did in 1830.

December 10, 1833, William H. Howard and Silas Dinsmore made cotton and woolen machinery at their machine shop near the Court-House, and continued in business until September 30, 1834, when they dissolved. In November, 1834, Silas Dinsmore commenced the manufacture of power-looms at the same place, and April 13, 1835, formed a co-partnership with Fitzroy Willard, continuing in the same business. In 1838 Fitzroy Willard was located at Court Mills, where he manufactured broad power, satinnet and cassimere looms, and in 1840 Silas Dinsmore manufactured reeds at Court Mills.

The card-clothing industry has been a most important one, and was naturally among the earliest in which the colonists engaged, for the reason that it is essential to the manufacture of textile fabrics. The use to which carding is put is to separate the fibres of the material being worked, and to lay them parallel. The process consists in the reciprocal motion of two surfaces covered with short pointed teeth, between which the stock is placed. Formerly this was done by hand, and was conducted in the household.

"It is probable that either cards proper, or tools closely resembling them, were used as far back as the dawn of civilization, when the art of the manufacture of textiles was in its very infancy. To within a comparatively recent period the processes were very rude, depending mainly on hand labor, and thus the cards employed differed somewhat in their shape from those used at the present day.

"To produce them, a sheet of leather was taken about eighteen or twenty inches by about four inches in width. This was ruled by lines into cross sections as a guide for the workman, who used a prickler with two blades, piercing two holes at a time at the point where the lines intersected until the whole sheet was pierced. This accomplished, the wire was taken, each pin or shaft being separately bent into a staple by hand. The prongs of the staples formed the card teeth, which were inserted also by hand, one staple at a time, into the perforated leather sheet above described.

"The sheet, with its wire teeth, was now nailed upon a board, and called a card. With this appliance, or rather with a pair of them, the operator carded. He placed tufts of cotton, wool or other fibre between them, and drew the one over the other for several strokes until both were equally filled, and then, by a reverse stroke, he cleaned out the fibre in the form of a roll, called a carding, which was used by the spinsters for making their yarn."

Tacks were first used in making hand-cards, and they were for a time manufactured in this country by cutting them out of sheet-iron with a pair of shears. The tack was held in a vise and headed by a single blow. About six hundred and fifty tacks were required for nailing each dozen pairs of hand-cards to the boards on which they were used. All the tacks used for this purpose for many years were made by hand in the manner described above, until Thomas Blanchard, of Sutton, invented an automatic machine for making the tacks from strips of sheet-iron.

Daniel Denny, whose card-factory has been noticed, probably followed the practice of giving the teeth out to women and children, who would set them in the leather at their homes.

Card-setting by hand was done as late as 1828. Earle & Chase, whose store was at the corner of Thomas and Main Streets, state in August, 1826, that persons who wish for cards to be set can be accommodated at their store. In 1829 the average price paid for setting cards by hand was forty-two cents per square foot. A good setter would put in about twenty thousand teeth in a day. The best machines to-day will set three hundred teeth per minute, at an average cost of five cents per square foot. Wages paid card-setters in 1829, \$1.33 per day; at the present time, \$3.50 to \$4.50 per day. The cost of setting cards is now something less than one-eighth the amount paid sixty years ago, and the wages paid average three times as large.

Amos Whittemore, of Cambridge, had patented a card-setting machine in 1797, but it could not be used by others, and the cards made by hand at Leicester were of better quality.

In 1785 the manufacture of cards was begun in Leicester, and to this industry the growth and prosperity of the town is largely indebted. In 1789

Pliny Earle, who had manufactured hard-cards since 1786, made for Almy & Brown, of Providence, R. I., the first machine card clothing in America, as appears from the following interesting letter:

PROVIDENCE, 11th M. 4th, 1789.

RESPECTED FRIEND,

PLINY EARLE.—We having pretty much concluded to alter and to cover our Carding Machine, and Joseph Congdon informing us that he expected to go to Leicester soon, we thought we would inclose & send thee the Number & diameter of our Cylinders and propose thy covering them with Cards. We have conferred with our Card Makers in Town about doing the Jobb, who appear desirous to do it, and are willing to take their pay, all excepting the cost of the wire in our way, but, it being our object to have it well done, and thinking we could rely upon thy performance, have preferred thy doing it.

We have also had it in contemplation to write to Boston, but, being desirous of having it done soon, and that being likely to protract the time of having it done, have waived that also.

We are not desirous of beating thee down in thy price, or that thou shouldst do it below what thou couldst reasonably afford, but we have thought, considering thou hast thy machinery now prepared, which was not when thou didst that for the company at Worcester, that if we gave thee the same for covering ours as thou hadst for theirs, tho' a little larger, it would be equivalent to what thou charged them, considering the preparations aforesaid, which the first employers, or rather those on whose account it is especially made, in all such cases must expect to pay, as we have had abundant experience. If that price will answer, we should be glad thou wouldst take the pains to go and view the machine at Worcester, and if there can be any improvement made upon the manner of covering, that, should like thou wouldst make it, either in the Length of the Teeth, or in any other particular. Stowel, who superintends the business there, will cheerfully give thee any information respecting the working of theirs, no doubt, upon thy own account and upon ours also, as we are upon friendly terms with him, having divers times been mutually helpful to each other.

We are much in want of ours being done, and should be glad to have it soon; propose, therefore, if thou undertakes the business, that thou wouldst set a time when thou thinks thou could bring the cards down to put on, and we will endeavor to have the machine in readiness to receive them. Inclosed is the dimensions of the Cylinders, that is, their diameters; the second Cylinder in circumference, thou knows, has the cards placed at some distance from each other, in order that the rake may take the rolls distinctly; ours are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart.

We are of the opinion that the kind of the teeth ought to be in proportion to the circumference of the Cylinder on which they are placed. We propose having the Cards the same size as those on the Worcester machine, viz: 16 Inches and all Cotton Cards of equal quality excepting the feeder, and the Cylinder that takes it off of it, and we need not add of the best quality of the number suitable for the machine, of which, we suppose, the machine at Worcester must be considered as a sample. We should be glad to supply thee with any kind of live Stock, if thou should want, at Cost price, or any kind of produce, cloths included, for the whole or part of the amount; if not, we will pay thee the cash. We think that in four weeks from this time we shall be glad of the Cards. A line from thee by Joseph respecting what we may depend on will be agreeable, as we mean to prosecute the accomplishment of the business as fast as may be.

From thy Friend, ALMY & BROWN.

P. 8.—The diameters of our Cylinders are here subjoined.

The great Cylinder.....	36 Inches.
the next.....	26 "
the next.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1 ditto.....	10 "
4 ".....	6 "
6 ".....	3 "

One of which, the feeder, to be covered with wool Cards.

It has been often said that the first machine card-clothing was made for Samuel Slater in 1790. Mr. Slater landed in New York November 11, 1789. December 2, 1789, he wrote to Almy & Brown, and December 10th received a reply, making an engagement with him. December 14th Pliny Earle set out for

Providence to put cards on Almy & Brown's machine. There is no doubt that Mr. Slater had much to do with perfecting the carding-engine and making it a success after he went into the employ of Almy & Brown.

(I am indebted to Mr. Thomas A. Dickinson, of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, for this information and copy of above letter.)

The leather first used in making machine-cards was calfskin, and then cowhide tanned for the purpose. Sheepskin was generally used for hand-cards.

In 1791 Mr. Earle's brothers—Jonah and Silas—became associated in business with Pliny, and in 1806 Silas commenced to manufacture on his own account. At his death his son, Timothy, sold his father's machinery to his cousin, Timothy K. Earle, and Reuben Randall. Mr. Randall's interest, after some transfers, came into the hands of Edward Earle.

Timothy Keese Earle, founder of the T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company, was born in Leicester in 1823. In December, 1843, Timothy K. Earle & Co., consisting of Timothy and his brother, Edward Earle, moved from Leicester to Worcester, and occupied room over Pratt & Earle's iron store, in Washington Square, where they continued the manufacture of all kinds of machine-cards of the best quality. Their machines were built by William B. Earle, between 1843 and 1849.

In 1857 T. K. Earle & Co. built the factory now occupied by their successors for the manufacture of card-clothing cotton, gin-clothing and belting. This has always been the largest card-clothing factory in America.

Edward Earle retired from the business in 1869, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas, who died in 1871. In 1872 Mr. Edwin Brown became a partner, and subsequently, in 1880, the agent and treasurer of the T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company, of which Mr. T. K. Earle was the president.

The T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company own a number of patents on their improvements in the method of producing card-clothing. Pliny Earle made one kind of card-clothing, viz.: iron wire teeth set by hand in leather. The T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company now make all kinds of leather card-clothing, using both hemlock and oak tanned leather, over ten varieties of cloth card-clothing, and use eighteen or more sizes of soft steel wire, eleven or more sizes of hardened and tempered steel wire, besides tinned wire and brass wire of various shapes and sizes. They curry their own leather, manufacture card-cloths and rubber-faced card-cloths for themselves and for other card-makers. They have built almost all their card-setting machines in their own machine-shop, and are constantly making improvements in the quality and the methods of card-clothing.

The T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company of Worcester, Mass., have manufactured double and single

cover cloth for foundation for card-clothing for the past fifteen years, having special and improved machinery for the purpose, and in 1883 they built a factory on their premises for the manufacture of all kinds of card-cloth, including vulcanized rubber facings. With the very best American and English machinery, and the most improved process of vulcanizing rubber for this purpose, they are now prepared to furnish not only their own large card-clothing factory with card-cloths, but have sufficient capacity to make them for all the card-makers in America.

In 1866 Joseph B. and Edward Sargent, sons of Joseph B. Sargent, the manufacturer of card-clothing in Leicester, organized the Sargent Card-Clothing Company, and built a factory in Worcester, with Edward Sargent as manager. April 15, 1879, the business was sold to James Smith & Company, of Philadelphia.

Howard Bros. Manufacturing Company, Washington Square, manufacture machine card-clothing, machine wire heddles, hand stripping cattle and curry cards. Established in 1868, by C. A. Howard, A. H. Howard and John P. Howard, continued as a co-partnership until 1888, when the company was incorporated as the Howard Bros. Manufacturing Company, with a capital of forty-five thousand dollars.

They started with four hands, and now employ twenty-two, and occupy ten thousand square feet of flooring. They have a lumber-mill at Keyes, N. H., where they make the backs of their cards. Their machinery is all of their own construction, and much of it special machinery of their own design, notably the card-setting machines, employed for setting teeth, in the cards of which there are from forty thousand to eighty thousand in each square foot of card-clothing. One feature of this business is the manufacture of diamond-pointed card-clothing and hand stripping cattle and curry cards of every description in wood and leather for cotton, wool and flax. Their trade extends throughout the United States and Canada.

Charles F. Kent started the business of manufacturing card-clothing in January, 1880.

There appears to have been a number of small manufacturers of cards in Worcester at different times. Daniel Denny and Earle & Chase have already been mentioned. In 1834, William B. Earle had room in Howard & Dinsmore's shop, near the Court-House, for the manufacture of cards.

In 1848, William E. Eames, 43 Front Street, manufactured cards; he was succeeded by Earle Warner.

In 1849, N. Ainsworth occupied the third story of Goddard & Rice's shop in the manufacture of card-setting machinery. The business was purchased by F. G. Ruggles in 1851.

David McFarland at this time manufactured card-setting machinery, and made the best machines then made in the country. All the machines now running

in the Sargent Card-Clothing Company factory, excepting a few English machines, are the McFarland pattern.¹

LOOMS.—"Weaving is the art by which threads or yarns of any substance are interlaced so as to form a continuous web. It is perhaps the most ancient of the manufacturing arts, for clothing was always a first necessity of mankind.

"The simplest form of weaving is that employed in making the mats of uncivilized nations; these consist of single untwisted fibres, usually vegetable, arranged side by side to the width required, and of the length of the fibres themselves, which are tied at each end to the stick which is so fixed as to keep the fibres straight and on the same plane; then the weaver lifts up every other of these longitudinal threads, and passes under it a transverse one, which he first attaches by tying or twisting to the outermost fibre of the side he commences with; and afterward, in the same way, to that on the other side, when it is passed through the whole series. The accession to the art of spinning threads of any length enables more advanced nations to give great length to the warp, or series of threads which are first arranged and to pass the weft, or transverse thread, backward and forward by means of a shuttle without the necessity of fixing at the sides. That kind of weaving which consists of passing the weft alternately over and under each thread of the warp is called plain weaving; but if the weaver takes up first one and then two threads alternately of the warp series, and passes the weft under them for the first shoot of his shuttle, and raised those which were left down before for the second shoot, he produces a cloth with a very different appearance, called twill.

"There are few arts which require more patience than weaving; as many as from one to two thousand threads often constitute the warp, and these threads may be so varied in quality as to produce many varieties of fabric. From that cause alone there are almost infinite variations; many may be produced by the order in which the threads are lifted for the passage of the weft; that of itself can also be varied as much or more in its quality and other circumstances, so that the inventive genius of the weaver finds incessant opportunities for its display, and nice arithmetical calculations are required in estimating and allotting the numerous threads to the endless variety of patterns which are constantly passing through the loom."²

The first practical power-loom was devised in 1785 by Dr. Edmund Cartwright, of Derbyshire, England, a minister of the Gospel, and ignorant of mechanics. He is said to have had his attention turned to the subject by the remark that when Arkwright's patents for spinning yarn by power should have expired, so

many persons would go into the spinning business that no hands would be found to weave the cotton. He spent thirty thousand pounds in endeavoring to perfect his loom, and in 1808 received a grant from Parliament of ten thousand pounds for his services. Steam-power was applied to his looms in 1807.

Improvements were rapidly made upon the Cartwright loom by other inventors, and it was soon brought into general use for both cotton and woolen goods.

Ichabod Washburn speaks in his Autobiography of seeing a power-loom in the winter of 1813-14, which was so crude that all the cog-wheels were made of wood, and expresses the opinion that it was probably the first power-loom in the United States. Whether this be true or not, it is certain the power-loom had not, at that time, been long in operation in this country.

In the fall of 1823, Wm. H. Howard and Wm. Hovey were in business together, and after building various kinds of machinery, commenced building broad power looms, and finally settled on the common Scotch looms as the best, and put them in operation at the factory of the Goodell Manufacturing Company, Millbury, at the Pameacha factory in Middletown, Conn., at the Torrington and Litchfield factories, and elsewhere.

This partnership was dissolved, and early in 1825 each manufactured these looms on his own account, William H. Howard building broad power cassimere and kerseymere looms, carding and shearing-machines at his shop, one mile south of the Main Street in Worcester,—South Worcester privilege.

For satisfactory proof of the superiority of his looms, he referred to the Goodell Manufacturing Company in Millbury; to Wolcottville Manufacturing Company, in Torrington, Conn.; and to Zachariah Allen, Providence, R. I.

These looms were sold for one hundred and twenty-five dollars each, delivered at the shop in Worcester, including the expense of putting them in operation.

In 1828 Rice & Miller advertised for sale satinnet power-looms, and in 1830 Wheelock & Prentice took the shop theretofore occupied by William H. Howard, at South Worcester, and purchased of him the right to build his improved looms, upon which he had a patent for an improvement in the lay motion, consisting of an irregular slot in the sword of the lay through which it was moved. There are many looms now in operation with this movement.

In 1832 Horatio Phelps carried on the loom business at the shop formerly occupied by William H. Howard, having purchased the right to make and sell the Howard Improved Patent Broad-loom.

The business was conducted at the same place in 1833, by Phelps & Bickford, who advertised that they were prepared to build to order all kinds of woolen looms of the most improved plan. In addition to the

¹ Much of the material used in the article on card-clothing is taken from a book called "A Century Old," published by the T. K. Earle Mfg. Co., and written by H. G. Kittredge and A. C. Gould.

² People's Encyclopedia.

business of making the broad satinet cassimere power-looms, they manufactured to order reeds of any description.

Prescott Wheelock was building looms at his shop in New Worcester in 1833, of any description that the public might want, and in 1835 Silas Dinsmore and Fitzroy Willard formed a copartnership to manufacture power-looms; they dissolved in November, 1835, Fitzroy Willard continuing the business at the same place in Court Mills, where he manufactured broad power-satinet and cassimere looms. He built fifty broad power looms in Worcester for W. & D. D. Farnum, and Mr. Samuel Porter helped set them up in the mill at Blackstone, in 1835. Most of the machinery for that mill was built in Worcester. Henry Goulding constructed the carding and spinning-machines.

All the looms which have been spoken of up to this time were plain looms, so-called, the fancy loom being an invention of later date. The plain loom is one in which a few harnesses, operated by cams, are used. The goods woven on this loom are like cotton or twilled fabrics.

The modern fancy loom varies in range from two to forty harnesses. The movement of these harnesses is controlled by a pattern-chain, made up to correspond with the different make of goods, and for different colors of filling in the goods, drop-boxes, or movable boxes are required, which are also controlled by chain, according to the pre-determined pattern. With these boxes from one to seven colors can be used.

In the trade at the present time the cam-loom, with a single box, whether of two or eight harness capacity, is usually spoken of as a plain loom, and any loom whose mechanism is controlled by chain made up according to a pre-determined pattern, is usually spoken of as a fancy loom.

Up to 1836 the harnesses of all power-looms were operated by cams; consequently the changes of weave of which the looms were capable were very limited, and goods for which an intricate figure or design was required were necessarily woven, as formerly, in a hand-loom.

In 1836 William Crompton, a native of Lancashire, England, a practical weaver both by hand and power, came to Taunton, Mass., and entered the service of Messrs. Crocker & Richmond.

While in the employ of that firm Mr. Crompton invented a loom to weave a certain pattern of goods which the looms in the mill could not weave, for which a patent was issued to him in 1837, and the loom was introduced into the manufacture of cotton goods. This loom was the first power-loom invented in which the figure or pattern desired to be woven could be made up in a small chain, and when placed upon the loom would control suitable mechanism to move the harnesses to weave the proper figure. Mr. Crompton went to England and procured a patent for

his loom in that country, and in 1839 he returned to the United States, and in 1840 introduced his invention into the Middlesex Mills, in Lowell, Mass. Up to that time no fancy woollens had been woven by power in this country or in Europe, except those woven on hand-looms.

In a letter written in 1877 to the late George Crompton, Esq., by Mr. James Cook, agent of the Middlesex Mills in 1840, the following interesting statement is made:

The writer, now in his eighty-third year, in looking over a lot of old samples, came across a piece of fancy woven cloth, the very first woven in this country by power; and the idea crossed his mind that it might be interesting to you to learn the beginning of this great revolution in the fabric now in use very generally in this country to the extinction of the plain fabrics formerly used to a great extent.

Your father came to the Middlesex Mills in this city from Taunton, and represented to the writer and Mr. Edward Winslow, now deceased, a machinist in the employ of the Middlesex Company, that he had a loom at Taunton for weaving fancy cottons which he thought might be applied to woolen fabrics. The cotton loom was sent for by the Middlesex Company. Mr. Winslow and myself altered one cassimere loom with the assistance of your father, who was good mechanic, by putting on Crompton's patent. The experiment was an entire success; the alteration was extended very soon to all the cassimere looms and then to the broad looms, so that the whole of the weaving power of the mills was in that direction.

Mr. Samuel Davis states that soon after this, happening to be in Boston, he accidentally met Mr. Crompton at an hotel there, who told him about his loom. Mr. Davis was then building carding and spinning-machines in the old Court Mills, and Mr. Crompton stated to him that he wished to get some one to build his loom; that he had been to Lowell and Lawrence; also to Dedham, but thought that he should close the contract at Lowell. Mr. Davis said he was not building looms, but that Worcester would be a good place to have the looms built, and that Phelps & Bickford would be good parties to undertake their manufacture.

Mr. Crompton came to Worcester and was introduced to Phelps & Bickford, who were then building plain looms. Phelps & Bickford made an arrangement with Mr. Crompton to build his looms upon a royalty, and continued doing so till the expiration of the patent.

In February, 1844, the mill at Northville, owned by Ichabod Washburn, F. W. Paine, G. A. Trumbull, and occupied by William Crompton, was totally destroyed by fire.

In 1848 William Crompton lived in Millbury, where he was engaged in the manufacture of woolen and cotton goods, and where he also had a machine-shop. April 12, 1848, he advertised to sell various kinds of tools used by him in the manufacture of machinery, as he had determined to confine himself to the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods.

Mr. Crompton later removed to Connecticut, where his son, George, worked in Colt's factory. The Crompton patent, meantime, had expired; but it was renewed for seven years, and George Crompton came to Worcester, and associated himself with

Merrill E. Furbush for the manufacture of looms, first locating in Merrifield's building, where they remained till the fire of 1854.

After occupying for a short time quarters in the wire-mill in Grove Street, they hired the Red Mill, near the foot of Green Street, employing about fifty hands in the manufacture of the Crompton loom.

At this time William M. Bickford, the successor of Phelps & Bickford, employed twenty-three hands in the west wing of the Grove Street mill in building looms.

August 1, 1859, Furbush & Crompton dissolved. Mr. Crompton continued the business, buying the Red Mill property, and in 1860 erected a new building, which was a substantial brick structure, one hundred and ten feet long by fifty feet deep, three stories high, besides the attic, exclusive of an ell for an engine-house.

Mr. Crompton at that time employed sixty hands, which number he expected to increase to eighty as soon as buildings could be erected.

The successive improvements in the Crompton loom can best be given by a quotation from an interesting pamphlet on that subject, published by the Crompton Loom Works in 1881: "Furbush & Crompton made narrow looms from 1851 to 1857, when they brought out a fast-operating, Broad fancy loom, with improvements in box-motion. Broad looms, up to this period, operated at about 45 picks; the new 1857 Broad looms, with twenty-four harnesses and three boxes at each end, reached a speed of 85 picks per minute. This was a great stride in production; no advance has been so great since then. The narrow fancy cassimere loom, with three boxes at one end, up to this time had not obtained the speed of 85 picks per minute; but with important improvements in the reverse motion, the simplification of devices for operating the lays by means of the ordinary cranks, the use of the ordinary narrow shuttle and the reduction of the size of the shed made a fast economical Broad power-loom of 85 picks a possibility. One weaver could attend one Broad loom as readily as one narrow; therefore 'broad's' at once came into favor and use, and the comparative exclusion of narrow looms was foreseen.

"Furbush & Crompton built looms until 1859, when the partnership was dissolved. The patents granted to and owned by the firm were in part for improvements in double reverse motion, E. W. Brown's invention, of which they were the sole owners; said patents were by mutual agreement territorially divided—the New England States and the State of New York to Crompton, and the remainder of the country to Furbush, and by said agreement Furbush was debarred from making looms of any kind whatever in Crompton's territory."

In December, 1860, William M. Bickford moved his factory to Exchange Street, in Merrifield's building, where he was prepared to build all kinds of Crompton

looms and other fancy looms, broad and narrow. This led to a lawsuit which resulted in Bickford's being found to be an infringer of the Crompton patents. On his death, in 1863, the business went out of existence, the patterns being sold to the Crompton Loom Works. Various improvements, many of them patented, have been made from time to time, Mr. Crompton having taken out over one hundred patents in the United States, besides a large number in foreign countries. A number of patents have also been taken out by Mr. Horace Wyman, superintendent for many years of the Crompton Loom Works.

The Crompton Loom Works have thus grown until it is one of the largest manufacturing establishments in Worcester.

Mr. George Crompton died 1886, and the business was incorporated January, 1888, with the following officers: M. C. Crompton, president; Horace Wyman, vice-president and manager; Justin A. Ware, secretary and treasurer.

Mr. L. J. Knowles was born in Hardwick, July 2, 1819, and was, in 1836, clerk in a store in Shrewsbury.

In June, 1842, we find the following notice:

"We were shown some miniatures taken by Mr. Knowles at his room in Brinley Row, which we think for beauty, boldness and distinctness, exceed anything we have seen."

In February, 1843, L. J. Knowles & Co., in connection with their daguerrotype business, advertise to do electro-gilding and silver-plating.

In 1844 Sumner Pratt leased a portion of one of Mr. Curtis' buildings, at New Worcester, for the manufacture of cotton sewing-thread. Mr. Knowles and a Mr. Hapgood had quarters in the same building, and purchased thread of Mr. Pratt, which they spooled and put on the market.

In 1847 Mr. Knowles commenced the manufacture of cotton warp at Spencer, and in 1849 removed to Warren. During the years 1855 to 1858 he was engaged in the manufacture of satinet in Warren, and made some improvements on the looms he was then running, for two of which he took out patents in 1856—one for a close shed cam-jack for harness motion, and the other for separate picker for each cell in the drop-shuttle box. In 1857 he constructed a drop-box mechanism, for operating drop-boxes by means of cranks set at the opposite extremes of their throw, under the direction of a pattern-chain, or its equivalent. This was the germ of the mechanism of the fancy loom, which has developed by successive stages into the loom as built by the Knowles Loom Works at the present day.

L. J. Knowles and his brother (F. B. Knowles) began the manufacture of looms for sale under the firm-name of L. J. Knowles & Brother, at Warren, Mass., in 1862, and the first looms were made for hoop-skirt tapes, with woven pocket for the wires, and for bindings, tapes, etc. The loom was patented in 1863.

This branch of the business continued till the fall of 1866, when the company removed to Worcester, Mass., occupying Dr. Sargent's Block—Allen's Court. During 1866 the company began the manufacture of cam-looms for satinets, doeskins and other plain goods, and patented a cam harness motion for this loom in November, 1866.

In 1868 they began to make these looms with drop-boxes at each end, so as to use different colors of filling for checks, plaids, etc. In 1871 they began to make the drop-box looms, with chain or fancy harness motion, so as to extend the range of looms according to the requirements of the patterns. Out of this grew the fancy woolen loom of the present style, the first one of which was built in 1872, and sold to the Jamesville Mills, of this city.

In the spring of 1873 the first broad loom of this style was made from new and heavy patterns, and from that time many thousands have been built for the woolen-mills of the country. This loom was patented in 1873. Meantime, the loom business had grown so that in 1876 from seventy-five to one hundred men were employed. The loom was shown at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, and as a result won for itself a wide reputation. A forty harness loom was made in 1876, and the first one was shown at this exhibition, and a number of them were sold.

In 1879 the business had grown to such proportions that it was necessary to have more room, and the company, in October of that year, moved to what was known as the Junction shop, where the business has continued till the present time, and preparations are being made for the erection of a much larger factory, in order that proper facilities may be secured for the rapidly increasing demands of the business.

In 1884 Mr. L. J. Knowles died very suddenly, in Washington, and the business was conducted by the surviving brother, Mr. F. B. Knowles, until the 1st of January, 1885, when a stock company was formed under the name of the Knowles Loom Works, with Mr. F. B. Knowles as president, which has continued the business under the same general management. In 1885 the company brought out a very heavy loom of thirty harness capacity for weaving worsted goods, which has been very largely introduced. Of this loom they have built and delivered the largest single order for heavy woolen looms ever given in this country, namely—two hundred and four looms for the Riverside and Oswego Mills, of Providence, R. I.

The old hoop-skirt loom has gradually developed into a loom for silk ribbons, suspenders, bindings and all kinds of narrow goods, with great success.

Within a few years the company has perfected and put upon the market looms for weaving flannels, dress-goods, fancy cottons, etc., and large numbers of them have been put into the best mills.

They have also recently brought out various looms designed for gros-grains, satins and the various kinds

of silk goods, plain or fancy; also coverings for upholstery work, portières, draperies, etc., for silk velvets, mohairs and silk plushes; and have probably made the widest looms for fly shuttles ever made, having a reed space of two hundred and thirty-six inches.

They have also introduced, within a few years, a power-loom for ingrain carpets, many of which are now running in the best carpet-mills in the country, and are giving perfect satisfaction.

All the Knowles looms are built on the open shed principle, which is their distinctive feature.

The value of the Knowles loom has also been recognized in Europe, and elsewhere, where it is being largely introduced by Messrs. Hutchinson, Hollingsworth & Co., of Dobeross, England, who are building them in large numbers and already have several thousands of them in successful operation.

The Gilbert Loom Company, Charles W. Gilbert, proprietor, was established in 1866, and is situated at 186 Union and 33 North Foster Streets, Worcester. They employ about fifty hands, using steam-power from a ninety horse-power engine, and are building looms and machinery as follows:

Looms for the weaving of tapestry, Brussels and velvet carpets, mohair and cotton plushes, fancy woolen (twenty-four harness, four drop boxes) for woolen and worsted goods. Fancy cotton looms, gingham looms, coach lace looms, satinet flannel, blanket, jean and cassimere looms, gunny cloth and pine fibre looms, tape and narrow wire looms for No. 20 and finer wire, cam looms for chairs and car-seats, heavy looms for cotton duck and belting, needle looms for wipers and sugar strainers; and, in addition to looms, they also build yarn-printing drums and belting frames for tapestry and velvet carpets, cop winders for jute, wool, linens and cotton, yarn spoolers, mill shafting, gear cutters and harness frames; they are also designers and builders of looms for new and special purposes.

In 1854 Rodney A. N. Johnson & Co., composed of Mr. Johnson and Daniel Tainter, manufactured spinning machinery for wool carding machines, pickers, twistors, spools, bobbins, boring machines, card clothing, etc., at Merrifield's Steam Mill.

In 1859 Fox & Rice manufactured fancy cassimeres on the stream at the junction of Green and Water Streets, employing two hundred hands and manufacturing fifty thousand yards of cloth monthly. Daniel Tainter, at the same time, employed thirty hands in Union Street in the manufacture of wool-carding machines and jacks.

The business now conducted by the Cleveland Machine Works Company, the well-known builders of woolen machinery, located at 54 Jackson Street, was established in January, 1860, by Mr. E. C. Cleveland, who commenced the manufacture of woolen machinery in Central Street in what was then known as Armsby's building. He manufactured cloth dryers,

hydro-extractors, cloth-brushing machines, jacks, presses, fulling-mills and wash-mills, and continued in this business until early in 1863, when, in addition to the above-named machines, he built the first set of the well-known Cleveland cards, which are used for converting wool into roving previous to spinning. These cards were sold to Messrs. Howe & Jefferson, of Jeffersonville, and are now running in the mill of the Jefferson Manufacturing Company, and doing good work after twenty-six years of service.

About this time the late John C. Mason and Mr. J. M. Bassett were admitted to the firm. They, after several years, withdrew, and Mr. Cleveland continued the business until his death, which occurred April 28, 1871. Since the building of the first set of cards hundreds of sets, with improvements from time to time, have been built, and are now in successful operation in first-class mills.

Since the death of Mr. Cleveland the firm has been managed by Mr. S. W. Goddard, who has introduced many new machines and many improvements in the machines made previously. They now manufacture about fifty machines for different uses in woolen mills, making a specialty of all kinds of cards for wool, worsted, felt and shoddy; also twisting, roving, spooling, picking, drying and cloth finishing machinery. The product is sold throughout the United States, Canada and Mexico.

In February, 1863, the late Hon. Isaac Davis sold the lower Junction shop, built by Eli Thayer in 1854 for gun work, and used in 1861 for soldiers' barracks with twelve acres of land, to Jordan, Marsh & Co., of Boston, who intended to convert it into a woolen-mill, with sixteen sets of machinery, making it one of the largest woolen-mills in the State. This shop was first known as the South Junction shop; later, as the Pistol Shop Barracks and Adriatic Mills. Jordan & Marsh made extensive improvements. The main building was four hundred feet long, forty feet wide and two stories high. The second floor was devoted to carding and spinning, and was arranged for twelve sets of cards and twenty packs of four thousand eight hundred spindles. The first floor was for finishing and weaving; the weaving all to be done by looms made by George Crompton, of Worcester. The main belt was one hundred and fourteen feet long, and thirty inches wide, double throughout, and made at the shop of Graton & Knight in Front Street. Particular attention was called to this, as showing that the equipment of a woolen factory could be procured in Worcester; the cards, jacks, dryers, dressers, extractors, hydraulic presses, etc., were furnished by the Cleveland Company.

This mill is now owned by the Worcester Woolen Company, incorporated in 1881. The building is now five hundred and eighty-two feet long, forty-two wide, two wings—one seventy-two by sixty, the other ninety by fifty-six. The number of the hands, at the beginning two hundred, is now two hundred and

thirty. They have thirteen sets of cards, fifty-eight broad and two narrow looms, and twenty Bancroft operators. They make fine wooleens, cassimeres and suitings, and produce from five thousand to eight thousand yards per week, the annual sales amounting to six hundred thousand dollars. The present proprietors, the Messrs. Legg, came from Rhode Island. March, 1881, James Legg, Jr., became the owner of the mill, and it was run under the name of James Legg, Jr. & Co., until July, 1881, when the present firm, James & John Legg, succeeded.

The Alma Woolen-Mills, in Green Street, employ two hundred hands in the manufacture of fancy cassimeres and suitings, running fifty-nine looms and eight sets of cards with attendant machinery.

The firm of Johnson & Bassett, manufacturers of self-operating mules and jacks, was established in 1870.

In 1868-69 experiments looking towards making the jacks self-operating were going on in several parts of the country, and were being conducted in the shop of Cleveland & Bassett, in Worcester, by Edward Wright.

The failure of Cleveland & Bassett in the fall of 1869 brought Mr. Wright's experiments in their works to an end, but he arranged to go on with Johnson & Co., jack builders, and July 1, 1870, the copartnership was formed between Johnson & Bassett. The first self-operating attachment for jacks of their make was put at work in the mill of John Chase & Sons, at Webster, in 1870, since which time Johnson & Bassett have built up an extensive business in the manufacture and sale of self-operating heads for application to hand-jacks, self-operating jacks complete with heads, and self-operating mules. The business was located in the Merrifield Buildings, 180 Union Street, until October 1, 1886, when it was removed to Mr. Bassett's new building, corner of Foster and Bridge Streets.

The Crompton Carpet Company was organized in 1870 by George Crompton, who, with the superintendent, Horace Wyman, invented and patented a loom for weaving Brussels carpets by power, there being at that time no power loom for that purpose, except the Bigelow loom and two makes of English looms, the right to use which could not be obtained in this country. The manufacture of Brussels carpets, therefore, was confined to the Bigelow Company at Clinton, and the greater part of the carpets used in the United States was imported from England, and a high price was consequently maintained. Mr. Crompton associated with himself in the enterprise Dr. Joseph Sargent, William Cross, Horace Wyman, W. W. Rice, William H. Jourdan and Calvin Foster—George Crompton being president of the company; William Cross, treasurer; Joseph Sargent, Jr., agent, and M. J. Whitall, superintendent. After the death of Mr. Cross, Joseph Sargent, Jr., was elected treasurer.

They commenced operations with sixteen looms of Crompton make. The factory was located in South Worcester and was a two-story building, French roof, 115x60, run by water-power, the amount being estimated at one hundred horse-power. In 1871 a dye-house was added to the mill (which stood near the site of the old White & Boyden mill, burned August, 1863, and referred to previously). This enterprise was the beginning of the general manufacture of Brussels carpets in this country. Other companies were soon formed, the restrictions were removed from the sale of the English-made looms, and, in consequence, the price of carpets rapidly declined from three dollars per yard in 1870 to one dollar per yard in 1879.

The company started with one hundred and fifty thousand dollars capital, and, before their operations ceased, had increased the number of their looms from sixteen to thirty-six, and continued until 1879, when the machinery was sold to W. J. Hogg, Sr., of Philadelphia, and later the building containing the carpet machinery was leased to Mr. Hogg.

The Packachoag Worsted and Yarn-Mill was built and owned by Mr. George Crompton. This mill was near the Crompton Carpet Company, and was managed by Joseph Sargent, Jr. In the yarn-mill they started with twenty-four spinning frames and accompanying machinery; later, Mr. Crompton built another yarn-mill adjoining the first. The first Packachoag Mill was burned in 1881; loss, one hundred and eighty-one thousand two hundred and seventy-five dollars. After the fire Mr. Crompton sold the land and the ruins of the Packachoag Mill in part to Mr. M. J. Whittall and in part to William James Hogg, Jr.

Mr. Whittall, who was superintendent of the Crompton Carpet-Mill from the commencement of business, was from Stourport, England, where he was manager of the Severn Valley Carpet Works of Fawcett & Spurway. In 1879 Mr. Whittall returned to England, and while there purchased eight Crossley Carpet Looms. He brought these to this country, and began to operate them in a building leased of the Wicks Manufacturing Company. In 1882 another story was added, and Mr. Whittall added eight more carpet-loom; but business increasing, more room was needed, and he determined to erect a building for himself; and in 1883 bought of Mr. Crompton a piece of land facing Mr. Crompton's original carpet-mill, and erected a building one hundred and seventy-five by sixty feet, two stories in height. This mill was finished during that year, and the machinery from the Wicks building, together with fourteen new carpet-loom, was put into operation. In 1884 an extension was added, together with twelve looms, making forty-two in all.

It will be recollected that Mr. Whittall had purchased part of the land and all of the buildings that remained of the Packachoag Mill property, and on this spot he erected another carpet-mill, and also repaired the old yarn-mill, engine-house, etc. In

this new mill he had seventeen new looms, making fifty-nine carpet-loom in use in his business. He manufactures six-frame and five-frame Wilton and body Brussels carpets, and employs about three hundred and twenty hands.

In 1884 Mr. Hogg built a yarn-mill on part of the land he had purchased of Mr. Crompton, on the site of the first Packachoag Spinning-Mill, and has continued to run it up to the present time. This building was one hundred by sixty feet. The last mill built has seventeen looms, making in both of his mills fifty-three looms, which he runs at the present time, employing about three hundred and twenty hands.

Mr. Whittall is the largest individual manufacturer of Wilton and Brussels carpets in the United States. Mr. W. J. Hogg is the second largest.

The manufacture of thread has been conducted in Worcester for over twenty years. This is a most favorable place for this industry, because of the excellent shipping facilities, and the fact that the Worcester Bleach & Dye Works—one of the best dye-houses in the country—is located here.

Thread was first manufactured in Worcester in 1865. The business was discontinued from 1879 till 1881, since which time it has been a rapidly-growing industry. The Glasgo Thread Company, so called by reason of the fact that this company controls a spinning-mill at Glasgo, Conn., was incorporated in March, 1883, and for a time the business was conducted in Foster Street, in the building of Charles Baker. In 1885 the company removed to Beacon Street, where it is now located. The average daily production, at the present time, is four thousand dozen of two hundred yards.

The process of manufacture is most interesting, and consists in carding cotton until the fibres lie parallel to each other; the loose rolls are then taken to the drawing-machine, which consists of a series of rolls, each set revolving faster than the preceding, which reduces the strand to the required degree of fineness. The strands are repeatedly united and reduced. This process is called "doubling," and ensures a uniform, strong and perfect product.

The united threads, which are called "slivers," are then spun into a single thread on a mule. After being dyed the skeins are subjected to the operation of drying, and are then put upon spools for finishing by saturating with sizing, and then passing over rapidly revolving brushes.

Important improvements have been made in thread machinery since the introduction of its manufacture in this city; the most important is the automatic winder, with which the operator can wind from two to four times as much, and with less exertion, than he could formerly do by hand. The automatic machine is set to wind any number of yards the operator may desire.

The Glasgo Thread Company was the first to in-

troduce fine Sea Island thread upon pound spools. Formerly only the small spools were used, but now almost any size may be found, from two hundred to thirty thousand yards, which has led to a considerable saving to the consumer. The greater part of the thread used by the manufacturing trade is put up on large spools holding from six thousand to thirty thousand yards.

The Ruddy Thread Company, manufacturers of all grades of cotton thread—principally for the manufacturing trade, sewing-machines, corset-works and shoe manufactories, was established in 1887, and is located at 75 Central Street, under the management of Mr. Robert Ruddy.

C. H. Hutchins & Co., 2 Allen Court, established in 1876, manufacture elastic and non-elastic webs for suspenders and stocking-supporters, also spool tapes, used by cotton and woolen manufacturers to tie up their goods. The material used is cotton and rubber, the rubber being woven in process of manufacture. The looms are the Knowles fancy loom, one of which will weave twenty-five hundred yards per day.

The L. D. Thayer Manufacturing Company, in the building formerly occupied by Ethan Allen. Established in 1878, and manufactures tapes, bindings, galloons and webbings, and operates sixty-eight looms.

A. G. Hildreth, in Stevens' Block, manufactures overalls, pants, shirts, butchers' frocks, etc., employs forty-five hands, using sixteen sewing-machines. In 1887 three hundred and twenty-five thousand yards of cloth were cut up, and in 1888 five hundred thousand yards.

The Holland Hosiery Company, established in Hallowell, Me., in 1883, moved to Worcester in 1886, and manufactures seamless half hose.

The Worcester Felting Company, in Foster Street, do a large business in the manufacture of linings, upholstery, saddlery felts, petershams, rubber-boot and shoe linings and trimming felts.

George L. Brownell manufactures improved twisting machinery of his own invention for laying hard and soft twines, lines and cordage.

The Carroll Machine and Spindle Works manufacture machinery for twisting yarns.

Among the smaller manufactures connected with textile fabrics, but none the less important, may be mentioned the improved loom-reeds, manufactured by M. Place & Co., whose business was originally established by Silas Dinsmore in 1840.

William H. Brown, 81 Mechanic Street, manufactures a number of ingenious tools for the use of carders. This business was established in 1855.

In 1876, Mr. B. S. Roy, now located at 75 Beacon Street, began the manufacture of card-grinders, for grinding card-clothing, all his machines being of his own invention. Mr. Roy was formerly superintendent in a cotton-mill, and, recognizing the necessity of a better method for grinding the card-clothing, engaged in his present business. The old method

of grinding cards was by spreading emery on a board, which was rubbed back and forth over the ends of the wires, thus sharpening the teeth. This process was called by the English "strapping" or "strickling" the cards.

The next improvement was the construction of a machine, with a cylinder covered with emery, but with no traverse wheel. This method of grinding teeth made them uneven. In Mr. Roy's improvement, the traverse wheel runs with an endless chain back and forth on the cylinder over the teeth of the card with a rotary motion. These machines are sold in this country, South America, Mexico, Canada, England and Ireland.

J. H. Whittle, established in 1880, manufactures tin spindles for mules, spinning-frames, drawing-cans, filling-boxes, condenser-rolls, slasher-cylinders, drying-cans, etc., rubber-rolls for woolen-cards, and immersion-rolls of copper.

CHAPTER CXCIV.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Foundries—Machinists' Tools—Agricultural Implements—Wrenches.

FOUNDRIES.—Mr. William A. Wheeler was one of the oldest iron founders in the State, having begun in 1812; he moved from Hardwick to Brookfield, and from the latter place came to Worcester in 1823 and established a blacksmith's business at the corner of Thomas and Union Streets. Among other pieces of work he made the doors of the Court-House in Worcester. This blacksmith's shop was on the site of the foundry. In 1825 Mr. Wheeler, in company with George T. Rice, H. W. Miller and A. D. Foster, under the name of William A. Wheeler & Co., made all kinds of castings, fire-proof book-cases and doors. To run a fan for his cupola-furnace, Mr. Wheeler had the first steam-engine, or one of the first ever operated in Worcester. In 1826 the business passed under the control of the Worcester & Brookfield Iron Foundry, which had furnaces in both places.

Daniel Heywood & Co. furnished at this time all kinds of castings. The demand appears to have been considerable, for in 1827 Washburn & Goddard received orders for machine castings made at Stafford, Conn.

In 1828 Sumner Smith (Worcester Iron Foundry) put a furnace in blast near the paper-mill of Elijah Burbank, at Quinsigamond, and had for sale every description of iron castings, cast-iron plows, stoves, cauldron kettles, hollow-ware, oven frames, Darby's patent wheel-boxes. In 1833 the Worcester Iron Foundry removed from Quinsigamond to the first mill privilege north of Main Street, one mile from

the Court-House, on the Worcester road leading to West Boylston.

In 1831 or 1832 Mr. Wheeler returned to Worcester and reorganized his shop, abandoned the steam-engine which he had previously put in, and substituted horse-power, and continued to do a constantly increasing business until the foundry was enlarged, about 1840, when another steam-engine was added and a machine shop attached. The castings were made for the iron-workers and tool-makers in the city, and comprised castings for heavy gearing, besides a variety of other work, including heavy sheet-iron work, fire-proof safes, mill-irons, water-wheel irons, cages, coupling-boxes, plow-castings, patent ovens, ash-holes, boiler-doors and pipe-boxes; factory shafting was also turned.

About the time his machine-shop was started Mr. Wheeler procured an iron planer, to be run by hand. This was the first iron planer in Worcester, or in the State. It would weigh about one hundred and fifty pounds, and was three and one-half feet high. The bed was four feet long and twenty inches wide.

Mr. Wheeler designed the first boring-machine in Worcester, and in 1838 got out patterns for cook-stoves, box-stoves for heating, and manufactured them, and in 1842 invented a furnace for heating buildings with wood or coal.

In 1838 he started the manufacture of brass castings for general use.

When Mr. Wheeler commenced business he made five hundred or six hundred pounds of castings per day, and increased until his daily production was ten tons. He began with three or four men, and in the height of his prosperity employed two hundred.

In 1852 Mr. Wheeler's son (Charles) became interested in the business at Thomas Street, and when William A. Wheeler died, in 1873, it passed into the hands of William F. Wheeler, and finally to the Wheeler Foundry Company, which remained at the old location for a time, and then moved to 138 Mechanic Street, where the business has been located for seventeen years, employing about ninety men, largely in making castings for wire and rolling-mill machinery and for general purposes.

In 1843 the Washington Square Iron and Brass Foundry, built by A. A. Trask, was operated by S. Trask & Co. in the manufacture of cauldron-kettles, stoves, oven-doors, ash-pits, etc., and in 1843 a new foundry was built near the Boston and Worcester Railroad by Henry P. Howe, and was occupied by George Goodnow in the manufacture of iron, copper, brass and composition castings.

In 1847 Oliver K. Earle built a foundry on the corner of Canal and Foundry Streets. He sold out to A. B. Chaffee in 1848, who took Jason Chapin into company the same year. They started in business to supply Howe & Goddard with their brass castings. In 1852 Chapin purchased Chaffee's interest, and in 1853 built a shop in Manchester Street, where he con-

tinued until 1859, when he built the shop in Summer Street, where he continued until 1887, when he sold out to Mr. L. H. Wells.

In 1849 Fitch & Jones made castings in iron and brass, and were succeeded in 1850 by E. & D. H. Fitch & Co.

In August, 1850, McFarland & Bisco, of Leicester, started in the malleable iron business, which was continued in 1851 by Wood, McFarland & Co. They occupied the building known as the Arcade, formerly known as "The Old Brewery," near the Western depot. Here, with one air furnace and two small annealing furnaces, they commenced the making of malleable castings for guns, carriages, harness buckles, wrenches and parts of cotton and woolen machinery, previously made of wrought iron. At this time there was but one other malleable iron foundry in the State, which was located at Easton. The process of malleable iron founding is different from that of ordinary casting. The purpose to which the product is applied requires a greater degree of tensile strength and tenacity in the materials and a closer attention to all the details. Instead of placing the coal and pig-iron in the furnace together, the pig-iron is thrown into what is called the air furnace by itself and subjected to an intense heat; it is then drawn out and poured into moulds, in which state the metal is very hard and brittle; it is then packed in an annealing furnace and subjected to strong heat for about nine days and nights, when the furnaces are opened and the pots cooled; the iron is then unpacked and cleaned ready for delivery, when it has both fineness of grain and great toughness.

The old firm of Wood, McFarland & Co. remained in business but a short time; their interest was taken by Warren McFarland, who continued with a silent partner until 1877, when he became the sole owner.

From one air furnace and two annealing furnaces the plant was increased until it had two air furnaces and six annealing furnaces.

In 1880 Mr. George B. Buckingham, who had been connected with Mr. McFarland since 1873, took charge of the works, Mr. McFarland remaining connected with it till his death, in 1884.

In December, 1886, Mr. Buckingham purchased the property of the Worcester Malleable Iron Foundry, that being the second known by this name, which had been run about three years, and has since been run as the Worcester Malleable Iron Works, giving the two plants, now under one management, a capacity of three air furnaces and nine annealing furnaces.

The line of goods now made includes different parts of agricultural implements, guns, pistols, sewing-machines, cotton and woolen machinery, in fact, all parts of machines or tools where strength and lightness are combined. The use of malleable iron and steel castings, which are now made by the above

works, is largely owing to the reasonable price in comparison with forgings, as odd shapes can be more easily produced than by the forge.

The second malleable iron foundry, known as the Worcester Malleable Iron Foundry, was started in Manchester Street, by Waite, Chadsey & Co., in 1852.

In 1857 Oliver K. Earle, who had previously been in the lumber business, was admitted into partnership with Fitch & Jones, who continued business at the Union Street Foundry (present site of Rice, Barton & Fales) and also at the Junction Foundry in Southbridge Street. After Mr. Earle's death, Willard Jones, Wood & Light, Richardson, Merriam & Co. succeeded; it was then taken by Mr. Otis Warren, the present proprietor, who has controlled it for the last fourteen years. The first work done at this foundry was the manufacture of the iron-work for the front of Foster's Block, at the corner of Main and Pearl Streets.

Caleb & J. A. Colvin commenced the foundry business at Danielsonville, Conn., in 1863, where they manufactured stoves and machinery castings. In 1865 Caleb sold his interest to his brother and moved to Worcester, where he bought and built his plant in Gold Street.

The business increasing, J. A. Colvin moved to Worcester, and a new partnership was formed, which continued until 1880, when J. A. Colvin built his present foundry in Jackson Street. His principal work is for the loom companies, and largely for the Knowles Loom Works. He employs about ninety hands.

Since 1880 Mr. Caleb Colvin has more than doubled his capacity for doing work. He employs ninety hands, and has a capacity of three hundred tons per month, almost entirely used in the city, and largely by the makers of woolen machinery, machinists' tools and wood-working machinery.

Heald & Brittan built on Foundry Street about 1866, and made iron castings. They removed from there to Thomas Street Foundry, when the Wheeler Foundry Company moved to Mechanic Street. This foundry afterwards came into the possession of the Holyoke Machine Company.

L. H. Wells and Herbert M. Rice began business January 1, 1867, in North Foster Street. Mr. Wells learned his trade of Jasou Chapin, and was subsequently foreman of the late George Crompton's foundry, in Green Street. Mr. Wells purchased Mr. Rice's interest in September, 1869, and in 1877 invented his bronze metal, largely and successfully used for bearings. By the use of chemicals the oxidation of the tin, one of the ingredients, is prevented; the metal is ten per cent. denser than the ordinary bronze, and of a very firm, tough structure. In 1887 Mr. Wells purchased the Chapin Foundry in Summer Street, to which he has removed. Mr. Wells has the largest set of furnaces in the city; his castings

are cleaned by power in a large water rumble, a hollow cylinder, which makes ninety revolutions per minute, and emery wheels are used for smoothing the castings.

The process of casting is simple, and consists of melting the metal in crucibles, which are made of plumbago, and then turning the molten metal into moulds. When taken out they are cleaned and finished.

Prespey Pero, located in Hermon Street, manufactures machinery and tool castings, and makes a specialty of light castings; was established in 1877. His business has grown from employing three or four men until he now employs forty-five.

The Star Foundry was established in 1880 by George Crompton, and started with forty men. Double that number are now employed on all kinds of work, including steam-engines, machinists' tools and castings for building purposes, although the principal product is loom castings for the Crompton Loom Works.

Luther Shaw & Son do a business in brass casting, and manufacture Babbitt metal and solder, also all kinds of brass composition, zinc, lead and white metal castings. They also make gong-bells, faucets and copper castings. Their product is sold throughout New England, and some of it in New York State, but the bulk of it is used in this city and county. The metals used are principally copper, tin and antimony.

Arnold & Pierce, at the Hammond Street Foundry, established in 1882, began with six men, and now employ twenty-two. They manufacture castings for the makers of machinists' tools.

The firm of A. Kabley & Co., composed of A. Kabley, Alonzo Whitcomb and F. E. Reed, located at 57 Gold Street, started with fifteen men, and now employ forty. They supply all the castings for the machinists' tools of F. E. Reed and Alonzo Whitcomb & Co., besides some general work.

MACHINISTS' TOOLS.—The manufacture of machinists' tools has, for many years, had a most prominent place among the industries of Worcester. To Samuel Flagg, or, as he was more familiarly known, "Uncle Sammy Flagg," belongs the distinction of having first engaged in this business in Worcester, whither he came, from West Boylston, in 1839, to secure better facilities and to save cartage of castings which he used in his machine-shop in West Boylston, where he built tools and cotton machinery from patterns made by William A. Wheeler. He made a turning-lathe, which was the first one Mr. Wheeler had when he started his machine-shop. The ways and frame of his machine were of wood, the head and tail-box of iron.

Mr. Flagg hired room and power of Samuel Davis, the lessee of Court Mills, and there made hand and engine lathes. He had no planer when he commenced, and at this time the planing of iron was

looked upon as a remarkable accomplishment. The work was done by hand-chipping and filing, which was of necessity tedious and unsatisfactory.

The old Court Mills, located on Mill Brook, at the junction of Lincoln Square and what is now Union Street, was the cradle of the machinists' tools industry in Worcester, as it was of many others.

Mr. Flagg started with eight or ten men, and every one thought that he was visionary to expect to keep them occupied in building machinists' tools. He was the first man in Worcester to use a planer in this business. He commenced in Court Mills. Ruggles, Nourse & Mason, and Thomas Daniels, the inventor of the Daniels planer, were also tenants. Deacon Richard Ball was at this time Mr. Daniels' foreman.

In 1845 Thomson, Skinner & Co. succeeded to Mr. Flagg's business. They moved to Merrifield's building, and, shortly before the fire of 1854, were absorbed by the New Haven Manufacturing Company, and removed from the city. Mr. Flagg continued without a competitor until Pierson Cowie started in the old Red Mill, the present location of the Crompton Loom Works. From there he removed to the then new building of Howe & Goddard, now Rice, Barton & Fales, in Foster Street, and thence into the building where W. T. Merrifield's engine is now located.

In 1845 or 1846, Cowie made six iron-planing machines which were driven with a common log chain passing over a drum at each end of the machine. This arrangement was, in a few years, superseded by a rack and gears.

He was succeeded in 1845 or 1846 by Woodburn, Light & Co., who, in 1851, moved to Estabrook's new building at the Junction, built by Charles Wood and Col. James Estabrook. Later the firm became Wood, Light & Co., and, in 1870, built the shop now occupied by McIver Brothers, where they at one time did a very flourishing business, and had the best equipped shop in New England, employing one hundred and seventy-five men. They introduced greatly improved methods for turning shafting, increasing the amount from forty or fifty feet per day to three hundred feet. They also invented and manufactured bolt-cutting machines, the best then known.

The building of railroads created an increased demand for machinists' tools, and in 1845, Samuel C. Coombs, a machinist in the employ of Phelps & Bickford, in company with R. R. Shepard and Martin Lathe, a wood-worker, in the same shop, formed a co-partnership under the style of S. C. Coombs & Co. They started in the Court Mills, then moved to Dr. Heywood's shop. Before they moved C. Wheelock was taken into partnership. From the Heywood shop, in Central Street, now used by the Harrington Brothers as a paint shop, they removed to the Estabrook shop, where they occupied room in the northern end of the building, where their successors, the Lathe & Morse Tool Co., continued until they moved to their own building, in Gold Street, where they are now

located. Their business from the start has been the manufacture of lathes and planers. They employ on an average about fifty hands, and their product goes all over the world.

The first exhibit of machinists' tools was made by S. C. Coombs & Co., at the Mechanics' Exhibition held in September, 1851. The first exhibition of the Mechanics' Association was held in the City Hall, Tuesday, September 26, 1848, and the circular announcing it was signed by William B. Fox, William A. Wheeler, Ichabod Washburn, William N. Bickford, Freeman Upham, John Boyden and Samuel Davis.

A. & S. Thayer began at Court Mills in 1845, where they employed ten men in the manufacture of engine lathes. These were an improvement upon the lathes then in use, and attracted much attention among machinists.

A. & S. Thayer moved from Court Mills into Allen & Thurber's Pistol Shop, which stood just south of Merrifield's present engine-house, and was burned in 1854.

They occupied the south-end basement, while Samuel Flagg & Co. occupied the north end. They afterwards moved into the Dr. Heywood building, in Central Street. While there, Sewall Thayer died. Upon his death, A. Thayer associated with him H. H. Houghton and E. C. Cleveland. They moved back into the pistol-shop, and remained in Union Street till the fire, when they removed to Washington Street (present location of the Allen Boiler Works), and continued in business until 1857, when Mr. Cleveland retired. They continued the business at the Washington Street shop until the breaking out of the war, or a little later, and were employing about one hundred and fifty men, and making some of the finest tools in the country, when the business was bought by the New York Steam-Engine Company, and continued a short time under that name, when it was moved to Passaic, N. J., and finally went out of existence.

The firm of Samuel Flagg & Co. was organized in 1847. Mr. Flagg associated with him Henry Holland and two of his former apprentices,—L. W. Pond and Ephraim H. Bellows. They started in the second floor of Heywood's building, in a room twenty feet by forty. They remained there but a short time, until Allen & Thurber's building was ready for tenants, when they moved into the north end; they remained there until 1849, when Mr. William T. Merrifield put up his first brick building; they then moved into the same location now occupied by the Wheelock Steam-Engine Company. Shortly before the fire they took the whole basement, and were burned out in 1854, when they went into the lower floor of the Goddard & Rice factory in Union Street, where they remained until the Merrifield buildings were rebuilt, to which they returned, remaining until 1861.

Prior to this time Mr. Pond had bought out the

others in interest. Meantime J. B. Lawrence, in 1854, built the east end of the building lately occupied by the Pond Machine Tool Company. In 1861 L. W. Pond purchased this, and built the west end, and continued there until 1875, when the business was continued by the Pond Machine Tool Company, which in 1888 removed to Plainfield, N. J. While in Worcester, they maintained a high reputation for the quality of their work, excelling particularly in the production of large tools.

The brothers, Carter Whitcomb (who had been in the employ of Howe & Goddard) and Alonzo Whitcomb (who had been in the employ of S. C. Coombs & Co.) formed a copartnership under the name of Carter Whitcomb & Co., and began the manufacture of copying-presses, in 1849, in the Union Street shop of Howe & Goddard. They occupied room in Merrifield's shop prior to the fire of 1854, when they were burned out; they returned soon after the new building was completed, and later went to the Estabrook building, and from there to the present location in Gold Street.

This was the first successful attempt to establish in this country the business of manufacturing copying-presses. George C. Taft had previously begun the manufacture, but continued only a short time, when it fell into the hands of the Messrs. Whitcomb. These presses have been sold throughout the country, the sales, some years, amounting to five thousand presses. From the first this company has manufactured iron planers, and later commenced the manufacture of shears and punching-machines. The iron planers first made very light and poorly constructed; the gears were cast, the cut-gear was unheard of. This company continues to make copying-presses, iron planers and shears for cutting iron plate for boilers, but their principal business is in planers.

In 1856 Samuel Flagg organized a Machinist Tool Company, composed of Samuel Flagg, Pierson Cowie, Dexter Flagg, Lemuel G. Mason and George H. Blanchard. They only continued in business a short time, but made at their shop, in Merrifield's building, the largest lathe, with one exception, up to that time made in the country. It weighed about thirty-five tons; the length of the ways was thirty-five feet and width eight feet. They also engaged in the manufacture of machines for mortising iron, weighing six tons each, some of which were made for the government.

In the fall of 1864 Joseph A. Sawyer had a little shop in the building known as Heywood's Boot Shop, in Main Street, for repair work and the manufacture of sewing and other machines; subsequently he removed to the second floor of the Union Water Meter Shop in Hermon Street, where he manufactured shafting, pulleys and friction pulleys. In the fall of 1877 he built his present shop, one-story, forty by seventy-two feet, and in 1881 he built two additional stories, to furnish room and power to let. Mr.

Joseph A. Sawyer was the inventor of a machine for pleating cloth up to eighteen inches in width, which was sold to the Elm City Company, of New Haven, and is said to be the only practical pleating-machine ever invented. Mr. Sawyer invented many devices now used in boot and shoe factories. Since his death, in May, 1888, the business has been continued by his son, who manufactures Sawyer's Combined Hand and Power Planer, and who also does a large business in fitting up corset and boot and shoe shops, putting up the stitching-machines and keeping them in repair. Mr. Sawyer has made much automatic machinery used in the organ and reed business, and makes a specialty of difficult machines for special purposes. Their work is of a varied character, and much of it very delicate.

Parritt Blaisdell, who was with Wood, Light & Co. for fifteen years, built a shop in Jackson Street in 1865 and commenced the manufacture of machinists' tools, with four or five men. Afterwards he took into company John P. Jones, and in 1873 S. E. Hildreth. Mr. Blaisdell died in 1874. His widow sold a part of his interest to Enoch Earle, and all of these partners are in the business at the present time. They have enlarged their shop and increased their business until at the present time they employ about one hundred men.

W. F. Bancroft & Co., established in 1870 by Kent & Bancroft, make self-operating spinning machinery, lathes, planers and special machinery.

William H. Eddy, manufacturer of machinists' tools, established 1873, manufactures planers, twist-drills, grinding-machines, stone, bolt and gear cutters; the twist drill-grinders are his own invention; he has also devised a clutch friction pulley that prevents noise in the changing of belts. He began with two men, but now employs eighteen. Mr. Eddy was contractor for L. W. Pond for twenty-one years.

F. E. Reed, in April, 1875, purchased a half-interest in the concern of A. F. Prentice, who then employed six men in French's building, in Hermon Street. In August, 1877, Mr. Reed purchased Mr. Prentice's interest and continued the business alone. At first he occupied but one floor, but soon added another, and later, built a commodious shop in Gold Street, which was finished in 1883, two stories and a basement, one hundred and eighty by fifty-five feet. The machinery and tools are all new and of the best patterns. One hundred and twenty-five men find employment in this business, and the power is furnished by a forty horse-power Brown engine, while an Armington & Sims engine drives an Edison dynamo which supplies three hundred sixteen candle-power lamps. The principal products of this shop are engine-lathes, ten to twenty inch swing, hand-lathes from nine to sixteen inch swing and a large line of foot-power lathes, with or without screw-cutting attachments. These machines are shipped to England, Germany, Japan, Mexico and to other

countries, and large quantities to all parts of the United States.

Under the names of Boynton & Plummer, 50 Lagrange Street, James Kindred, H. S. Brown and Henry Kindred have, since 1878, manufactured blacksmith drills, bolt-cutting machines and shaping-machines, and are the pioneers in this class of work in the city. Their trade extends throughout the country and to Australia and South America.

In February, 1878, E. H. Wood began to manufacture for Harwood & Quincy, of Boston, the Bramwell Feeder, which is used for feeding the wool into carding-machines. This feeder has revolutionized the work of supplying carding-machines, and has been a great factor in the development of the wool-carding business.

In 1881 their present shop, near the Junction, was completed and the Harwood & Quincy Machine Company was formed. The Bramwell Feeder was invented by W. C. Bramwell, of Terre Haute, Ind.; the entire patent is owned by Harwood & Quincy, who have the exclusive manufacture of the machine. Mr. Edwin H. Wood, the superintendent of this company, was seventeen years the foreman in the shop of Daniel Taintor, formerly a well-known manufacturer of woollen machinery.

In 1879 Mr. W. C. Young, began with one assistant in Mawhinney's building, No. 19 Church Street, the manufacture of shoe tools and edge planes; he now employs twenty hands in the manufacture of engine-lathes, wood-turning and amateur lathes, which he designs himself, exporting a large number.

J. A. Fuller, at No. 3 Cypress Street, makes machinists' tools, lathes, planers and speed-lathes, employing seven men; he also manufactures bench-gears and small dynamos.

Currier & Snyder began in 1883 in Central, and are now at 17 Hermon Street, where they manufacture upright drills. At first they employed but one hand, and now they employ fifteen. The ease and rapidity with which their drills can be manipulated have won for them a high reputation. Both the partners were for many years employed in the Blaisdell shop.

The Powell Planer Company was incorporated in 1887 for the manufacture of machinists' tools, and make a specialty of iron planers. They control patents upon lathe devices, for shifting belts, and for general convenience in operating the machine; and have a system for securing a very fine, even surface for the working parts of their machines by using what they call "surface plates." Starting with three men, they now give employment to fifty.

The tools made previous to 1845 were very much lighter than those made to-day. The beds of the engine lathes were of wood, with strips of iron bolted to them for the ways, and the carriage that held the cutting tool was operated by a chain. Gradually this was superseded by a rack and gears driven by a rod in front of the lathe. Tools have been very

much increased in weight and the workmanship is much improved. There has been as great a change in the character of our shops in the last forty years as in their products. Then, a man was expected to begin work as soon as he could see, and to continue until nine o'clock at night, with half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner and half an hour for supper. Whale-oil lamps were used; these smoked badly, and made the atmosphere almost unendurable. Pay came but once in six months, and then often in the form of a note,—a strong contrast with the short hours of the present day, steam heat, gas or the electric light and weekly wages in cash.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.—It is said that it took the observation of the farmers and the inventive genius of the mechanics of the country, from 1797 to 1842, to decide upon the best form of a plow. It was a subject that seemed to afford endless opportunity for argument and controversy. Thomas Jefferson was much interested in the subject, and in a letter written to Jonathan Williams, in July, 1796, says that he has discovered "the form of a mould-board of least resistance," that he has reduced it to practice, and that his theory is fully confirmed. He gave this subject careful study, as appears from his correspondence.

The first iron plow in Worcester County was made by William A. Wheeler, in Hardwick, in 1822, but plows of some sort were made in Worcester in 1821 and prior to that time by Oliver Wetherbee, who carried on the business in the blacksmith's shop of Levi Howe, and later at his own shop, a few rods from Captain Thomas' inn.

In November, 1823, Mr. Wheeler announces that he will keep on hand all kinds of plows at his shop in Thomas Street.

In November, 1824, the committee, in reporting upon the articles exhibited at the Cattle Show, then lately held, refer to two cast-iron plows exhibited by Oliver Wetherbee, and state that those plows are fast superseding those of the old construction.

Burt & Merrick, in June, 1828, appear as agents of the Hitchcock plow, claimed to be superior to those previously used, and in 1829 Benjamin Butman & Co. had for sale "Nourse's Cast-Iron Plows." These plows were manufactured by J. & J. Nourse, at Shrewsbury, and were known as the Hartford Cast-Iron Plows.

In April, 1833, C. Howard's cast-iron plows are offered for sale by G. T. Rice & Co., and, at the same time, Mr. Wheeler announces that he has "just received an assortment of plow-points from the various patterns heretofore cast at Brookfield." Meantime, Mr. Joel Nourse appears to have moved from Shrewsbury to Worcester, and to have taken a shop in Thomas Street, for in August, 1833, he there offers for sale plows of the most approved construction and of five different sizes. He also offers for sale in March, 1834, his "side-bill plows." Mr. Nourse seems to

have been a successful manufacturer of plows, for in its report, the committee at the Cattle Show, in 1835, compliment him highly, and say that all the plows on the field except three were of his make.

J. Nourse & Co., March, 1836, added the manufacture of cultivators to their business, and in March, 1838, Ruggles, Nourse & Mason, a firm composed of Draper Ruggles, Joel Nourse and J. C. Mason, announce that they have made arrangements for manufacturing on an extensive scale the most improved form of cast-iron plows, and that they have secured Jethro Wood's patent on the same, and add,—"Most of the cast-iron plows are made too short, and are too concave for the mould-board to run easily." Ruggles, Nourse & Mason make plows for turning over green sward, turning over stubble; and also make three sizes of the celebrated side-hill plows; also, improved seed-sowers, improved expanded cultivators, and Coats' patent revolving hay-rake.

The first plow made by Nourse and others was a clumsy affair; the mould-board and standard were of iron, the rest of wood.

Ruggles, Nourse & Mason were in Thomas Street, at first, about opposite the present location of the City Water-works Shop; afterwards Mr. Samuel Davis induced them to move to Court Mills, where increased facilities enabled them to largely extend their business.

The next new implement made by Ruggles, Nourse & Mason was the Wilkes revolving horse-rake. They were constant exhibitors at the Cattle Shows, and in 1851 showed over twenty different kinds of plows. This industry was a most important one. Worcester, at that time, is said to have been more largely engaged in the manufacture of agricultural implements than any other city or town in the United States, and the business had been entirely developed within a comparatively few years; for there were those living who remembered the stub-hoes and wooden plows, while the sensation of first seeing the cast-iron plow was fresh in the recollection of many farmers in the county. Ruggles, Nourse & Mason at this time, 1851, occupied the Court Mills, the main building being of brick, two hundred and fifty feet long, seventy-five feet wide and four stories high, and employing about two hundred hands. The motive-power was partly steam and partly water, supplied by Mill Brook. The same turbine wheel is still used for power in E. W. Vaill's chair factory.

The white oak timber used was furnished by Oakham, Paxton, Sterling and other towns. The iron castings were made in an adjoining building, and three tons of iron were used daily. The product was sold in Boston, where the sales-room occupied the second story in Quincy Market, and where were displayed upwards of three hundred different patterns of plows alone, to say nothing of other agricultural implements and dairy equipment.

Among the recipients of medals at the Crystal Pal-

ace Exhibition in New York, in 1854, was the Worcester Shovel Company, for Kimball's patent shovels with malleable iron sockets; and Ruggles, Nourse & Mason for Armsby's patent corn shovel, for Perry's patent meat-cutter and a vegetable-cutter; also, for double sod and subsoil plow. In 1855 they offer mowing-machines for sale.

April 1, 1856, Ruggles, Nourse & Mason were succeeded by Nourse, Mason & Company, consisting of Joel Nourse, Peter Harvey and Samuel Davis.

After a time Nourse, Mason & Company sold out to Mr. Nourse, who organized a company consisting of Joel Nourse, Peter Harvey and Sampson & Tappan, of Boston, doing business under the name of Nourse, Mason & Company. Meantime, they had started a shop at Groton Junction, where they were increasing their capacity as well as employing all the labor that could be accommodated at the Worcester factory. In 1859 they were employing two hundred and fifty hands; their pay-roll amounted to eight thousand or nine thousand dollars per month, and they had increased their power by putting in a sixty horse-power engine.

In 1860 the works were purchased by Oliver Ames & Sons, and, in 1874, moved to the large brick factory in Prescott Street, where they are now in operation, under the name of the "Ames Plow Co." They manufacture all kinds of agricultural implements, power-machines, meat-cutters, etc. In 1887 they made seven thousand wheelbarrows. They make seven thousand plows yearly, and employ one hundred and seventy men.

In 1857, J. T. Adriance & Co., manufactured Manny's improved mowing-machine, and during that year made about six hundred of them. Alzirus Brown, in 1858, also manufactured these machines and Manny's reaper, employing about forty to fifty hands.

In September, 1859, J. M. C. Armsby, who had previously been a partner in Nourse, Mason & Co., completed his building in Central Street, for the manufacture of plows, cultivators, barrows, horse-rakes, hoes, etc. It was one hundred feet long, thirty-five feet wide and four stories high, with two wings extending back—one seventy-four and the other fifty feet. An engine of twenty-five horse-power, made by the Putnam Machine Company, was the only piece of machinery in the building not of Worcester manufacture.

A patent was granted, December, 1861, to L. G. Kniffen, of Worcester, on his Union Mower. He formed a company for its manufacture, to be known as the "Union Mowing-Machine Company," Alzirus Brown, agent.

THE WRENCH BUSINESS.—The water privilege at New Worcester, occupied by the two factories of the Coes Wrench Company, are, historically, of considerable interest.

Captain Daniel Gookin, who was one of the com-

missioners appointed by the General Court, October 11, 1665, to survey the country in the vicinity of Lake Quinsigamond, to determine if there be a "meet place for a plantation, that it may be improved for that end, and not spoiled by granting of farms," was the original owner of this property, and from him Mr. Loring Coes' great-grandfather had a deed of this water-power and built a saw-mill at the upper dam, where previously there was a beaver dam.

On the site of the Leicester Street mill, wool and carding machinery was built from an early day. This privilege came into the hands of Moses Clements, and from him passed to William Stowell, who also made woolen machinery, carding machinery and jacks. From Stowell the privilege passed to Thomas Harbach, at one time associated with Joseph Converse, then to Edward and Martin Wilder, from whom it was purchased by L. & A. G. Coes, in 1848. At the southwest end of the Leicester Street Works was the old Clements building, of wood, two stories high and fifty or sixty feet long. It was later taken down by the Coes'. The building at the northeast end, still standing, was erected by William Stowell, about 1835, and was at one time occupied by Kimball & Fuller, in the manufacture of woolen machinery. Loring and A. G. Coes were both born in New Worcester, and both worked for Kimball & Fuller. In 1836 the brothers formed a copartnership and purchased this business, which, meantime, in November, 1835, had been moved from New Worcester to Court Mills. Here they continued until October, 1839, when the Court Mills were destroyed by fire. This loss so far impaired their capital as to prevent their starting again. Their fellow-tenants also burned out were, Samuel Davis, builder of woolen machinery; Ruggles, Nourse & Mason, manufacturers of plows and agricultural implements; H. W. Miller, punching-machines for manufacturing nuts, washers, etc., and Thomas E. Daniels, builder of planing-machines.

After the fire the brothers went to Springfield, Mass., and engaged as pattern-makers in the foundry of Laurin Trask,¹ while there employed they made a model of a new and improved form of the wrench, a tool which they constantly used. There were at that time two styles—one of English invention, and the other known as the Merrick or Springfield wrench. The mechanism of both these wrenches was such that both hands were used to open or close them. This was often inconvenient, as it was important to so adjust the wrench to different openings, by the hand in which it was held, as to leave the other hand free for other demands of the work. It occurred to the Coes Brothers to dispense with the screw on the shaft, as in the Merrick wrench, and affix by the side of the shaft, a small bar in the form of a screw, which should enter another screw formed in the lower or movable jaw of the wrench; and that the first screw

should also have, at its lower end, where it should enter the handle, a rosette always in reach of the thumb of the hand that held the wrench.

This rosette, being pressed and turned by the thumb would operate the screw, and the opening and closing of the wrench would easily be effected by one hand. It seemed to them that this adjustment would make the tool much stronger by removing the indentations from the bar or shaft, and that there would be less liability of injury to the wrench from severe or improper use.

In November, 1840, they returned to Worcester, and at once directed their efforts to securing a patent for their invention. The patterns of their spinning machinery had been saved from the fire, and these they sold to Samuel Davis, a manufacturer of woolen machinery, and so obtained the means for securing a patent, which was granted to Loring Coes, April 16, 1841.

The brothers now formed a co-partnership under the name of L. & A. G. Coes, for the manufacture of wrenches under this patent. They were without capital, and Henry W. Miller, a hardware dealer in Worcester, aided them by fitting up a shop (in the northwest end of Court Mill, in Mr. Miller's shop), with the requisite machinery and tools, of which he retained the ownership, taking and selling all the wrenches manufactured by the Messrs. Coes. The business was so far successful that early in 1843 they were able to purchase the machinery and tools. They were now employing three hands, and made a contract with C. Foster & Co. to sell their goods. The next winter (1843-44) they moved to the shop of Albert Curtis, in New Worcester. They leased a basement in one of Mr. Curtis' buildings who built them a blacksmith shop, and put in a trip-hammer for their use.

At the close of their contract with C. Foster & Co., April 1, 1848, they entered into a contract for five years with Ruggles, Nourse & Mason. At this time, also, they bought for fifty-five hundred dollars the old woolen-mill in which they had both worked in their youth—the water privilege, two houses and about four acres of land. They were now employing from twelve to fifteen men, and making from five to six hundred wrenches a month. They repaired and raised the mill and put in a new water-wheel and new machinery.

"Their contract with Ruggles, Nourse & Mason expired, by limitation, April 1, 1853, and they thenceforward sold their own goods. They had, during the twelve years since their first patent was granted, devised, individually or jointly, various improvements in the wrenches and in the special machinery used in their manufacture.

"On July 21, 1853, with Levi Hardy, they purchased from Moses Clement his shop, machinery and business—that of the manufacture of shear-blades and knives for hay-cutting machines. The co-partnership continued until May 2, 1864.

¹ Van Slyck, "New England Manufacturers and Manufacteries."

"After the dissolution of their co-partnership, having purchased Mr. Hardy's interest in it, they continued the business, with Charles A. Hardy as the superintendent of the shop, keeping its accounts distinct from those of the wrench business.

"In 1865 they built a dam half a mile above their water privilege, to form a reservoir, and the next year they built a shop at the reservoir, one hundred feet by forty, two stories high, with a basement, devoting it exclusively to the manufacture of shear-blades, hay-cutter knives and similar articles.

"In 1867 they built a new dam one hundred rods below the reservoir."

On April 1, 1869, they dissolved their co-partnership and divided the business—Loring Coes taking the upper privilege, including the shear-blade business, and A. G. taking the lower privilege, and paying a bonus for the right of choice. At this time they sold monthly from ten to twelve thousand wrenches.¹

L. Coes & Company erected the large brick factory at the lower dam, one hundred feet long, fifty feet wide and four stories high, with basement and attic. The building, with the machinery to be used in it, was finished early in 1871.

The Coes Wrench Company is a consolidation of the two companies, which was effected April 1, 1888, with Loring Coes, president; John H. Coes, treasurer, and Frederick L. Coes, secretary—the two latter, sons of A. G. Coes. They are now manufacturing wrenches under patents of Loring Coes, dated July 6, 1880, and July 8, 1884; are producing fifteen hundred wrenches per day and employ one hundred hands.

At the outlet of the upper pond Mr. Loring Coes carries on quite an extensive business in the manufacture of die stock for cutting sole-leather and other purposes. He also makes shear-blades, knives for meat, cheese-cutters and lawn-mower knives. He has a trip-hammer in this shop, and the old rolling-mill, used for making plane irons, by William Hovey, on the mill dam in Boston many years ago.

L. Hardy & Co., at New Worcester, conducted by Henry A. Hoyt, manufacture shear-blades, die stock for cutters, &c., and John Jacques, at New Worcester, manufactures patent shears for book-makers, binders, printers and paper-box makers; also shears for tin-plate workers.

Other manufacturers of wrenches, in a small way, have engaged in the business from time to time. In April, 1852, E. F. Dixie advertises to manufacture "Hewet's celebrated screw-wrench." George C. Taft and John Gleason manufactured wrenches, in connection with copying-presses, at Northville, in 1853. B. F. Joslyn, who seems to have been a most ingenious mechanic, and who made several inventions in fire-arms, made several improvements in wrenches, and on one of these, at least, procured a patent.

Ruggles, Nourse & Mason, who were at one time selling agents for the Coes', manufactured wrenches in 1859, in connection with the business in agricultural implements.

CHAPTER CXCIV.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Wire—Wire-Workers—Coppers.

WIRE.—In the latter half of the eighteenth century the desirability of commencing the manufacture of wire in this country was very generally recognized. But little progress was made for some years, and most, if not all, of the card-wire was imported from England. In fact, at this time there was very little wire made in the world. From a well-authenticated source the assertion is made that in 1810 the entire output of wire in England would not exceed one four-horse load weekly.

From the report of Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, made in 1810, it appears that the demand for cards was twice as much in 1809 as in 1808, and was increasing.

The wire is imported, and serious inconvenience would attend the stoppage of the supply, although the manufacture might, and would be immediately established to supply all demands, if the same duty were laid on wire, now free, as on other articles of the same material.

In the early days the hardware dealers of Worcester imported their wire from England or Germany. Wire was drawn in Walpole, soon after the Revolution, by Eleazar Smith, and card-wire was drawn by hand in Leicester as early as 1809. In 1813 mention is made of a wire factory, run by Joseph White, in West Boylston; in April, 1814, of its manufacture in Phillipston, and in the same year a wire factory is advertised for sale at Barre, on the Ware River.

Prior to 1815 a building on the present site of the Coes Wrench Factory, Leicester Street, New Worcester, was occupied as a wire factory.

Wire was drawn in Spencer between 1815 and 1820. Its manufacture in Worcester was begun in 1831 by Ichabod Washburn and Benjamin Goddard, in a wooden factory at Northville. This was on the second privilege south of North Pond dam, and was built by Frederick W. Paine. The factory now standing on this site is the third one built there, the two preceding having been burned.

Ichabod Washburn first engaged in business in Worcester in 1820, with William H. Howard, in the manufacture of woolen machinery and lead pipe. Mr. Howard shortly afterwards left town, and Mr. Washburn purchased his half of the business, which he continued.

The demand for woolen machinery increasing, Mr. Washburn, in 1822, took as partner Mr. Benjamin

¹Van Slyck, "New England Manufacturers and Manufactories."

Goddard, the firm being Washburn & Goddard, and they soon employed thirty men. They made the first condenser and long-roll spinning-jack ever made in Worcester County, and among the first in the country.

Any one passing in Main Street, by the head of School Street, in the year 1822, might have seen projecting from one of the large sycamore trees standing there, the following sign:—WOOL CARDING AND LEAD AQUEDUCT MANUFACTORY, with a hand pointing down the street to Washburn & Goddard's shop, on the site now occupied by N. A. Lombard's building, and near the site of the factory for the manufacture of corduroys and fustians, occupied in 1789 by Samuel Brazer.

During the winter of 1830-31 Mr. Washburn, in a small wooden building, back of what is now the brick part of N. A. Lombard's factory, in School Street, experimented in the manufacture of wood-screws.

Some time during the year 1831, Mr. Washburn, Mr. Goddard and General Heard visited North Providence, where three brothers—Clement O., Curtis and Henry Read—were making wood-screws under a patent which they owned. An arrangement was made with the Reads, and they moved the screw machinery to the Northville Factory at Worcester. It was brought from Providence on a canal-boat, the journey occupying three days.

Meantime, in August, 1831, Washburn & Goddard sold their business in School Street, and moved to Northville, where the manufacture of wire and wood-screws was begun, the wire being manufactured by Washburn & Goddard, the screws under the name of C. Read & Co., with whom Mr. Washburn had an interest. Washburn & Goddard at the same time manufactured card-wire.

Some time between April, 1836, and March, 1837, the screw business was removed to Providence, where it continued for a time under the name of C. Read & Co., but ultimately became the nucleus of the "Eagle," now the "American Screw Company," which has since acquired a world-wide reputation.

Mr. Washburn states, in his autobiography, that the first wire-machine he ever saw was one of self-acting pinners, drawing out about a foot, then passing back and drawing another foot. With this crude machine a man could draw about fifty pounds of wire per day. For this Mr. Washburn substituted the wire-block, which is in use at the present time.

The process of wire-drawing consists in taking a coarse wire rod and drawing it through a hole of less diameter than the rod, in an iron or steel plate, and repeating the operation until the rod is reduced to wire of the required size. The reduction is effected by stretching the wire, and not by removing the metal.

At the present day a piece of steel four inches square and three feet long is rolled into a two hundred pound coil of No. 6 rods, measuring about two thousand and forty-six feet. This rod, by the process

of drawing from No. 6 to No. 12, is increased in length to 6,848 feet. The diameter of the No. 12 wire is .105, while the billet from which it is made has a sectional area of sixteen square inches.

Mr. Washburn, at this time, happened to be in New York, when Phelps, Dodge & Co., with whom he had business, said to him that they were starting a wire-mill, and expected to make all the wire that would be wanted in the country, and predicted failure for his mill in Worcester.

January 30, 1835, the partnership was dissolved, Mr. Goddard retaining the factory at Northville for the manufacture of woolen machinery, while Mr. Washburn continued the wire business in a factory built for him, by the late Stephen Salisbury, on Mill Brook, which was dammed for the purpose of providing water-power, thus forming what is now known as Salisbury's Pond. The earth removed to make a basin for the pond forms the high ground now found upon the south side and included within the boundaries of Institute Park.

The building erected by Mr. Salisbury was eighty feet long and forty feet in width, three stories high in the centre, with a sloping roof, two chimneys and surmounted by a cupola containing a bell.

In 1835 Charles Washburn came from Harrison, Me., where he was practicing law, and formed a co-partnership with his brother Ichabod, which continued until January 13, 1838. Meantime Benjamin Goddard discontinued the manufacture of woolen machinery, and the Northville mill came into Mr. Washburn's possession. He then made a contract with Mr. Goddard to draw wire for him, and wire machinery was again set up in the Northville factory.

About the year 1840 Mr. Washburn bought the water power and property now occupied by the Worcester Wire Company at South Worcester. Mr. Goddard took charge of the mill, and retained that position till his death, in 1867, and all three of his sons worked there,—Delano, who afterwards became the accomplished editor of the *Boston Advertiser*; Henry, who is now at the head of an important department at the works of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company; and Dorrance, who for many years was superintendent of the South Works of the corporation.

The South Worcester Mill was a one-story building, about fifty feet long and thirty feet wide. Card-wire was here drawn to No. 19 size, and brought to Grove Street to be finished. Coarser wire, for machinery and telegraph purposes, was also drawn at South Worcester.

At the Worcester County Cattle Show, held in October, 1838, Ichabod Washburn exhibits very excellent wire Nos. 30, 31, 32 and 33, and also iron wire cards.

In 1842 Charles Washburn again became a partner in the business. February 13, 1845, the old wire-mill in Northville, then used as a cotton-factory and

occupied by William Crompton, was totally destroyed by fire.

In February, 1847, Prouty & Earle had a wire-factory at Washington Square; subsequently it was purchased by I. & C. Washburn.

At this time the demand for telegraph-wire commenced. From 1847 until 1859 it was mainly of No. 9 size, Stubbs' gauge. It was not galvanized at first, but was sometimes painted or boiled in oil, for the purpose of retarding the inevitable process of oxidation. A more complete preservative was later found in zinc, applied by the process known as galvanizing. At first this was somewhat crude, and consisted in dipping the coils of wire in molten zinc, after which the surplus metal was shaken off by violent pounding.

From 1837 till 1847 Ichabod Washburn purchased in Sweden his wire-rod billets, which were bars of iron about twelve feet long, one and one-eighth inch square in section, and these were rolled into wire-rods at Fall River, Troy and Windsor Locks, Conn. The inconvenience of having the rolling done at a distance led Ichabod and Charles Washburn, in 1847, to look about for a location for a rolling-mill.

Attracted by the water-power at Quinsigamond, a small part of which was then used by the lower paper-mill remaining at that place, they purchased the whole property of the Lincoln family, thus acquiring what they deemed reliable power, and, at the same time, plenty of room for the location of all the buildings necessary for their purposes.

Under their patronage a new firm was organized to carry on the rod-rolling and wire business, under the title of Washburn, Moen & Co., a firm composed of Henry S. Washburn, Charles Washburn and Philip L. Moen. This company was dissolved January 12, 1849, the business being continued by Henry S. Washburn.

January 1, 1849, the co-partnership theretofore existing between I. & C. Washburn was dissolved, the manufacture of wire in its various branches being continued at the Grove Street mill by Ichabod Washburn. A division of the property was had, Charles Washburn taking Quinsigamond. February 9, 1849, he offered to rent for a term of years "the building with water-power sufficient for driving machinery for a sash and blind-factory, or any other business not requiring a very great water-power." At the same time he offers for sale the entire machinery for the manufacture of paper in the said building.

This was the lower of the two paper-mills, which for many years had been run at this point by the Burbanks, and was located in what is known as the scrap-yard of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, about forty feet south of a well, which is now constantly in use and which afforded water for the operatives in the paper-mill. The end of the mill was parallel with the railroad, and was only separated from it by the width of the old race-way, and stood at a point about four hundred and sixty feet

southeast of the traveled highway, as it crosses the railroad.

April 1, 1850, Philip L. Moen became a partner with Mr. Ichabod Washburn, and has been actively engaged in the business from that time.

In July, 1851, a Mr. Adams had a wire-factory opposite the Norwich depot, but no further notice of it is to be found.

January 2, 1853, Henry S. Washburn formed a co-partnership with Charles F. Washburn, and they continued at Quinsigamond rolling rods and manufacturing iron and wire under the firm-name of Henry S. Washburn & Co. Meantime, Ichabod Washburn had made considerable progress in the manufacture of wire, particularly of card-wire, introducing new and improved processes. This was made of Swedish bars one and one-quarter inches square, which were rolled at Quinsigamond into wire rods of a little less than one-quarter of an inch in diameter; they were then carried to the wire factory at South Worcester and Grove Streets, and drawn to the necessary sizes. The capacity of this rolling-mill was about six long tons per day of ten hours.

Early in his experience as a wire-drawer Mr. Washburn adopted certain improved processes for annealing,—that is, restoring the wire, as it became hard and brittle, by repeated drawing to its original soft and pliable condition,—by heating in cast-iron pots and cooling slowly. This improvement consisted in placing the small coils in double air-tight iron-pots.

In 1850, at the suggestion of Mr. Chickering, of Boston, Mr. Washburn devoted his attention to the production of steel wire for piano-fortes, the manufacture of which had been previously monopolized by several English houses. These experiments were successful; and the English wire was discarded for that made in Worcester.

From that time to this the Washburn & Moen Company has been the only manufacturer of music-wire in this country.

In February, 1856, the Quinsigamond Mills consisted of a building one hundred and fifty feet front with two wings extending back one hundred and fifty feet, between which was a hoop building, sixty by thirty feet; these with coal-houses and yards covered more than an acre of ground. Here were manufactured Brazer's screws, rivet rods, bright and annealed market and telegraph, spring, fence, buckle and bail wire; also fine hoops. The daily product was ten tons; eighty-five operatives were employed and one hundred horse-power was supplied by three water-wheels. The annual product of the mill was valued at three hundred thousand dollars.

The first continuous tempering done by Mr. Ichabod Washburn was in 1856, in the rear of his Summer Street residence; this was music wire, and the hardening was done in water. Early in 1857 the furnace was removed to the old gymnasium in Orchard Street and oil was substituted for water.

This series of experiments led to an important invention in the process of hardening and tempering continuously. Hitherto this had only been done when the steel wire was in the form of a coil by subjecting it first to high heat, and then cooling in oil or water.

But the pressure for music wire and for erinoline wire now coming upon him, the old process became too slow and expensive to be endured, and it became necessary to adopt some more efficient method. This was found in the continuous process of hardening and tempering, which he patented, and which, without any substantial improvement or change has been universally adopted, rendering possible many results which could not otherwise have been reached.

In 1857 the partnership of Henry S. Washburn and Charles F. Washburn was dissolved, and May 1st, of that year, Charles Washburn and Charles F. Washburn formed a co-partnership under the name of Charles Washburn & Son, and continued in business at the Quinsigamond works. Henry S. Washburn remained in the wire business, and occupied as a factory one of the buildings erected by Nathan Washburn near the freight depot of the Western Railroad.

C. Washburn & Son then manufactured most of their common market wire from scrap iron piled on boards eighteen by eight inches, heated to a welding heat, and rolled into billets which were re-heated and rolled into rods.

The only appliances in their mills for the production of wire rods were three heating furnaces and a large train of two rolls, in which the pile of heated scrap was rolled to one and one-eighth inch billets of one hundred pounds weight; and a small train of rolls three high, by which these billets were rolled to three and a half by four Stubs' gauge wire rod.

Experiments in the burning of peat were made by Henry S. Washburn & Co., and by I. Washburn & Co., but it did not prove a satisfactory substitute for coal.

In July, 1859, I. Washburn & Company employed one hundred and twenty hands in the Grove Street mill, and made three tons of iron wire per day. They were erecting a new mill three stories high, eighty feet by forty feet, and were also making large additions to the mill in South Worcester; a new annealing house, fifty feet by thirty feet, two stories high, together with additions to the main building.

CRINOLINE WIRE.—The crinoline wire business commenced about 1859 and lasted for ten years. This was made possible by the continuous hardening and tempering process invented by Mr. Washburn, which made it feasible to temper a cheaper grade of cast steel at very little additional cost, and thus substitute it for the more expensive methods before used for increasing the size of women's skirts. This enabled the skirt-makers to put their goods on the market furnished with steel hoops of great toughness and elasticity, and at a price which put them within

the reach of the poorest; consequently, this line of business was largely increased until about 1870, when other fashions came into vogue and the consumption of tempered steel in this form steadily decreased. For several years the annual output of tempered erinoline wire was one thousand five hundred tons annually, making this company the largest consumer of cast steel in the country.

About 1860 Mr. Washburn introduced continuous annealing, cleaning and galvanizing. This was an English invention and a great improvement upon the processes previously used, being of especial value at that time in the manufacture of telegraph wire.

In November, 1862, the iron and wire works of Chas. Washburn & Son, Quinsigamond, were totally destroyed by fire.

In 1863 I. Washburn & Moen built a cotton-mill, which was run for about ten years, producing yarn sufficient to cover four tons per day of tempered erinoline wire.

In 1864 I. Washburn & Moen controlled the works at Grove Street and South Worcester, but had no rolling-mill. Their business was confined to iron and cast steel of different grades, Bessemer steel and open-hearth steel being introduced many years later.

January 2, 1865, I. Washburn & Moen changed the co-partnership to a corporation under the style of I. Washburn & Moen Wire Works, organized for the purpose of manufacturing wire and wire rods. Capital stock, \$500,000.

August 4, 1865, the Quinsigamond Iron & Wire Works, which succeeded to the business of Chas. Washburn & Son, was organized.

November 27, 1866, a petition was filed to form a corporation "for making wire and wire rods, cotton yarn and goods, with a capital larger than at present allowed." The petitioners asked to be incorporated under the title of Washburn & Moen Wire Works, with a capital of \$600,000.

July 7, 1867, the mill at South Worcester was burned and the business was conducted at Grove Street till March, 1868, when a new mill at South Worcester was in readiness. About a year and one-half from that time the company commenced the erection of most of the present buildings in Grove Street. Meantime, February 24, 1868, the Quinsigamond Iron & Wire Works and the Washburn & Moen Wire Works were consolidated under the name of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, with a capital of \$1,000,000, and authority to increase this amount to \$1,500,000, the present capital, was granted May 26, 1869.

In the fall of 1869 was built the first rolling-mill, at Grove Street. This was a "Continuous Mill," so called, and was in its essential features an English invention.

The adoption of Bessemer steel, which occurred in 1876, created a revolution in the wire business, substituting, as it did, a better and cheaper material for

very many purposes. This occurred at the beginning of the barbed wire business. The use of Bessemer steel for this purpose alone, besides furnishing a stronger wire than could be made from Swedish iron, represents a saving of at least four million five hundred thousand dollars annually to the farmers of the country.

BARBED FENCING.—The importance of the fence question to the people of the United States can perhaps be best appreciated by a mere statement of the results contained in the Report of the United States' Department for Agriculture for 1871, from which it appears that the cost of fencing in thirty-seven States had amounted to \$1,747,549,931, while the annual cost of repairs amounted to \$93,963,187. This together with the annual interest on the original investment at six per cent., made the total cost, exclusive of rebuilding, \$188,806,182.

The cost of fencing per rod, as stated in this report, varies from 30 cents in Alabama to \$2.20 in Rhode Island. In addition, a fence occupies and wastes, upon an average, a piece of land half a rod wide, or one acre in every fifty, making a total of not less than 50,000,000 acres in the United States.

Not only was the expense of fencing with timber enormous, but apprehension was felt that the supply might be unequal to the demands made upon it. Wire as a fencing material was recommended as early as 1821. Speaking of the wastefulness of the common method of wooden-fencing, the secretary of the New York State Agricultural Society for 1850 stated that the worm-fence took "from every one hundred acres an area of five acres."

The substitution of wire for wood as a fencing material was generally recommended on the ground that it takes up no room, exhausts no soil, shades no vegetation, is proof against high winds, makes no snow-drifts, and is both durable and cheap.

As the necessity for a cheap fencing material increased, efforts to supply the need also increased. Up to 1881 twelve hundred and twenty-nine patents had been issued relating to fencing, and more than two-thirds of that number since 1865.

The first patent was in 1801, and up to 1857 about one hundred had been issued, while in 1866, '67 and '68 three hundred and sixty-eight fence patents were issued.

In examining the patents issued it is found that of the twelve hundred and twenty-nine issued up to 1881 forty were to inventors in the New England States; three hundred and seventy-two to the Middle States; one hundred and eight to the Southern States; and six hundred and ninety-six to the Western States; eight to the District of Columbia and five to Canada.

Of the States, Ohio had the greatest number, two hundred and forty-one; followed by New York, two hundred and thirty-one; Illinois, one hundred and forty-two; Iowa, ninety-six.

Up to 1873 plain No. 9 round wire was largely used in the West as a fencing material and thousands of tons of it were in use, but it was not satisfactory. It stretched in warm and contracted in cold weather, which was the cause of constant breakages; furthermore, cattle could rub against it with impunity, and this constant pressure loosened the posts and broke the wire.

In the fall of 1873 the manufacture of barbed-wire was begun in a small way at DeKalb, Ill., by Mr. J. F. Glidden, who was a farmer in that town. He first made a few rods of fencing and put it up on his own farm in November, 1873. The process was very crude when compared with the present method of manufacture.

The barbs were first formed by bending around a mandril and then slipped upon one wire of the fence; the second wire was then intertwisted with the first; this locked the barbs in place and prevented lateral as well as rotary motion. The fencing was made in sixteen-foot lengths, and as there was no means for coiling it on spools for transportation, it was carried to the point where it was to be put up, and then enough of these sixteen-foot lengths were spliced together to give a fence of the desired length. The first piece actually sold for use was in the spring of 1874. Three boys and two men were able to make fifty pounds per day. In June, 1874, it was arranged to do the twisting by horse-power, and this increased the product of three boys and two men to one hundred and fifty pounds per day.

In the latter part of 1874 a rude hand-machine was devised for twisting the barb upon the main wire and spooling the product, which was subsequently unwound and twisted with a second wire and then spooled again. By the use of the latest machinery, one man will now produce two thousand pounds, or over five and a half miles, in ten hours.

In the spring of 1876 the attention of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company having been called to this new article of manufacture and impressed with its value, automatic machinery was constructed and patented, and the control of the underlying barbed-wire patents was acquired. These patents were,—one to L. B. Smith, of Ohio (June 25, 1867), in which the barb consists of four radially projecting points from a hub, which is prevented from moving laterally by a bend in the main wire. Patent granted to W. D. Hunt, of New York, in which a single fence wire is armed with spur-wheels which can revolve upon the main wire. Patent to Michael Kelly, of New York, dated February 11, 1868; this is the first patent to show two wires twisted together. The barb was made of a lozenge-shaped piece of sheet metal and was strung upon the main wire, while for strength, a second wire was intertwisted with the first. This inventor showed a most intelligent conception of the subject matter of his invention, as appears from the following quotation taken from his specifications:

I can, by this invention, make an efficient fence from unconnected wires, six inches apart, fixing the artificial thorne on the wires four inches apart. This fence takes only one-fourth as much wire as in ordinary wire fences, yet it is more efficient. This fence will weigh about one-eighth as much as ordinary connected wire fence, by which I mean those woven or twisted together. It can be wound on a reel, like telegraph wire, and a farmer can transport as much in a single wagon-load as will serve to build fences for a large farm.

The next patent in point of date, and chief in importance, is the patent to Glidden, dated November 24, 1874, in which is for the first time found a barbed wire made of wire wrapped about a fence wire, and locked in place by a fellow wire intertwisted with the first. Meantime, barbed wire was growing in popularity; at first, strong prejudices had to be overcome. Many hardware dealers would not have it in their stores. The public, too, had to be educated. A length of barbed wire, with two barbs upon it, was shown to two men in Texas; one guessed it was a model of a fence, the barbs being the posts, and another thought it was a bit for a horse.

A skeptical farmer said he didn't believe it amounted to much; that he had a bull (Old Jim) who would go through anything, and he guessed he wouldn't stop for barbed wire. His field was fenced; "Old Jim" shook his head, elevated his tail, and went for it. The farmer was converted, and so was "Jim."

Barbed wire, once introduced, grew rapidly in favor. In fact, it became a necessity; strong, durable, cheap, easily transported, and an absolute barrier against man and beast, it became at once the best fencing material known, and the demand for it rapidly increased. Meantime, infringers began to spring up, and litigation followed. No stronger or more persistent efforts were ever made to break down a patent property than were directed against the barbed wire patents.

Thousands of pages of testimony were taken upon alleged cases of prior use all over the West and in Texas. The greatest interest was taken in the cases involving, as they did, the control of what even then bade fair to be a most important industry.

The defence relied upon establishing the alleged cases of prior use, and also insisted strongly that there was no invention in arming a wire with pricking spurs. The United States Circuit Court for the Northern District of Illinois, in December, 1880, sustained the patents, and this gave the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, and their associate, Isaac L. Ellwood, of DeKalb, Ill., the control of this business. Licenses were issued to most of the parties lately infringing, and the business has been conducted upon that basis up to the present time, and will be during the life of the patents, some of which do not expire for several years.

To protect themselves and their licensees, the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company has purchased upwards of two hundred and fifty patents upon barbed wire and barbed wire machinery.

The amount of barbed wire consumed in this country has increased from five tons, in 1874, to a probable output of one hundred and fifty thousand tons, over eight hundred and fifty thousand miles, in 1888. Of this amount, the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company makes about eighteen thousand tons (over one hundred thousand miles), while the capacity of their works is seventy-five tons per day of ten hours, or four hundred and twenty-six miles. The cost to the consumer has during this time been reduced from eighteen cents per pound to less than five cents. This has resulted from the reduced price of wire and the introduction of automatic machinery.

BALE TIES.—About the time that barbed wire began to be manufactured the company became the owners of patents upon bale ties, a wire substitute for the wood and rope previously used. There are probably to-day ten thousand tons used annually for binding hay in the United States.

Each ton of wire will wind three hundred and thirty tons of hay or straw, and the whole ten thousand tons of wire will bind three million three hundred thousand tons of hay and straw.

It formerly cost on an average to press this amount, when bound with rope, two dollars per ton. Wire is applied to the bales with so much greater ease than wood or rope, that a saving of fifty cents per ton, at a low estimate, is effected in pressing hay when wire ties are used. But the greatest saving made to the public by the introduction of wire for binding purposes is in the increased security against loss by fire. When hay, straw or tow are bound with rope or wood, each is easily set on fire, the binding material burns, and thus allows the compressed mass to become loose and add fuel to the flames. This, of course, is not the case when wire is used. For this reason, rope and wood were discarded many years ago in pressing cotton.

Altogether, millions of dollars are saved annually to the public by the introduction of wire ties, all of which has been effected in the last twelve or fourteen years.

COPPER WIRE.—Since 1884 copper wire has taken a prominent place among the products of this company, as it has been and is being largely substituted for iron, particularly in long-distance telephoning and electric lighting.

Copper has always been preferred to iron for electric purposes by reason of its greater conductivity, but previous to the introduction of hard-drawn copper wire it did not possess the requisite strength. By present processes a copper wire of sufficient strength can be produced much lighter than iron, and of largely increased conductivity, as is apparent when the fact is stated that for a given length of wire an equal degree of conductivity will require five times as much weight in a mile of iron as of copper wire.

In January 1884, there were probably not more

than one hundred or two hundred miles of hard-drawn copper wire in use in this country. To-day there are, it is estimated, at least fifty thousand miles, representing about four thousand two hundred tons of metal, now in operation by the various telegraph and telephone companies, the average weight per mile being about one hundred and seventy pounds.¹

The larger sizes of copper wire are used in connection with electric railways.

WIRE ROPE.—Among the more recent specialties introduced by the company is wire rope, of which is manufactured: galvanized steel wire cable for suspension bridges; phosphor-bronze and copper wire rope; transmission and standing rope; galvanized wire seizing; hoisting rope; tiller rope; switch rope; copper, iron and tinned sash cord wire; clothes-lines and picture-cords; galvanized iron wire rope for ships' rigging; galvanized crucible cast-steel wire rope for yachts' rigging.

The rapid introduction of cable railways has created another demand for wire rope.

WIRE NAILS.—The manufacture of wire nails is another branch of business conducted by the company. The wire nail, as an article of manufacture, was scarcely known in this country ten years ago. Since that time it has come into general use, and it is estimated upon good authority that more wire nails are used to-day than cut nails. The variety is very large, running from three-sixteenths of an inch, made from No. 22 iron, to a length of fourteen inches, made from No. 000 wire.

It is a little remarkable that the introduction of two articles of manufacture—barbed wire and wire nails—should within the last fifteen years have created a new demand for wire, amounting to at least two hundred and seventy-five thousand tons per annum, which has been made possible by the use of Bessemer steel.

While the process of drawing wire is, in principle, the same as practiced fifty years ago, many improvements have been made leading to a largely increased relative product. Great advances have been made in certain of the mechanical processes, particularly in the rolling of wire rods. In 1846 the first rolling-mill at Quinsigamond produced about five tons of No. 4 rods in ten hours; at the present time the output is from forty to fifty tons in the same time.

The demand for wire and the purposes for which it is used have largely increased, as indicated by the present output of two hundred and forty-five tons daily, and the manufacture of four hundred and eighteen different kinds of wire.

The increase in the business of the corporation has been most rapid since the introduction of barbed wire. In 1875 the number of hands employed was seven hundred; in 1880 two thousand one hundred, and at

the present time, 1889, there are three thousand names on the pay-roll of the company, for the most part heads of families, supporting directly not less than thirteen thousand persons, and indirectly, a much larger number.

Of the operatives, one thousand are Irish; nine hundred Swedes; five hundred Americans; two hundred and thirty-six Armenians; forty-five Germans; other nationalities, three hundred and nineteen.

The buildings of the corporation cover twenty-five acres of ground, and the machinery is driven by engines of seven thousand two hundred horse-power. The present officers of the corporation are: Philip L. Moen, president and treasurer; Charles F. Washburn, vice-president and secretary; Philip W. Moen, assistant treasurer and general superintendent; Charles G. Washburn, assistant secretary and counsel. The above, with George T. Dewey, Esq., constitute the board of directors.

The Worcester Wire Company, William E. Rice, president and treasurer, is located on the Old South Worcester privilege, utilized for manufacturing purposes from the earliest times. Here is manufactured a variety of wire, including tedder, rake teeth, wire for hay bales, and barbed fencing, bridge rope and general wire; bottling, baling wire; tinned mattress, tinned broom wire, harvesting wire on spools; wire for the manufacture of screws, bolts, rivets, nails, buckles, staples, rings, hooks and eyes, pin, hair-pin, reed, harness, heddle, bonnet, brush, broom, hat, clock and umbrella wire; also telegraph and telephone wire.

Wire-working as an industry in Worcester was contemporaneous with wire-making.

In April, 1831, Jabez Bigelow manufactured, in Rutland, "wire sieves, such as meal sieves, sand riddles, etc., also manufactures all kinds of safes for meat and provisions."

In 1834 he was located at the Stone building, Front Street, on the canal, where he manufactured "meat, milk, cheese and provision safes, wire sieves, grain, coal, sand, sugar and bakers' riddles. Fire fenders, sand screens, hatters' hurls, dusters for paper-mills, cellar and window guards, netting, wire lace, bird cages, plate covers and brass screens."

In the following year Mr. Bigelow advertised for two girls who could take a loom to their dwelling.

In 1845, Mr. Samuel Ayres began to weave wire for Mr. Bigelow in a shop in Norwich Street. Mr. Bigelow then had three looms—one large and two small ones—and the business employed in all six hands, among whom were Mr. Bigelow's sons.

The business of wire-working was subsequently conducted by several firms, and finally consolidated in the National Manufacturing Company, of which Mr. Jonah H. Bigelow, a son of Jabez Bigelow, is president. This company has conducted a prosperous business for many years, manufacturing a very large variety of wire goods.

¹ "Pocket Hand-Book of Copper and Iron Wire," published by W. & M. Manufacturing Company, 1888.

The business now conducted by the Wire Goods Company was commenced by Charles G. Washburn in the fall of 1880, on the top floor of the building then and now occupied by C. H. Hutchins & Company, in Allen's Court. The articles manufactured were wire goods for cotton and woolen machinery.

September 12, 1882, it was incorporated under the name of The Wire Goods Company, and was continued for a time in Allen Court, but was subsequently moved into the brick factory in Union Street, the present situation. Meantime, the business has very much enlarged, employing at the present time one hundred and twenty hands. In 1888 the business of the Ayres Manufacturing Company was purchased and merged in that of the Wire Goods Company. Among the articles manufactured are bright iron and brass gimlet-pointed wire goods of all kinds. Belt hooks, hitching rings, hand-rail screws, hammock hooks, double-pointed tacks, a large variety of wire goods and a number of patented specialties; in fact, "everything in wire." Mr. A. W. Parmelee is president and treasurer of the company.

Hamblin & Russell, in Front Street, are also engaged in the manufacture of a variety of wire goods similar to those made by the National Manufacturing Company.

Henry E. Dean, Austin St., manufactures a special line of general hardware and house goods, elevator and window guards, also all kinds of steel wire brushes.

Another use to which wire is put in Worcester is the manufacture of rivets and burrs, which is conducted by Reed & Prince, 42 Gardner Street, in the basement of the pistol factory. This industry was established in 1886.

It would be difficult to enumerate the variety of articles and machinery, manufactured in Worcester, into which wire enters in one form or another.

COPPERAS.—An interesting illustration of the utilization of waste products is found in the manufacture of sulphate of iron or green vitriol—commonly known as copperas, and popularly, but erroneously, supposed to be a salt of copper—from the waste sulphuric acid used in cleaning wire. This waste acid, heavily charged as it is with iron, is taken to the works of W. E. Cutter & Co., where, after being evaporated in lead-lined tanks in which iron in the form of waste wire has been placed to further neutralize the acid, is drawn off into large cooling-tanks, and the copperas is deposited in green crystals upon sticks suspended in the liquid. Copperas is used in dyeing as a disinfectant, and in the manufacture of ink, and largely in the manufacture of Venetian red, also made by W. E. Cutter & Co. 7,000,000 pounds of copperas are manufactured by this company annually, representing about 700 short tons of metallic iron; about one-third of the copperas is converted into Venetian red, of which the annual product is 2000 tons. This is an oxide of iron paint, and is very extensively used.

Copperas can also be obtained by the oxidation of iron pyrites—sulphate of iron. In 1830 a bed of iron pyrites was discovered in Hubbardston, and Mr. Bennett, of that place, with Messrs. John Green, Benjamin F. Heywood and James Green, of Worcester, formed a company for the manufacture of copperas, and began operations; but the enterprise did not prove successful. In December, 1828, the canal boat "Worcester," Captain Green, among other things, brought one ton of copperas from Providence.

CHAPTER CXCVI.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Carriages and Cars—Wood-working Machinery—Musical Instruments—Envelopes.

CARRIAGES AND CARS.—The business of carriage-making was conducted in Worcester at a very early day. Curtis & Goddard were in business in 1808.

In 1822 Osgood Bradley came to Worcester, and started the stage and carriage business in a small shop in the rear of what is now Parker Block in Main Street, and the same year moved into what is now known as Atchison's carriage-shop in School Street, where he manufactured and kept on hand mail-coaches, chaises, gigs, wagons, sleighs, cutters, etc. Associated with Mr. Bradley was John Manning, harness-maker, who afterwards, in 1825, went into business with Edward M. Burr, in the manufacture to order of coaches, chaises, saddles and harness, opposite Stiles & Butman's store, a few rods north of the brick hotel.

Osgood Bradley & Co. continued in the manufacture of coaches, chaises and harnesses in School Street, near Captain Thomas' coffee-house, and were succeeded by Solon Fay, September 2, 1829.

Albert Tolman was born in Lincoln, Mass., and came from Concord to Worcester in 1833. At this time, it must be remembered, manufacturing in Worcester was in a very primitive condition; the shops were all very small, and the proprietor, with one or two workmen and an apprentice, usually did the work.

In 1833, Mr. Tolman formed a co-partnership with Mr. Samuel L. Hunstable, and advertised to do chaise and harness-making in the yard of the Central Hotel. At this time a Mr. Goddard had a harness shop north of the Bay State House, near where the Waldo Block now is. Benjamin Goddard was a carriage maker, and had a shop on the corner of Waldo and Exchange Streets, where Walker's ice office now is.

A Mr. William Leggett was at that time an old harness-maker here, and was afterwards one of the first conductors on the Nashua Railroad. The firm of Tolman & Hunstable continued until 1837, when the firm

of A. Tolman & Co., was formed, composed of A. Tolman and G. W. Russell, which continued forty years. Their work for many years was the manufacture of first-class family carriages, which they sent all over the world, some of them going to California, and even to Africa and Australia. Mr. Tolman once built a carriage for Mrs. Governor Duncan, of Ohio, before the days of railroad communication; it was shipped to New Orleans, and from there went up the Ohio River to its destination. Now hundreds of carriages come from Ohio to the East by rail.

Meantime Mr. Bradley had again gone into business, and in 1838, Osgood Bradley sold out his business to Rice, Breck & Brown, and prior to 1842, Bradley & Rice engaged in the manufacture of railroad cars, near the Western depot. This factory, which was one hundred and thirty feet by forty feet, was destroyed by fire, May 12, 1842. Mr. Bradley resumed business alone in 1849, and in 1850 had in his employ about one hundred men. His work was done in half a dozen buildings scattered over two and a half acres of ground, and at this time he had in process of construction from sixteen to eighteen passenger cars at an average price of three thousand dollars, besides a large number of freight cars.

Mr. Bradley continued in business alone until January 1, 1883, when he took into partnership his sons, Henry O. and Osgood Bradley, Jr., the firm being Osgood Bradley & Sons. Mr. Bradley remained in the firm until his death, in 1884, the firm-name continued and his sons carrying on the business.

Mr. Bradley built the first railroad cars in this country at his shop in School Street. He built four cars for the Boston & Worcester Railroad, one of which was drawn to Boston over the old turnpike road by four horses.

In 1847 Abraham Flag, at his shop, 22 Exchange Street, manufactured I. Woodcock's patent "Worcester," a two-wheeled vehicle. Woodcock, Jones & Co. also manufactured them.

In 1851 the carriage business in Worcester supported about fifty families. The largest factory was that of Tolman & Russell; it embraced some half-dozen buildings and gave employment to twenty-five hands. Most of their carriages were of the more expensive kind. At this time they were finishing three, one for the Adams House, Boston; one for a New Bedford merchant, and one for Mr. White, of Worcester, "the attentive and obliging hackman, whom everybody knows and everybody employs." Besides these heavier carriages, Tolman & Russell manufactured a great many lighter vehicles of various patterns and prices, such as chaises, phaetons, rockaways and buggies. It is said that this firm at one time refused to take a large contract from the Government for the supply of army wagons for the use of the army during the Mexican War, solely on the ground that they believed the war to be unjust and did not wish to participate in the profits of such injustice.

The average number of vehicles manufactured by Tolman & Russell at this time was about one hundred per year.

The establishment of Breck & Wilder was situated in School Street, employing somewhat fewer hands than Tolman & Russell. Their shop occupied the site formerly occupied by Osgood Bradley, and their business was confined especially to omnibuses and stage-coaches. They built some of the largest omnibuses running between Boston and the adjacent towns, and had, in April, 1851, just finished an omnibus of immense proportions, named the "Jared Sparks," intended to run on the line between Cambridge and Boston.

George W. Wilder built a new light carriage known as the "York wagon." William C. Whiting's carriage factory, in Mechanic Street, employed ten hands on light carriages of all descriptions.

More recently, Tolman & Russell have confined themselves almost entirely to the manufacture of hearses, which find a market in all parts of the United States.

Mr. Tolman retired from the firm in 1879. The business is now conducted by H. J. & J. E. Russell.

Under the old apprentice system in this business, boys were taken from fifteen to twenty-one years of age, and were paid from thirty to fifty dollars a year and their board. They bought their own clothes, and the last year of their apprenticeship were paid seventy-five dollars, which included a "freedom suit."

About 1830 the working day averaged from twelve to thirteen hours, and all the work was hand-work, down to the rivets and bolts. The average wages of a good workman, \$1.25 per day.

As late as 1866 a good many carriages were made by O. Blood & Sons, Tolman & Russell and Geo. T. Atchison, but most of the carriages used in this city and county were bought in Boston.

The best carriages sold to-day in Worcester are made in Merrimac and Amesbury, Mass. Cheaper carriages come from the western part of New York and the Western States. These are kept in stock by the different carriage depositaries, and probably a thousand sold yearly to supply the demand in the city and county.

George C. Dewhurst who established the first regular depositary in Worcester, manufactures sleighs. The business of Geo. T. Atchison is largely in the manufacture of water-carts.

WOOD-WORKING MACHINERY.—The automatic wood-planing machine was invented by William Woodworth in 1828.

Previous to 1836 the manufacture of wood-working machinery was not carried on as a separate industry in any part of the United States. In that year the firm of J. A. Fay & Co., composed of J. A. Fay and Edward Josslyn, commenced the business in Keene, N. H., and a few years later united with the firm of C. B. Rogers & Co., at Norwich, Conn.

In April, 1839, Thomas E. Daniels was located at Court Mills, manufacturing his patent planing-machines, "which are useful in squaring out timber for machinery, planing floor and other boards, door, bedstead and table stuff, also for hollowing circles for water-wheel roundings and drum locks; he also builds machines for matching boards, grooving floor plank, and under floor plank, where it is desirable to put mortar between floors in factories to prevent fire; recommended by Davis & Howe; Ruggles, Nourse & Mason; White & Boyden; Henry Goulding & Co.; Horatio Phelps." He sold out his business to Deacon Richard Ball and Thomas Rice, who were succeeded by Ball & Ballard.

In 1843, Goddard, Rice & Co., put in the first planing-machine that went by power in Worcester County. In October, 1846, Arad Woodworth, New Worcester, showed a machine for planing window blind shades; and in 1847, Charles Price, successor to Price & Hartwell, was engaged in building planing-machines at No. 2 Central Street.

In 1849 Howe, Cheney & Co., at Court Mills, had made arrangements to build the Daniels Planing Machine, to plane all wood from eight to ten inches wide, and from four to fifty feet in length.

At the Mechanics' Exhibition in 1851, Ephraim C. Tainter exhibited a Daniels Planer embodying many improvements. His factory was at the Junction shop, and he was soon after joined by Mr. Gardner Childs, who, in 1853, sold his interest to the Keene and Norwich companies already referred to, and the business was conducted as a branch under the name of J. A. Fay & Co., who also manufactured plows, power and foot mortising machinery, tenoning and sash-moulding and matching-machines. The machines of their manufacture became known throughout this country and in Europe. In December, 1858, they were building a fifty-foot planer and other machinery for the Don Pedro Railroad in Brazil.

In 1858, and prior to that time, Ball & Williams (Richard Ball and Warren Williams), successors to Ball & Ballard, were engaged in School Street, in the manufacture of planing-machines for wood-working and of improved sash and moulding-machines. They had just sent an improved Woodworth planer to R. Hoe & Co., of New York. Warren Williams retired in 1865. Mr. Ball, with his son-in-law, built the factory in Salisbury Street, now occupied by Witherby, Rugg & Richardson.

In 1859 J. A. Fay & Co. occupied one hundred feet of the second floor of Col. Estabrook's shop at the Junction, and employed thirty hands in making wood-working machinery, and had then recently sent a saw-mill to Rio Janeiro.

In 1859 Mr. Fay died, but the business was carried on by his widow and the remaining partners.

In 1864 they opened a warehouse at 107 Liberty Street, New York, for the sale of their products, and were the pioneers there in this line of business.

In 1877 William B. Melver and his brother, J. C., purchased the tools, stock and good-will of the old firm and continued the business under the name of Melver Bros. & Co. They engaged in the general manufacture of wood-working machinery on a more extensive scale than had been done in the former companies. Melver Bros. & Co. now occupy the shop below the Junction, built by Wood, Light & Co., and in addition to their other business are largely engaged in the manufacture of coffee machinery for Central America and other coffee-growing countries.

Witherby, Rugg & Richardson began business in 1864, in the Armsby building, with twenty men, and employ at this time, at their location in Grove Street, seventy-five men. They make a large variety of wood-working machinery, which goes to all parts of the country.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—The principle of producing music by the vibratory motion of a reed is most simply illustrated in the jewsharp, and the development of this principle through the successive stages of harmonium, accordion, elbow melodeon, with foot-pedal for working the wind-chest, has resulted finally in the cabinet organ of to-day. This development has taken place within the present century.

The business of organ-building has been conducted in Worcester for more than forty years. In 1847 Mr. N. B. Jewett was engaged here in making melodeons, and in 1849 Mr. Milton M. Morse, who came from Concord, N. H., manufactured seraphines, melodeons and collans for church and parlor use. The first melodeon was copied from the accordion. Mr. Abraham Prescott, of Concord, N. H., manufacturer of bass viols and violoncellos, made an accordion for Mr. James A. Bazen, of Canton, who thereupon had an enlarged one made by Mr. Morse, then in his employ.

In 1847 the firm of Farley, Pierson & Co., consisting of John A. Farley, John G. Pierson and M. M. Morse, began business, which was conducted in the old Burnside Building, in Main Street. The first cases for this company were made by Partridge & Taber. The first melodeon made was a four-octave melodeon, held in the lap, with two rows of keys, sharps and flats. The round keys were pushed in like the keys upon the small concertinas which are made now. The sharp keys had black rings painted on the ivory. The melodeon was held in the lap, and, while the keys were operated by the hands, the elbows worked the bellows. These instruments were greatly enlarged until they were put upon legs and called seraphines, the bellows still being worked with the elbows.

The cabinet organ is the melodeon on a large scale. Modern instruments have the exhaust bellows, while the old instruments have the pressure bellows. At the beginning this company had six hands; Mr. Morse did the tuning, Mr. Farley made the reeds, and Mr. Pierson the wood-work. Subsequently, in 1852, Pierson & Loring succeeded to the business.

One of the first melodeon-tors made by this company was twenty-two inches long, twelve inches wide, with four octaves. The bellows were made in two folds; when the wind went out of one fold it came in and filled the other. At the last New England Fair one of these instruments, made forty years ago, was shown and operated.

Taylor & Farley were manufacturing melodeons in 1855, and in 1862 harmoniums for parlors, churches and schools. In 1865 their factory in Hermon Street was erected.

In 1856, the Steam Music Company was formed to manufacture the calliope, an instrument designed to produce music by steam—the invention of a Mr. J. C. Stoddard.

In June, 1858, E. Harrington & Co., at the Junction shop, manufactured melodeon reeds, succeeded by A. Davis & Co.

In 1859 the American Steam Music Company was located in Estabrook's building and employed twelve hands in the manufacture of calliopes and terpsichoreans.

"The latter is an entirely new thing, and this company has just completed the first one as an experiment. Its notes are agreeable and pleasant to the ear. The music for these instruments is arranged by M. Arhuckle, leader of Fisk's Cornet Band, on the same floor."

In 1860 the calliope was introduced into England.

The Loring & Blake Organ Company, located in Union Street, was incorporated in 1863. Messrs. Loring & Blake, the founders, were at one time with Taylor & Farley Organ Company, and first engaged in business in Southbridge Street, in French's building, and afterwards moved to the building in Hammond Street, which was later burned down and never rebuilt. From there they moved to the Adams Block, between Main and Southbridge Streets, the site of the new Post-Office, and also hired some rooms of E. S. Stone, their mill-work being done in Cypress Street. They now occupy the large five-story brick factory in Union Street.

The lumber used by this company comes comparatively dry, but they have two large dry-houses with a capacity of fifty thousand feet. From the dry-houses the lumber passes to the mill-room, is cut up into the proper sizes and glued; it then goes through the scraping and smoothing-machines. This company uses a machine for carving which does many parts of the work formerly done by hand, although some of the work can still be done cheaper by hand than by machinery. From the mill-room, with its multiplicity of saws and wood-working machinery the work goes to the case-room, adjoining which is the tuning-room; here the tuner has a set of reeds pitched, from which the reeds are fitted for the organ. Formerly the reeds were left perfectly straight, but now are bent somewhat, which is supposed to give a superior tone. This is a return to the earlier practice, as the reeds of

the first melodeons were made in this way. This company uses a patent stop motion of its own on its organs. The work of the factory is all divided into departments; the reeds and reed-boards are purchased outside, and put into cases in the factory. The bellows stock is also purchased.

The Taber Organ Company in Hermon Street—N. H. Ingraham, president, William B. Baker, treasurer,—was established in 1872 as the Worcester Organ Company. Shortly afterwards, Mr. William B. Taber, who had been with Loring & Blake Organ Company, bought the business, and later, in 1877, the Taber Organ Company was formed, starting with fifteen hands. The company now employ forty. Their product goes all over the world. The changes and improvements made in organ-building, have, for the most part, been in the styles of cases, in couplers and tremolos—the change in the latter being from the valve to the fan tremolo.

The company now known as the Worcester Organ Company is a continuation of the business formerly conducted by E. P. Carpenter, and has now commenced the manufacture of pianos. The manufacture of organ-reeds, while closely connected with the manufacture of organs, is a distinct business. Previous to 1846 reeds were made by hand. About that time Jeremiah Carhart, of New York, devised machinery for making the organ-reed to be used with exhaust bellows, which he had invented and patented. Redding & Harrington, of Worcester, also devised a machine for making the reeds. Mr. A. H. Hammond bought a one-third interest in this business and, finally, all of it. The Hammond shop, in May Street, now does a large domestic and foreign business, and employs two hundred hands.

George W. Ingalls & Co., Hermon Street, manufacture organ-reeds and reed-boards, Parker tremolos and octave couplers and fan tremolos.

The Munroe Organ Reed Company was established in 1860. It was incorporated in 1869 with a capital of \$13,300, and employed ten men. In 1875 the capital was increased to \$60,000, and in 1878 they added to the manufacture of reeds that of automatic instruments; since then they have employed something like 250 men at one time. In 1879 they moved to their present location in Union Street, where they have the most complete facilities and most ingenious machinery for the prosecution of their business. They use from 150,000 to 200,000 pounds of sheet brass per year, from which the rough frame-work of the reed is punched; it is then planed and milled; the reed grooved and the tongue securely fastened in place by machinery; another machine letters the reeds, of which 15,000 are manufactured daily. The reed-boards are made of the best Michigan quartered pine. The places for the reeds are cut in the reed-boards by machinery. The product of this company goes all over the world. The export business amounts to \$100,000 per year.

ENVELOPES.—Envelopes were first used in England between 1830 and 1839, but only in a very limited way, as the use of an envelope called for double postage, the law then being that postage should be charged for the number of pieces of paper. This explains the custom, then prevailing, of folding the letter-sheet to make it answer the purpose of an envelope.

The Penny Post was established in 1840 by Sir Rowland Hill, and a demand for envelopes was at once created.

Up to this time, and for several years after, all the envelopes used were cut by hand; each stationer had blank patterns of several sizes of envelopes, and with the aid of a sharp penknife cut the blanks three or four at a time. On rainy days these blanks were folded and stuck together in the form of envelopes. There are to-day, in this country, stationers in business who in early life made in this way all the envelopes sold in their stores.

The first machine for making envelopes was invented in 1845 by Edwin Hill, a brother of Sir Rowland Hill, the father of penny postage.

Worcester has taken a foremost place in the development of the manufacture of machine-made envelopes. The third United States patent on a machine for making envelopes was issued to Dr. Russell L. Hawes, of this city, in 1853; the two preceding patents were upon machines of no practical value, so that it may fairly be said that the first successful machine in the United States for making envelopes was invented and patented by a Worcester man and built in the city of Worcester.

Dr. Hawes was then agent for Goddard & Rice, and saw in New York some hand-made envelopes, very likely made by a Pole named Karcheski, who is said to have made the first hand-made envelopes in this country.

Dr. Hawes thought he could make envelopes by machinery, and, returning to Worcester, built a machine in the shop of Goddard & Rice, which was subsequently patented. The blank for the envelope was first cut out by a die, then the sealing flap was gummed, the envelope blanks being spread out, one overlapping the other, and the gum applied with an ordinary brush. When the gum was dry the blanks were introduced into the folding-machine, which was a self-feeder, and in this Dr. Hawes applied the principle which is used on every successful envelope-machine in existence.

Up to this time all attempts at making envelopes by machinery had dealt only with the folding of the envelope, the blanks being fed to the machine by hand. Dr. Hawes went a step farther, and attached a feeding device to his folding-machine.

The blanks, having been cut and gummed on one edge, were fed to the machine in bunches of five hundred; gum was applied to the under side of the picker, which descended on top of the pile of blanks; the top blank adhered to the picker and by it was

lifted to the carriage, which conveyed it under the plunger by which the blank was forced into the folding-box. Small wings then folded over the flaps of the envelope and the gum by which the blank had been elevated to the carriage now performed a second office, that is, sticking the envelope together. The envelopes thus made by Dr. Hawes were sold to Jonathan Grout.

It required the services of one girl to attend the machine, while it took half the time of another girl to spread the gum on the sealing-flaps, so that three girls could produce a finished product of about twenty-five thousand envelopes in ten hours.

Thinking the machine had reached its maximum product, Dr. Hawes, who meantime had moved to the factory of T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company in Grafton Street, sold out, in 1857, to Hartshorn & Trumbull (Charles W. and George F. Hartshorn and Joseph Trumbull), who were succeeded in 1861 by Trumbull, Waters & Co. (Joseph Trumbull and Lucius Waters). In 1866 Hill, Devoe & Co. succeeded to the business. Mr. W. H. Hill is the present proprietor.

The principal improvements made in machinery have been in increasing the capacity, and with that, improving the quality of the manufacture, as the envelopes made on the old machines would not now be considered saleable.

At the present time one girl attending two machines can produce seventy thousand envelopes in ten hours. Mr. Hill owns the patent on his machines, they having been assigned to him by the inventor, in his employ, Mr. Abraham A. Rheutan, who has done much to contribute to improvements in envelope machinery.

The Reay machine is also used in this establishment. This is the invention of George H. Reay, of New York, and was patented in 1863. From one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty hands are employed in this factory.

The next Worcester man to make valuable improvements in envelope machinery was Mr. James G. Arnold, who, in 1858, devised a machine cutting the material for an envelope from a roll of paper, and also gummed and folded the envelope complete in one operation. He introduced into this machine the drying chain. By this invention, the gum, which theretofore had been applied to the sealing-flap with a brush, was applied to the envelope by the machine, and after the machine had folded the envelopes they were deposited in this drying chain, or endless belt with fingers, the envelopes being kept separate while the gum on the envelopes was drying.

This principle is a feature in nearly all envelope machinery of the present day, excepting the machines invented by D. W. & H. D. Swift.

While Mr. Arnold's machine was not a practical success, it had in it the foundation principles upon which the success of the self-gumming envelope-machine depends.

In 1864 G. Henry Whitcomb came into possession of the Arnold machines, and began the business of envelope-making in a small building in School Street, where the engine-house now stands. In 1865 he removed to the north corner of Main and Walnut Streets, where he remained till January, 1866, when he removed to Bigelow Court; he was then making one hundred thousand envelopes per day. This factory was the first building in the United States used exclusively for the manufacture of envelopes.

At that time Mr. David Whitcomb sold out his interest in the hardware store of Calvin Foster, and joined his son, the firm being G. Henry Whitcomb & Co.

In 1873 the business was moved into the present factory in Salisbury Street, additions to which were built in 1878 and in 1886. In 1884 the firm became a corporation, known as the Whitcomb Envelope Company. The machines used have been built on their own premises, and the patents upon them are owned by the company. The machines are the invention of Messrs. D. W. & H. D. Swift, who, in 1871, built one upon an entirely new principle, capable of making thirty-five thousand envelopes in ten hours.

In 1876 the Messrs. Swift invented their first self-gumming machine. A girl could run two of these machines, making seventy thousand envelopes in ten hours. The product was automatically registered, these being the only machines in the world with a clock attachment.

Besides the invention of four distinct envelope-machines, the Messrs. Swift have patented an automatic printing-press, for printing envelopes. The blanks are fed to the machines in three or four thousand lots, picked up singly by the air-feed, and carried into the press, where they receive the impression. They are then discharged on the opposite side of the machine and piled up, ready for the envelope folding-machine.

The construction of this press is very simple. It has a stop-motion attachment, and is so delicately adjusted that a single hair stretched across the attachment will spring the let-off motion and the press will stop. Seven presses, each capable of producing 30,000 impressions in ten hours, can be run by a man and girl, making a total of 200,000 impressions with only two operatives. The great efficiency of this machine will be appreciated when it is considered that 11,000 to 12,000 impressions is a large day's work for an operative on an ordinary job press.

One hundred and fifty hands are employed in the Whitcomb Envelope Factory. Their daily product is one million envelopes, with a capacity of double that amount.

To illustrate the efficiency of the Swift machine, owned by the Whitcomb Envelope Company, it can be said that Herman Schott, the largest envelope-maker in Germany; Alexander Pirie & Son, Aber-

deen, Scotland, the largest envelope-makers in the world; and Fenner & Appleton, of London, one of the largest envelope-makers in England, several years ago equipped their factories with the Swift machine.

The Logan, Swift & Brigham Envelope Company was incorporated February 1, 1884. Messrs. Logan, Swift & Brigham were for a long time associated with the Whitcomb Envelope Company. Their machinery is the invention of Messrs. D. W. & H. D. Swift, who have been mentioned in connection with the Whitcomb Company. Logan, Swift & Brigham employ one hundred hands.

Upon reviewing the history of these three companies, it is apparent that Worcester has been most prominently identified with the inception and development of machine-made envelopes. The most important contributions that have been made to this art have come from Dr. Hawes, Mr. Arnold, Mr. Rheutan and the Messrs. Swift, who have taken out upwards of twenty patents. The production of a single operative has been increased from less than 10,000 staple envelopes per day to 70,000.

In 1864 six males and sixty females were employed in the envelope business in Worcester. The capital invested was \$30,000.

To-day three millions of staple envelopes are made daily, which is between one-fourth and one-third of the entire product of the United States, and constant employment is given to four hundred operatives.

CHAPTER CXC VII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Fire-Arms—Iron and Steel Business—Screws—Steam-Engines—Boilers.

FIRE-ARMS.—Harding Slocomb, December 6, 1820, notifies his friends that he has established his business as gunsmith in Worcester, opposite Jeremiah Robinson's drug store, a few rods south of the Court-House, where he manufactures twist and straight rifles, fowling-pieces, and has musket-guns and pistol-flints for sale. These fire-arms were, of course, all made with the old flint-lock.

At this time Asa Waters (2d) had a gun-factory in Millbury, where he made government arms. Ware & Wheelock, at the top of Front Street, opposite the City Hall, in 1825, manufactured guns, and in 1833 Joseph S. Ware and John R. Morse were established in Main Street, where guns, rifles, fowling-pieces and muskets were made to order.

Ethan Allen is identified with this business from an early day up to the time of his death, and contributed very largely to improvements in methods and machinery. Mr. Allen was born in Bellingham, Mass., in 1810, where he received a common-school education,

His first mechanical employment was in a machine-shop in the town of Franklin.

In 1831 he was engaged in manufacturing shoe cutlery in Milford, and in 1832 moved to what was then known as New England Village, in the town of Grafton, where he commenced the manufacture of the Lambert Cane gun, in connection with shoe cutlery. This was the beginning of the fire-arms business which he prosecuted so successfully thereafter.

In 1833 he built a shop, which he occupied for some time for the manufacture of fire-arms and shoe-kit; this is still standing and used for manufacturing purposes. In 1834 Mr. Allen manufactured the saw-handle target rifle-pistol, and it is said that in 1835 he took one of these pistols to New York, and showed it to a Mr. Speis, who was engaged in selling fire-arms, and asked if there would be any demand for such an article. Mr. Speis looked at the pistol, and said: "Do you make these?" Mr. Allen replied "Yes." "What is your price?" Mr. Allen named it. "Why don't you ask twice as much?" was the reply; "I will take all you can make."

Thus encouraged, Mr. Allen returned to New England Village and began to make the pistols. Soon after he invented the self-cocking revolver, which was widely known at that period, and subsequently during the Mexican War and the California gold discoveries, during which time the business was most prosperous and profitable. As a gold-miner, Mark Twain "Roughing It," gives an amusing description of his experience with this self-cocking revolver, and the degree of skill in marksmanship which he had acquired by constant practice. "There was," he says, "no safe place in all the region round about." On one occasion he brought down a cow fifty yards to the left of the target, when an interested spectator persuaded him to purchase the carcass.

About 1837 Mr. Allen took into partnership his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Thurber, who remained in business with him until 1856, when the firm was dissolved, Mr. Thurber retiring.

Early in the fifties he associated with himself another brother-in-law, Mr. T. P. Wheelock, who died in 1863, the firm being Allen & Wheelock. In 1842 the company moved to Norwich, Conn., where they carried on the manufacture of fire-arms. In 1847 they came to Worcester and located in Merrifield's building, where they remained until the great fire of 1854. Immediately after, they erected a shop at the Junction, now occupied by the L. D. Thayer Manufacturing Company and the Worcester Elevator Company, where the business was for some years prosecuted by them and their successors.

The removal from Norwich was the practical beginning of the fire-arms business in Worcester; since which time it has been a most important industry. Previous to that date there was nothing that could properly be called a manufactory; there were a few small shops, but nothing more.

In 1865, subsequent to the death of Mr. Wheelock, Mr. Allen took into partnership his two sons-in-law, Messrs. S. Forehand and H. C. Wadsworth, under the name of Ethan Allen & Company, and so continued until the death of Mr. Allen, January, 1871; after that, the business was continued by the surviving partners, under the firm name of Forehand & Wadsworth. Since 1883 the business has been prosecuted by Mr. Forehand alone, and since 1876 has been located in the Stone shop at the Junction, known as the Old Tainter Mill.

Mr. Allen was a mechanic and inventor of superior capacity. He invented a doubled-barreled breech-loading sporting gun, and was probably the first to use steel shells in connection with such an arm; these shells can be re-loaded indefinitely. He was the pioneer, in this country, in the manufacture of double barreled shot guns and fowling pieces.

Between 1855 and 1858 a change was made from the system of muzzle-loading to breech-loading fire-arms, although the breech-loading system had been adopted in Europe before that date, and, at the same time, the change was made from loose to fixed ammunition.

Allen & Wheelock were among the first to adopt the breech-loading system and to introduce the metallic cartridge.

Neither in this country nor in Europe had metallic cartridges been made except by hand—a slow and most tedious process. Mr. Allen recognized the necessity of making the metallic cartridges by machinery, and invented and patented the first set of machinery that was ever built for that purpose. The heading-machine, which is used by every manufacturer of metallic cartridges in the world, was his invention, and has stood the test of litigation. Prior to this, no one, so far as is known, had conceived of any process of forming the head except by spinning it up in a lathe.

At the Centennial Exhibition in 1876 the Government exhibited a set of this machinery, and there was nothing in the Mechanical Exhibition which attracted more attention. The whole process, from beginning to end, was the product of Mr. Allen's brain.

Probably no fire-arms manufacturer in the country made so great a variety of arms as he: from the whale bomb-lance to the cheap Fourth of July pistol, and every variety of fowling-piece.

Formerly all work was done with the file, cold chisel and anvil, but methods have greatly improved, until now there is no finer work done than what is popularly spoken of as "gun work." The parts are all interchangeable and made with the greatest nicety.

Charles Thurber, at one time associated with Mr. Allen, was a successful teacher in Worcester, and is credited with having invented the first type-writing machine, which is said to be still in existence.

Franklin Wesson, after his return from California,

1859, began to manufacture fire-arms in Merrifield's building in Exchange Street. The first arm he manufactured was a single-shot breech-loading pocket pistol using a cartridge.

Mr. Wesson during the war manufactured twenty thousand stand of arms for the Government. At present he manufactures long range, short range, sporting rifles and pocket pistols.

Mr. Frank Copeland, 17 Hermon Street, established a manufactory for fire-arms in 1863; he was formerly in the employ of Allen & Wheelock, at their old shop at the Junction. He first manufactured revolvers, and in 1876 devised a single-shot breech-loading sporting gun, called "The Champion."

Mr. Copeland's second gun is a single-barreled sporting gun, called the "F. Copeland Gun," which is more strongly constructed, better in action and capable of standing heavier charges, and altogether more durable.

Harrington & Richardson Arms Company.—This business was established in 1871 by F. Wesson and G. H. Harrington, under the firm-name of Wesson & Harrington, for the purpose of manufacturing a shell-ejecting revolver, invented and patented by Mr. Harrington, and the business was located at 18 Manchester Street, in the building owned and used by Mr. Wesson as a rifle factory, a business in which he had been engaged for many years. This firm continued until 1874, when Mr. Wesson's interest was purchased by Mr. Harrington, who soon afterward formed a co-partnership with William A. Richardson, under the firm-name of Harrington & Richardson, and the manufacture of the same style of revolver was continued. This revolver, which was the starting-point of the present business, was an improvement in convenience over any other then made, it being so constructed as to load and have the exploded shells removed by the sliding ejector, without detaching the cylinder or removing any portion of the arm; and it is believed to have been the first successful shell-ejector used on a metallic cartridge revolver. It had a large sale for a number of years. Various other styles of revolvers have been added, improvements made and patented from time to time. In the fall of 1876 the business was removed from Manchester Street to the more commodious quarters 31 Hermon Street. Here new and improved machinery and appliances were brought into operation, and have been constantly increased from year to year, and additional room occupied.

In 1880 Messrs. Harrington & Richardson became the sole licensees in the United States for the manufacture of the celebrated Anson & Deeley hammerless gun, an English invention. This was a high cost arm, ranging in price from eighty-five to three hundred dollars. The manufacture of this gun was continued for about five years. In January, 1888, Harrington & Richardson dissolved their copartnership, and reorganized as a stock company, with the follow-

ing officers: Gilbert H. Harrington, president; William A. Richardson, treasurer; George F. Brooks, secretary.

The business of the company is the manufacture of revolving fire-arms exclusively, which are produced of various styles and of different prices, from the plain, substantial, solid frame arm, from which the cylinder is removed by the withdrawal of the centre-pin upon which it revolves, to the more elaborate hinge-frame revolver, employing the automatic shell-ejecting system, by which all the exploded shells are thrown out automatically by the act of opening the arm for reloading.

All the arms manufactured by the company have a high reputation for quality, beauty of appearance and reliability. Very few persons not practically acquainted with this business have any idea of the amount and nicety of machinery and special tools and appliances required, and, where revolvers are produced in large numbers, of the care and close inspection necessary to maintain a high standard. If one would undertake to manufacture a new revolver of good quality and the average intricate construction, and were already provided with all the machinery that can be purchased of machine tool builders, adapted to this business, it would require a year to construct one small revolver, and make the tools and appliances necessary to produce the arm in quantities and of good quality.

Iver Johnson & Company, established in 1871, are located at 44 Central Street, and employ two hundred hands. Their products are air pistols, guns, revolvers and other arms; ice and roller skates.

January 30, 1856, notice is found of a new rifle invented by B. F. Joslyn, the manufacture of which was controlled by Mr. Eli Thayer. It was claimed to be superior to the Sharpe's rifle, both on account of the rapidity of its loading and the simplicity, safety and cheapness of its construction.

In March, 1859, the *Spy* said that Mr. Joslyn and Mr. Freeman, of New York, had purchased the large stone shop at South Worcester, where they expected to commence the manufacture of pistols under Joslyn's patent at an early day; and, in 1860, the War Department ordered from Mr. Joslyn one thousand of his rifles, which up to that time was the largest single order for fire-arms ever given to one contractor in the country. The Navy Department had previously ordered five hundred.

In April, 1861, they were busy day and night at the Lower Junction shop manufacturing Joslyn's breech-loading carbines for the War Department. Fort Sumter had then been fired upon and the demand for arms became pressing. All the iron-working establishments in the city were busy furnishing the Government with ordnance. Nathan Washburn was making five tons of rifle-barrel iron per day for the Springfield Armory, and was under contract to furnish one hundred thousand musket barrels.

Osgood Bradley was at work on gun-carriages and forges. Wood & Light were busy making machinery for the government at Springfield Armory. November, 1861, Shepard, Lathe & Co. were under contract for Colt, the Burnside factory and Springfield Armory. Allen & Wheelock had two hundred hands at work for the government and private parties. L. W. Pond was building twenty light rifle-cannon of his invention, called the "Ellsworth Gun," at the shop of Goddard, Rice & Co. This was a "breech-loading rifle-gun, four feet long, six inches in diameter at the breech and $3\frac{1}{2}$ at the muzzle, with a $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch bore, carrying a chilled conical ball weighing 18 ounces, which it will throw three miles. The gun weighs, carriages and all, 450 lbs. Cost, \$350."

July 11, 1862, a patent was granted to Theodore R. Timby, of Worcester, for improvements in a revolving battery-tower and improvements for discharging guns by electricity. Joslyn's breech-loading carbines were in high favor at this time with the government.

In 1862 Ball & Williams (in School Street) employed one hundred men in the manufacture of the Ballard rifle,—a cavalry rifle which they continued to make until the close of the war. This was a breech loading arm, using a .42 metallic cartridge, and the invention of Mr. Ballard, who had been a foreman for Ball & Williams.

December 29, 1862, the invention of Stevens' Platoon-gun, invented by W. X. Stevens, of Worcester, is noticed.

In April, 1863, Charles S. Coleman invents a breech-loading gun.

September 6, 1865, the Green Rifle Works was at the Junction shop.

January 15th, Ethan Allen & Co. were making from 20,000 to 50,000 cartridges per day.

IRON AND STEEL BUSINESS.—Nathan Washburn, at one time, worked for William A. Wheeler as a journeyman founder, and while in his employ invented a car-wheel, which he patented in 1852. In company with Mr. Converse, of his native town of Tolland, Conn., Mr. Washburn began the manufacture of these wheels in Franklin Street, next to Bradley's car-shop, and continued there until 1857, when the new building was erected near the freight depot of the Western Railroad, since occupied by Washburn Iron Company, and later by the Worcester Steel Works. The building, as designed, was to be occupied in part by Nathan Washburn as an iron-foundry for the manufacture of car-wheels; the main building was to contain machinery for re-rolling iron rails and for making locomotive tires, while the western end was to be occupied by Henry S. Washburn for a rolling-mill and a wire-factory. Meantime Mr. George W. Gill became associated with Nathan Washburn in the rail and tire business, and very likely suggested engaging in it; for he had been employed as foreman and contractor in charge

of the iron work upon the cars built in Mr. Bradley's shop, where Mr. Gill must have become more or less familiar with the railroad business. Previous to the introduction of the wrought-iron rail, rails were made of wood, with flat bar-iron on the upper surface; when the rails were loosened, the ends, called "snakes' heads," were often forced up through the car-bottoms, to the great discomfort and danger of the passengers. Mr. Gill was born in West Boylston, and learned the blacksmith trade in this city.

June 1, 1858, he retired from the partnership, but continued with Mr. Washburn as manager of the business.

In 1859 this business had reached considerable proportions, employing from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and ninety hands, and turning out forty tons of iron per day.

At this time, Mr. Washburn, in company with Canadian capitalists, established a rolling-mill at Toronto for re-rolling rails for the Grand Trunk Railway; he attended to the equipment of the mill, and three large steam-hammers were made for it by Wood, Light & Company.

In 1860 there was but one establishment in New England doing railroad work of this character, and that was located at South Boston. The Washburn car-wheel was very popular, and there was a good demand for re-rolling rails and for locomotive tires. Five hundred thousand dollars capital was employed in the business, and from two hundred and twenty to two hundred and forty men with a pay-roll amounting to seven thousand dollars per month. The works extended over four acres of ground. In the foundry, one hundred and seventy-five feet by sixty feet, forty car-wheels were cast each day and eight tons of machinery. In the rolling-mill, two hundred and fifty rails weighing forty tons were rolled daily, and also four tons of tire for driving-wheels, while seven puddling furnaces produced twenty tons daily of bar or puddled iron.

The trip-hammers for working over and welding together the worn-out rails were of large size, made by Wood, Light & Company, at their shop at the Junction, by whom the first set of gun-barrel rolls were made in 1860 for Mr. Washburn; these were modeled after an English set in the armory at Springfield.

In 1864 the Washburn Iron Company was formed, with Nathan Washburn, president, George W. Gill, manager, and Edward L. Davis, treasurer.

In 1864 Mr. Washburn went to Europe, and when he returned, brought with him an equipment for a small Bessemer plant of about one ton capacity, which he partially built but never completed. This must have been one of the earliest attempts in this country to erect a plant for the manufacture of Bessemer steel, as the first steel actually made was at Wyandotte, Mich., in the fall of 1864.

In 1865, Mr. Washburn sold out his interest to his

associates and built the works in Grafton Street, now occupied by the Washburn Car Wheel Company, where he continued the business of manufacturing car wheels until about 1866, when he sold out his wheel business to the Washburn Iron Company, and engaged in the manufacture of steel tire car wheels, and later started a foundry in Hartford to be run in connection with the Worcester shop. Mr. Washburn sold out his interest the same year altogether, but the business continued under the name of the Washburn Car Wheel Company, the product being locomotive truck and tender wheels.

Mr. Washburn then went to Allston, and remained until within two years, and is now engaged at South Boston perfecting a new solid cast Bessemer wheel. After leaving Allston, his plant was leased by Jonas S. Hart & Co.; it was burned down, later re-built, and is now occupied for the manufacture of wheels by Samuel D. Nye, under the firm-name of Jonas S. Hart & Co.

Mr. Nye has been connected with this business since 1859, having been associated with Mr. Washburn at that time and was with his successors in the business until the spring of 1888, when he resigned his position as manager of the Worcester Steel business and removed to Allston.

The Washburn Iron Company continued the business of re-rolling iron rails until 1881, when the demand almost entirely ceased by reason of the general adoption of the Bessemer steel rails, which resulted in a great saving in railroad construction. Iron rails were delivered in Boston in the summer of 1868 at eighty-eight dollars per ton of two thousand two hundred and forty pounds, while steel rails were delivered in Boston, November, 1888, at thirty dollars per gross ton.

In the winter of 1881 they began the importation of steel blooms, and in the spring of 1882 began rolling steel rails. Mr. Gill died April 13, 1882, and Mr. George M. Rice then acquired an interest in the business, which was managed by the Gill estate until October, 1883, when the entire property passed into the hands of Mr. Rice and his associates, who organized the Worcester Steel Works. The work of rolling steel blooms into rails continued until the fall of 1883, when work was begun upon the Bessemer steel plant, and the first steel was made in June, 1884. Later, an open hearth furnace was put in, and during the year 1888 two new trains of rolls have been added, modern heating furnaces, etc., for the manufacture of merchant bars.

About four hundred men are employed in these works, producing two hundred and thirty tons daily, made up of rails for steam and horse railroads, blooms, billets and shapes, merchant bars and castings. For over thirty years this business has had a prominent place among the industries of Worcester, being at one time the largest single industry in the city. It has followed the complete revolution of the rail business

consequent upon the introduction of Bessemer steel, and to-day stands equipped with all the modern appliances for the production of iron and steel. All this has followed from the invention of a car-wheel in 1852 by Nathan Washburn in the Wheeler foundry in Thomas Street.

SCREWS.—July 19, 1809, a patent was granted to Abel Stowell for cutting wood screws, but no screws appear to have been made in Worcester until 1831, when C. Read & Co. commenced the manufacture of wood screws at Northville, as has been stated in connection with the early history of the wire business. In April, 1836, mention is made of made of a machine for making wood screws, invented by C. Read & Co., "which will cut thirty gross of screws per day with one pair of dies, and one boy can attend from two to four machines, according to the length of the screw." The business is then spoken of as growing and flourishing, but the parties in interest became discouraged and the business was moved to Providence, and continued there for a time under the name of C. Read & Co., but finally came under the control of the company now and for many years known as the American Screw Company. Since that time no wood screws have been made in Worcester.

Worcester Machine Screw Company.—Mr. A. W. Gifford, who, when a boy, was apprenticed to parties in Providence, in 1853-54 engaged in making wood screws, and later was employed in Worcester by Allen & Wheelock in their fire-arms business, and by Ball & Williams in making the Ballard rifle for the Government, in 1866 received from the Worcester Mechanics' Association a testimonial for a case of milled machine screws, which were the first made for the market in the city or county, and probably in the State. The Worcester Machine Screw Company started in a very small way, with a few machines of their own manufacture, made after some of Mr. Gifford's designs. Originally, it was a co-partnership between A. W. Gifford and E. A. Bagley, but later Mr. Gifford became and has continued to be the sole proprietor. The business has grown, many changes have been made in the machinery, and important processes introduced, so that this company is to-day able to compete with any concern in the country in this line of business, in which everything depends upon accuracy and efficiency in the tools, machines and fixtures.

The machine used in the screw business prior to 1866 was what was known as the turret-head machine, used by gunsmiths, sewing-machine makers, and at the Springfield Armory. This was not well adapted to the class of work required of it. Mr. Gifford was the inventor of the machine used by himself and others which superseded it, and which has remained in use till the introduction of newer machinery. The old turret-head machine consisted of a revolving traverse spindle, with a dial for holding a series of tools. That, in turn, was succeeded by a machine in-

vented and patented by Mr. Gifford September 28, 1875, and improved December 26, 1876, in which the blanks are cut automatically to the length required for the screw and fed into the machine, which is so arranged that they are simultaneously milled, threaded and pointed.

The product of this factory now goes to all parts of the country. From eighty to one hundred hands are employed, and some four hundred tons of iron and steel used per annum; the factory is located at 75 Beacon Street, a brick building, two hundred and fifty by thirty-six, two stories high, with a basement under the main building, with a wing forty by thirty-six for office and packing room. The steam-power is furnished by a one hundred horse-power boiler, and an eighty horse-power Corliss engine. Besides his improvements and patents on screw machinery, Mr. Gifford has taken out patents on small hardware articles, such as tweezers, cutlery, etc.

McCloud, Crane & Minter, manufacturers of machine screws, are located at 57 Union Street. The business was purchased in 1872 of James H. Gray, who in 1870 had bought a patent of Bagley's. Meantime, in March, 1869, Mr. Minter started the same business and continued up to 1884, when he consolidated with McCloud & Crane, and the firm became McCloud, Crane & Minter. Their business is milled machine work, standard and machine screws, studs for steam-engines, pumps, etc., and machinists' taps, to which they have recently added finished and case-hardened nuts. Improvements have been made from time to time in the machinery, and their capacity has been increased, but the advance has been for the most part in the direction of turning out an increased quantity from a given number of machines, and in the department of thread-cutting. Beginning with twelve hands, they now employ forty-four. Their iron is purchased in the square, round and hexagon, and also in the shape of wire drawn to size.

A. A. Bedard & Co., 89 Exchange Street, are also engaged in this business.

STEAM-ENGINES.—The mills in Worcester depended almost exclusively on water or horse-power until 1840. Mr. Wm. A. Wheeler is said to have had a steam-engine of some sort to run a fan in his foundry prior to his removal to Brookfield, and upon his return to Worcester, in 1831 or 1832, he abandoned this engine and substituted horse-power, which he used until 1840, when he put in another engine.

Howe & Goddard, at the Red Mills, had an engine of some kind in 1836.

Mr. Wheeler is credited in Bishop's "History of American Manufactures," with having the first steam-engine employed in the State west of Boston.

In 1840 Mr. Merrifield put in an engine of from four to six horse-power, opposite the location of his present office; and probably the first efficient steam-engines in Worcester were put in at this time by both Mr. Merrifield and Mr. Wheeler.

The demand for power at this time was larger than the supply, so that an engine purchased one year was discarded the next for a larger one. Between 1840 and 1850 Mr. Merrifield put in five engines. The last one, put in in 1854, is still running.

Steam-engines were not manufactured in Worcester to any extent until 1864. Mr. Wm. A. Wheeler made an engine in 1842 for Wm. T. Merrifield.

Jerome Wheelock, at one time engineer of the Washburn Iron Works in this city, commenced his business career by making and introducing the sectional ring and piston packing, patented in 1864, and afterwards extensively used in every type and make of engine. Meeting with marked success, he completed, in 1865, arrangements for its manufacture with William A. Wheeler, of Worcester. The demand soon became such that he left the Washburn Iron Company, to give his entire attention to the packing business. In the fall of 1865, or spring of 1866, he formed a partnership with Charles A. Wheeler.

This led to a considerable repair business, and that in turn led to the invention by Mr. Wheelock of several improvements in steam-engines. In the fall of 1869, the first engine embodying these improvements was built; this proved to be the beginning of a considerable business. The earlier engines of this type were constructed with a single rotary valve, which proved imperfect in many respects, but contained the germ of success. The growth of the packing business and the prospect of engine-building occasioned the removal to 178 Union Street in 1869, where the business has since been continued.

Step by step the Wheelock engine has been improved, until in 1873, at the American Exhibition in New York, the four-valve engine was introduced to the public. This employed the rotary tapered valve, suspended on hardened steel spindles—a new type of valve, which has become widely known and used. Mr. Wheelock has invented and patented numerous improvements relating to the steam-engine, such as feed-water heaters, condensers, and various details of the Wheelock engine.

The building of these specialties, together with the piston-packing and a large increase in the engine business, required successive enlargements, until the two floors of the present location were occupied, and a force of from fifty to seventy-five men employed. During the interval from 1873 to 1884 a great number of engines were built, including a large proportion of machines of five hundred horse-power. In 1883 and 1884 the most important of Mr. Wheelock's inventions was being developed and tested, the patents upon which were issued in 1885. This was the so-called new system valves, undoubtedly the most original and important departure in engine construction since the invention of Corliss. This well-known valve system has for its main idea the combining of the valve, valve-seat and operating parts within a shell or tapered plug which is driven into a corresponding hole

in the cylinder and retained in place without bonnets or bolts. It also employs an entirely novel method of driving the valve, and combines a number of improvements securing economical results in the use of steam.

Patents were taken out in all the larger manufacturing countries of the world, and much of Mr. Wheelock's time during the years 1886 and 1887 was spent abroad negotiating for the manufacture of the new system engine. His success was such that at the present time it is being extensively built in all these countries. During his absence his home business so greatly declined that in the latter part of 1887 he decided to offer it for sale, which resulted in its purchase by a company organized for the purpose of carrying on the building of the new system engines. The "Wheelock Engine Company" took possession in January, 1888. It is rapidly increasing the business and improving the facilities to meet the demand for the improved engine. New works will be built, new equipment added and other facilities provided.

The Wheelock engine is generally acknowledged to contain some of the best principles of engine construction at present known. Great credit is due to Mr. Wheelock for his inventions, which for originality and importance have been hardly exceeded. His principle of construction bids fair to gain as wide adoption as did that introduced by George H. Corliss forty years ago. It is being applied to marine engines, in which field its opportunities are enormous, and its success already demonstrated.

E. H. Bellows commenced engine-building in August, 1864, renting a shop in Merrifield's building, in Exchange Street. His specialty was portable engines, ranging from the smallest up to forty horse-power. He also built some small stationary engines, not exceeding fifteen to twenty horse-power.

In 1865 Byron Whitcomb became a partner in the business, the firm-name being Bellows & Whitcomb. The same line of manufacture was continued until 1868, when the firm was dissolved.

The Washburn Steam Works were incorporated in 1867, with George I. Washburn, president. The object of the company was to build a novel, high-speed, valveless steam-engine, the invention of Mr. Washburn. The chief peculiarity of the engine and the essence of the invention was in so arranging the pistons of a pair of cylinders that each acted as a valve to the other, performing the functions of inlet and outlet of steam, thus doing away with valves. Its arrangement was upright, with twin cylinders, each having several pistons on one piston-rod. The movement of these compound pistons, passing over and by suitable ports connecting the cylinders, produced the requisite opening and closing for the admission and release of the steam. The stroke of these engines was proportionally very short, and the rotative speed consequently great, which features, in connection with the other mechanical objections, proved fatal to the success of this ingenious invention.

The business was commenced in 1865, in a small up-stairs shop in one of the blocks in Main Street, between Park and Southbridge Streets. In the spring of 1869 the works were removed to the Wheeler building, Hermon Street, and again, in the spring of 1871, to Central Street.

The defects of the engines soon becoming apparent, Mr. Washburn turned his attention in another direction, the outcome of which was the Washburn Steam Pump, embodying some of the principles of the engine. The manufacture of this pump was begun in the fall of 1868, and continued with success for a number of years. A serious interruption in the business resulted from the death of Mr. Washburn, in the spring of 1871. In 1872, A. Burlingame, for four years previous foreman of the Washburn Steam Works, bought the business and continued the manufacture of the Washburn Steam Pumps on a considerable scale.

A. Burlingame became connected with the Washburn Steam Works as foreman of the shop in 1868. He bought the business in 1872, continuing under the well-established name of the Washburn Steam Works, and made a specialty of the Washburn Steam Pumps until, 1880, the change to the present firm-name, A. Burlingame & Company, was made. About this time the attention of the firm was turned to steam-engines as a supplement to the pump business, which was suffering from the competition of the injector as a boiler feeder. From a general repair business they gradually went into building plain slide-valve engines up to fifty horse-power, followed by an improved pattern balanced slide-valve engine, and later by a Corliss type engine, each of which is now built by this firm in a full line of sizes up to one hundred horse-power. Additional to engine building is the making of boiler feed-pumps, and the fitting of complete steam plants, beside a large general mill-work and repair business. The location of the Washburn Steam Works, in Central Street, was abandoned by Mr. Burlingame in 1869, when he moved to School Street, remaining in that place until 1883. During this year, 1888, he moved to the present location in Cypress Street.

S. E. Harthan began the manufacture of stationary, semi-portable and launch engines on a small scale at 44 Central Street, in the year 1874.

Increasing business up to 1878-79 required the employment of from twenty to forty men, engaged mostly in building engines of small power of the types mentioned. In 1882 he sold to the Glen Rock Manufacturing Company, of Glen Rock, Pa., that portion of the business relating to stationary and semi-portable engines, including patterns; after which he gave his whole attention to building yacht and launch engines, high and low pressure and compound, together with complete steam outfits. Becoming engaged in electric work, the engine building has been gradually abandoned until at the present

time he is practically out of the business, engaging in it only to the extent of building an occasional engine for electric purposes.

Besides many stationary engines, he has built the steam machinery for about fifty-three yachts and launches, amongst which was a very fine private yacht for Jacob Lorillard, another for Mary Anderson, and one for Chauncy Ives, of New York, as well as seven smaller boats for Lake Quinsigamond, Worcester.

Clark & Knight established the business of engine-building in 1877. They manufactured upright engines up to thirty horse-power. The business is now conducted by E. O. Knight.¹

Mr. Frank Copeland, gunmaker, 17 Hermon Street, makes small vertical steam-engines from one to twenty horse-power.

BOILERS.—The Stewart Boiler Works were established in 1864 as Stewart & Dillon. Mr. Charles Stewart learned his trade in Hull, England. He came to Worcester first to manufacture boilers for Bellows & Whitcomb, who were building engines.

In 1869, C. Stewart succeeded to the business, and prior to 1872 had purchased the boiler business of Rice, Barton & Fales.

Mr. Stewart and William Allen were in partnership from 1872 to 1875, when they dissolved. The business has since been conducted by Charles Stewart and C. Stewart & Son. Their castings are all made in the city, and their boiler-plate from American steel. They manufacture locomotive and stationary boilers.

William Allen & Sons were established in 1875, after the dissolution of the partnership between Stewart & Allen. They were first situated in South-bridge Street, near the Junction, and in 1823 removed to their present location in Green Street, in the old shops of the New York Steam-Engine Company.

They manufacture all classes of steam-boilers,—tubular, locomotive and marine boilers, feed-water heaters, bleaching kiers, dye-well extractors and iron tanks of all kinds; iron cases for water-wheels and boilers for residences; have an iron and brass-foundry, and make their own castings. They occupy a substantial brick two-story building, a boiler-shop and foundry, and occupy sixty thousand feet of land.

Mr. William Allen is an Englishman, and served his apprenticeship at the works of James Watt, Birmingham, England.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Boots and Shoes—*Digelow* *Heeling Machine*—*Leather* *Belting*—*Boot and Shoe Machinery*—*Lasts*—*Dies*.

BOOTS AND SHOES.—From Caleb A. Wall's Reminiscences we learn that Captain Palmer Goulding, a cordwainer, came to Worcester just previous to the first organization of the town, and built a house on the east of the Common, where his son Palmer, Jr., and grandson Daniel afterwards lived. They also carried on the business of tanning, shoe-making, making malt, curing hams, etc. Their place of business was in front of their dwelling, and occupied ground between, what are now Front, Mechanic, Church and Spring Streets.

Almost every town had a tanyard, and leather of sufficiently good quality was made to serve the needs of the shoemakers and saddlers.

The embargo and War of 1812 greatly stimulated the cordwainers, who began to make boots and shoes in quantities in anticipation of the wants of their customers, and when a few dozen pairs had accumulated, they were put in saddle-bags and taken to market, principally Bristol, R. I., the first wholesale boot and shoe market in the country, it being a sea-port town.

At this time the bottoms of all boots and shoes were sewed on; putting them on with pegs was an invention of a later date, and very greatly reduced the cost; this improvement aided materially in the development of the industry. Among the first to adopt it was Joseph Walker, of Hopkinton, Mass.

The next step in the development of the boot and shoe industry was for the makers of leather to sell it to merchants in the larger towns and cities, who, in turn, sold to the shoemakers, and they, in course of time, paid for it out of the product, in boots and shoes, which were sold by the leather dealers to the jobbers in Bristol, Providence, Boston and New York. These cities held the trade for many years.

The next step in the development was the separation of the leather business from boot and shoe manufacturing, the firms dealing in the leather requiring money payment for leather and the boot and shoe manufacturers selling their product to firms dealing in boots and shoes only, who, in turn, sold them, usually by the case of sixty pairs of shoes and twelve pair of boots, to country store-keepers, who from that time have kept them in stock as universally as dry-goods or groceries.

Among the first towns in which this business was begun was Hopkinton; then in the adjoining town of Milford; and about the same time in several other eastern towns; shortly afterwards in Grafton, where Oliver Ward learned his trade of Clark Brown. Mr. Ward started in business in North Brookfield in 1810,

¹ I am indebted to Mr. E. K. Hill for much of the material used in the article on steam-engines.

C. G. W.

and from the history of North Brookfield we learn that "he made his own pegs; maple logs were sawed in sections of the proper length, which were then split with a long knife and the splint divided into pegs. The next improvement was to cut the points of the pegs in the blocks with a knife and mallet before splitting; and the next was to cut the points with the tail gonge driven like a carpenter's plane; and the next to do the whole by machinery."

Tyler Batcheller, of Brookfield, also learned the shoemaker's trade in Grafton, and, returning to Brookfield, commenced business in 1819, with his brother Ezra, who learned his trade of Oliver Ward.

Worcester was more than a quarter of a century behind these towns in the boot and shoe business, but has to-day an important place in this industry.

Previous to 1813 the only man engaged in boot and shoemaking in Worcester was John Tyler Hubbard, whose shop was on Front Street, corner of Spring.

He would hardly be called a manufacturer at the present day, as he did business in a very small way, and, when he had accumulated a few dozen pairs, would take them to Bristol, R. I., for sale.

In 1813 John Dolliver and Foster Newell made for the market ladies' morocco and kid shoe opposite the Court-House.

In February, 1818, Earle & Chase had a quantity of goat-skin leather dressed in the manner of black kid, which they were having manufactured into shoes and boots.

In 1824 Benjamin B. Otis commenced business near the harness shop of Enos Tucker, and continued until 1850, part of the time with John C. Otis, as B. B. Otis & Co. In 1850 C. H. Fitch became a partner, the firm-name being Otis, Fitch & Co. The same year B. B. Otis retired, and a new firm was organized of Fitch & Otis, which continued until 1860. For three years from 1863 the firm was Dike & Fitch, and from that time until 1886 the business was conducted under the name of C. H. Fitch & Co.

In 1828 Scott & Smith were manufacturing ladies' shoes of various kinds, nearly opposite the Central meeting-house, at the sign of "The Golden Slipper," where they made ladies' kid and double prunella walking shoes and pumps.

In 1834 Charles Wolcott and Nathaniel Stone had a shop three doors south of the Centre School-house, under the *Ægis* printing-office, where they manufactured boots and shoes, also ladies' kid, morocco and satin shoes. In the same year Thomas Howe & Co., at the head of Front Street, advertised for eight or ten journeymen to make bootees for the Military Academy at West Point.

Barnard & Hager were at the same time making goods on Front Street, corner of Summer.

In 1835 T. S. Stone began to manufacture in Washington Square, and in that year and the year following, he took a premium for his boots at the Cat-tle Show.

In 1839 he admitted as a partner, Ansel Lakin, who was with him but a short time. Mr. Stone continued with various partners until 1864, when Samuel Brown became associated with him. In 1868 A. G. Walker entered the firm, and the business was conducted under the name of Stone, Walker & Brown. In 1871 the firm was again changed, Messrs. Brown and Walker retiring and Mr. Stone's sons being admitted. The business was continued until Mr. Stone's death, in 1873.

George and Ebenezer H. Bowen came from Leicester, and commenced the currying of leather, as early as 1836, from which time for twenty years, they were in addition, directly and indirectly connected with the manufacture of boots and shoes.

In 1837 Ansel Lakin began in a small way in the village of Tatnuck, and was afterwards in partnership with Timothy S. Stone. In 1841 he was doing business with Bemis & Williams, and after this he continued with various partners for nearly twenty years.

In 1838 Wm. A. Draper came from Spencer and started in business in Pleasant Street. In 1842 Otis Corbet was admitted to the firm and they continued until 1847, when Mr. Draper went out and the business was conducted by Mr. Corbet alone. In 1850 Mr. Draper returned, and for two years the firm was Wm. A. Draper & Co.

In 1842 E. H. Bowen and William Barker began to manufacture as E. H. Bowen & Co. Barker retired in 1844, and Bowen formed a partnership with T. S. Stone, under the firm-name of Bowen & Stone, which was dissolved in 1848. After this, Bowen continued alone until 1857.

In 1843 Joseph Walker came to Worcester from Hopkinton, and began business in a wooden building in Front Street. In 1844 the firm of Barker & Walker was formed, occupying a building at the corner of Main Street and Lincoln Square. Mr. Barker retired from the firm in 1846. Joseph Walker continued alone until 1851, when his eldest son, J. H., being of age, was admitted, and the firm-name was Joseph Walker & Co., their place of business being at Lincoln Square. G. M. and A. C. Walker, two other sons, were admitted to partnership on their becoming of age. In 1862 this firm dissolved, J. Walker and his son, A. C. Walker, continuing under the old name until 1871.

In 1845 Cyrus and George W. Bliss moved their business from Milford to Worcester, and continued until 1853. George W. Bliss then succeeded to the business and moved into the Merrifield Building in Union Street, retiring in 1857.

Levi A. Dowley was at this time manufacturing brogan shoes in a small way.

In 1846, on the dissolution of the partnership of Barker & Walker, Wm. Barker commenced business on his own account, and was alone until 1850, when Courtland Newton was admitted, remaining in the firm till 1853. In 1857 Newton Penniman was

admitted. Mr. Barker afterwards continued for several years alone.

In 1847 J. Munyan was manufacturing shoes in Main Street, and continued until 1850.

In 1849 Rufus Wesson, Jr., came to Worcester from Shrewsbury, and was in business in Harding's Block, 45 Front Street, until 1873. His son, J. E. Wesson, began alone in 1868, and is now doing a large business in Mulberry Street.

In 1851 W. A. S. Smythe commenced the manufacture of shoes at the corner of Union and Market Streets. In 1860 his brother, Robert L. Smythe, joined him. They gave up manufacturing in 1872, being then situated in Foster Street.

In 1852 Hiram French succeeded to the business of Wm. A. Corbet, and continued the manufacture of boots until 1871.

In 1853 Aaron G. Walker commenced manufacturing, and continued alone until 1857, when he went into company with E. N. Childs.

In 1853 C. C. Houghton began the manufacture of boots at Lincoln Square. In 1857 he admitted his brother, Alba Houghton, into the partnership of C. C. Houghton & Co., and continued with him until 1864, when Alba Houghton retired. In 1864 the partnership of Houghton & Heywood was formed and was dissolved in 1867. H. B. Adams was then admitted, and the firm of Houghton & Adams continued for one year.

Mr. Houghton was alone until 1871, when Wm. Warren became a partner, the firm-name being C. C. Houghton & Co. Mr. Warren retired in 1884. At present the firm consists of C. C. Houghton, F. N. Houghton and E. W. Warren, and is known as C. C. Houghton & Co., which is situated in Houghton's Block, corner of Front St. and Salem Square.

In 1853 E. N. Childs came to Worcester from Millbury, and engaged in business with Albert Gould for one year. In 1854 Albert S. Brown became a partner. They did business as Childs & Brown until 1857, when Mr. Brown retired, and A. G. Walker was admitted into the firm of E. N. Childs & Co. In 1862 Mr. Walker retired, and Mr. Childs continued under the same firm-name until 1881. During the last few years his sons were interested with him in the business.

In 1855 Luther Stowe came to Worcester from Grafton and commenced business in Mechanic Street, soon after which he formed a partnership with E. A. Muzzy, as E. A. Muzzy & Co. The firm dissolved in 1865. Mr. Stowe and Mr. J. F. Davenport, under the title of L. Stowe & Co., commenced business in Washington Square. In 1875 Mr. Davenport retired, and the business was continued under the firm-name of Luther Stowe & Co. In 1880 they moved to a factory in Grafton Street, and still continue there under the old firm-name, Mr. Stowe's son now being a partner.

In 1857 David Cummings began with Mr. Hudson, the firm-name being Cummings & Hudson. Mr.

Hudson retired in 1862, and Mr. Cummings continued alone until 1866, when he left Worcester. He returned in 1880, and with his partners, E. H. Hurlbert and D. E. Spencer, built and occupied the factory in King Street, now occupied by them.

E. A. Muzzy and Luther Stowe commenced manufacturing, in 1857, as E. A. Muzzy & Co., continuing until 1865, when Mr. Stowe went out and Mr. Muzzy retired from manufacturing, the business being continued by G. L. Battelle and F. A. Muzzy, under the old name of E. A. Muzzy & Co., until 1875.

In 1860 H. B. Jenks came to Worcester from North Brookfield, and commenced the manufacture of boots and shoes, continuing until 1871.

Also, in 1860, H. B. Fay came to Worcester from Shrewsbury. He continued to manufacture until 1887, most of the time under the firm-name of H. B. Fay & Co.

In 1862 J. H. Walker commenced business in Eaton Place. In 1864 George M. Walker was admitted, the firm-name being changed to J. H. & G. M. Walker. They afterwards built a factory in Front Street and one in Eaton Place. In 1870 they built and moved to a factory in Water Street, the capacity of which was doubled in 1879. G. M. Walker retired in 1870. Samuel Davenport took his place, and in 1880 H. Y. Simpson was also admitted, the firm-name always remaining J. H. & G. M. Walker. The specialty of this firm was the widely-known "Walker boot." They retired from business January, 1888.

In 1863 J. W. Brigham & Co., who had been manufacturing for three or four years in a small building near the junction of Main and Southbridge Streets, built and moved into the factory in Southbridge Street, where they now are.

In 1864 Bigelow & Trask commenced the manufacture of shoes in Austin Street. In 1866 they were incorporated under the name of the Bay State Shoe and Leather Company, and have been doing business under that name ever since at the same place. The headquarters of this corporation is in New York, J. Munyan, before referred to as manufacturing in 1847, is vice-president and Worcester agent.

In 1865 E. H. and O. N. Stark formed a partnership under the name of E. H. Stark & Co., and have continued without change, and are at the present time located in Main Street, above Myrtle.

In 1866 Simon J. Woodbury, of Sutton, moved a building from that place to the site of the shop now occupied by Goddard, Fay & Stone, and he, with others, manufactured for a short time. In 1866 Rawson & Linnell moved their business from West Boylston to Worcester, bringing with them twenty-two families and commenced manufacturing in Pleasant Street, near Main, under the name of E. C. Linnell & Co. In 1868 they built a factory on the site of the Woodbury building in Austin Street. Mr. Linnell withdrew in 1869, and a new firm was organized under the name of D. G. Rawson & Co., consisting of D. G.

Rawson, D. S. Goddard, W. B. Fay, which continued until 1881.

In 1867 Alba Houghton withdrew from the firm of C. C. Houghton & Co. and commenced business on his own account under the name of Alba Houghton & Co. and continued until 1882. In 1867, on the dissolution of the firm of Houghton & Heywood, S. R. Heywood went into business for himself and was alone until 1873, when Oscar Phillips was admitted as a partner, and business was done under the firm-name of S. R. Heywood & Co. In 1880 they moved to their new factory in Winter Street, and in 1884 were incorporated under the name of the Heywood Boot and Shoe Company. The specialty of this corporation is the widely-known "Wachusett Boot," and fine sewed shoes.

In 1871, A. G. Walker and Samuel Brown withdrew from the firm of Stone, Walker & Brown, and, commencing under the name of Walker & Brown, continued until 1879, when Mr. Walker retired. Mr. Brown went on alone under the same firm-name, and is at present doing business as Walker & Brown, in Barton Place, his son being a partner.

In 1871, Whitcomb, Dadman & Stowe commenced in Southbridge Street, and continued for four years, when the firm dissolved, and C. C. & C. H. Whitcomb formed a new partnership, under the name of Whitcomb Brothers, and were manufacturing for nine years, when the firm was again dissolved. They were succeeded by C. C. Whitcomb and E. B. Miles, under the name of Whitcomb & Miles, who are now manufacturing in Shrewsbury Street.

In 1872, H. B. Adams, H. W. Hastings and A. C. Walker, began business in the block corner of Allen Court, second story, and then moved to Cherry Street, and, under the name of Adams & Hastings, continued until 1878.

In 1875, J. F. Davenport left the firm of L. Stowe & Co., and he, with Alfred W. Long, started in Eaton Place as Davenport & Long, continuing until 1885.

In 1875, G. L. Battelle, under the name of G. L. Battelle & Co., succeeded E. A. Muzzy & Co., and engaged in the manufacture of a cloth-boot, called "Alaskas," and custom boots and shoes. He is situated in Mechanic Street.

In 1878, J. U. Green, coming from Spencer, began business in Cherry Street, under the name of J. U. Green & Co., afterwards moving to Front Street, where he continued in business until 1883.

In 1881, upon the dissolution of the partnership of D. G. Rawson & Co., C. S. Goddard, W. B. Fay and A. M. Stone, formed a new company, under the name of Goddard, Fay & Stone, and continued in business until January 1, 1889, when they were succeeded by Goddard, Stone & Co. They have always occupied the factory where they are now located in Austin Street, the capacity of which was doubled by them in 1886.

In 1883, Bemis & Fletcher began business in Me-

chanic Street, under the name of the Waverly Shoe Company, and are at present located in Front Street. Their specialty is the "Waverly School Shoe."

In 1888, F. W. Blacker, who was with the firm of J. H. & G. M. Walker from 1865 until their retirement, succeeded to the business, leasing the old Walker factory, in Eaton Place, with its machinery, tools and patterns, and continues to make the widely-celebrated "Walker Boot."

Until the year 1868 nearly all the boots and shoes manufactured in Worcester were hand-made, machinery, excepting the sewing-machine, being little used.

Worcester manufacturers were always slow in adopting boot and shoe machinery, and they did not use it until long after it had been adopted in other places. From 1850 to 1868 a large proportion of the boots and shoes were taken to the adjoining towns of West Boylston, Oakdale, Holden, Grafton, Millbury and Auburn to have the bottom stock put on; and then they were brought back and finished in the factories in Worcester.

Since 1868 the quantity thus bottomed has steadily decreased. There was at one time a great prejudice among consumers against goods made by machinery hand-made work being considered far superior, and for the first few years after the introduction of the pegging-machine, it was absolutely necessary that the manufacturer "sand off" from the bottom of every boot the impressions made by the machine, for fear the boots might be rejected by the customer. To such an extent was this feeling carried, that as late as 1870 large quantities of goods were sold stamped "Warranted Hand-made," on which nearly the whole work was done by machinery.

There is probably no industry where the improvement in manufacturing has been so radical and complete as in this. The only department where there has not been a great improvement is in that of the upper leather cutting and treeing. The cutting of upper leather is done by hand, and probably always will be. Treeing is done substantially as it was when boots were first made, and, although machines have been invented for doing this work, they have never been considered satisfactory.

By the use of machinery in its present perfected state, goods can be produced that are more uniform than any that can be made by hand. A striking feature in the manufacture of boots and shoes is the division of labor. As far back as 1840 all who called themselves shoemakers were able to take leather in the side and complete a perfect boot or shoe. In these days, in the large factories an ordinary boot will go through the hands of fifty or sixty different persons, the work in each room being minutely divided, and few of the men being skilled in any but their particular part. This is one reason why boots and shoes are produced and sold so cheaply at the present time. Each man takes up that branch to which he is best

adapted, and continual practice makes him an adept. The cost of labor on a case of twelve pairs of ordinary heavy boots, at the present time, is about five dollars. To produce the same number of boots by hand, by old methods, would take the wages of two weeks.

The making of lasts, patterns and dies now used, has been so far reduced to a science that one can go into a first-class boot and shoe store and procure boots or shoes that will fit him perfectly.

Worcester is practically what is called a boot town, comparatively few shoes being made, and the only factories to-day that devote themselves exclusively to the manufacture of women's, misses' and children's shoes are those of J. E. Wesson and the Waverly Shoe Company, which are now making what is called "Medium Grade" and "Weight Shoes."

Heavy shoes, called "brogans," and plow-shoes are made, but these are considered about the same as boots, and are usually made in the same factories by the same workmen. Efforts have been made by various manufacturers to introduce men's fine shoes, which have partially succeeded, though not sufficiently to allow of Worcester being classed as a shoe town.

In treating of the boot and shoe industry, it is not generally understood that the manufacture of boots and shoes is distinct. A workman is seldom found who can do equally well on each kind of work. The manufacture of ladies' fine shoes, such as are made in Haverhill and Lynn, has never been attempted here. In order to do this it would be necessary to obtain the help from those towns, and this has always been found unsatisfactory. Many attempts to make boots in shoe towns have failed, and the fact is fully recognized.

The manufacture of boots and shoes is now, and has been for years, one of the leading industries of Worcester, and has been uniformly successful. This is not due to the manufacturers alone. In most of the large boot and shoe towns the workmen are the unsettled population. In Worcester it is not so. Nearly all are permanent residents, a large number owning their homes, and, even in times of great business depression, few leave the city. To this fact must be largely attributed the absence of strikes. While other places have been visited with labor troubles, but two strikes of any consequence have been known here, one in 1867 and one in 1887.

It is to the credit of employer and employes that they have considered their interests mutual, thus enabling the differences between them to be readily and satisfactorily adjusted.

It is worthy of notice that, with scarcely an exception, none of the present or past manufacturers of Worcester have had any educational advantages superior to those of the common school. They nearly all learned their trade at the bench, and to this, in a great measure, must be attributed their success.

Being able to do any part of the work themselves, they are competent to judge if the work is properly done by others. They have proved themselves to be enterprising and worthy citizens, and have held a full share of the honorable positions in the gift of their fellow-townsmen. They have been represented in the directories of the various banks, in the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, State Legislature, and will be represented in the Fifty-first United States Congress.¹

THE BIGELOW HEELING-MACHINE.—This machine is an improvement upon the McKay machine, with which its interests are now identified. Mr. H. H. Bigelow patented the heel in 1869, and the machine in 1870.

The advantages conferred by this machine are manifold. By means of it all the odd or "V"-shaped pieces of sole leather, which were formerly considered worthless, are utilized. These are joined or fitted closely together, under a solid upper lift, and fed to the machine, which consists of a revolving cylinder, making one revolution in four motions. First, the heel is pressed; then, a quarter revolution and the heel is pricked for the nails; then, another quarter revolution and the nails are driven; with the final quarter revolution the completed heel is forced from the cylinder.

The machine not only utilizes pieces of leather of every kind and shape, but takes all heels, whether whole, half or quarter lifts, and saves one good lift on each boot or shoe heel, since the leather which would otherwise be trimmed off is, by reason of the equal pressure upon the heel from all sides, evenly and smoothly forced into the heel, elevating it, and making a difference of one entire lift in height. A good lift is worth about two cents.

The machine not only makes pieced heels, but all styles, heights, shapes and sizes, and is undoubtedly the most valuable contribution that has been made to this industry, since while it effects the greatest saving it accomplishes the most laborious part of the work. With it, a man and boy can heel five thousand pairs of boots or shoes in a day, effecting a saving of the wages of forty-eight additional operatives per day.

The amount of royalty upon a pair of boots or shoes is one-half of one cent, but by the saving of leather, and the saving of wages, the seller is not only able to dispose of his goods at a less price, but the durability of the boot or shoe is increased tenfold by means of this improvement in the method of manufacture.

No boot or shoe manufacturer could carry on a large business successfully without the Bigelow Heeling-Machine, and the fact that he could not otherwise compete, proves conclusively that the purchaser is the person most largely benefited.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Walker and Mr. F. W. Blacker for some of the material used in the chapter upon Boots and Shoes.—C. G. W.

A. H. Dean, in 1866, established the business of manufacturing shoe-heels from upper leather remnants bought at the boot and shoe factories. He was among the first in the country to engage in this occupation as a distinct business. Heels had been made for the most part of sole leather in shoe factories. Most of this work is done by hand. The heel pieces are cut by dies. The business has so grown that there are now two hundred concerns in the country in this special line of work. From twelve hands Mr. Dean's business has grown into the employment of one hundred and fifty.

In March, 1861, T. K. Earle & Co. sold their belt manufacturing tools to Graton & Knight, a firm formed March 11, 1861, and composed of H. C. Graton and Joseph A. Knight, located in Harding's Block, on Front Street. They started their tannery on the Bloomingdale Road in 1867, and now put in about six hundred hides per week. They use oak bark, which is ground in Virginia. The belting is taken in strips from the tannery to the Front Street shop, each hide affording three strips suitable for this purpose. This is at present the only tannery in the city. In the upper story of the Bloomingdale Building they manufacture inner-soles and slip-taps, and heels of all kinds, made from sole leather. In this way the shoulders and bellies are used. They also make sole-leather counters for boots and shoes, moulded and flat counters of all kinds, straps for looms and pickers and for harvesting-machines. They started in Foster Street with three hands, and at that time had a shop in Lynn; that branch of the business was later removed to Worcester. They now employ ninety hands, and ship part of their product to England. There are but four larger concerns in the belt business in the country.

H. O. Hudson & Co., successors to Peter Goulding, established in 1854, manufacture leather belting, rubber belting, loom straps, etc.

J. F. & C. G. Warren also manufacture leather belting.

Boot and shoe and belting machinery is made by A. F. Stowe, on Cypress Street.

H. C. Pease & Co. and John J. Adams also manufacture shoe machinery.

Samuel Mawhinney, in company with Mr. A. P. Richardson, commenced the manufacture of lasts January 1, 1857, in Merrifield's Building. At that time the lasts were turned out in the rough in Canada and finished in Worcester. In 1868 Mr. Richardson retired, and in 1869 Mr. Mawhinney bought land on Church Street and built his present shop. About that time Mr. R. L. Golbert became a partner. The business has constantly increased, and now employs from twenty-five to thirty hands. One hundred thousand pairs of lasts are made annually. The material used is rock maple. In addition to the last business, this company makes boot and shoe trees.

DIE MANUFACTURERS.—Mr. A. M. Howe began the die business in 'Westboro' in the year 1857, and moved to Worcester in 1860. In 1861 he had a contract from the Government to make primers for guns. Mr. Howe makes boot and shoe, envelope and harness dies; in fact, cutting dies of almost every description. He formerly bought his die stock from the Coes', but now prepares it under a patented process of his own.

Davis, Savells & Co. is the only other concern in the city which makes dies. They commenced business in 1870. Mr. Davis was formerly in the employ of A. M. Howe.

CHAPTER CXCIX.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Paper Machinery—Razors—Holyoke Machine Company—Norton Emery Wheel Company—Corsets—Skates—Chairs—Gas—Contractors and Builders—Summary of Industries not heretofore mentioned.

PAPER MACHINERY.—Isaac Goddard was born in South Royalston, Vt., in 1800. He came to Massachusetts in 1812, and was apprenticed to Elijah Burbank at Quinsigamond to learn paper-making. After serving his time, he went to Millbury, and about 1823 made paper there by the pound for General Burbank. In 1836 he came to Worcester, formed a partnership with Mr. Howe, and, under the firm-name of Howe & Goddard, began making paper machinery at the old Red Mills. It is said that six months after starting they put in a steam-engine of six horse-power. This they used for two years, in conjunction with their water-power. February 1, 1843, they moved to the Union Street factory, now occupied by their successors. In the summer of 1846 Mr. Howe died, and Mr. George M. Rice shortly after became a partner.¹

In April, 1856, Goddard, Rice & Co. bought from Isaac Davis, for thirty-one thousand dollars, the factory occupied by them in Union Street. April 1, 1862, Goddard, Rice & Co. dissolved, and May 1st George M. Rice, George S. Barton and Joseph E. Fales formed a company for the manufacture of machinery under the style of Rice, Barton & Co. At this time they advertised to make steam boilers, and in 1863 manufactured the Vandewater Water-wheel.

The Rice, Barton & Fales Machine and Iron Company was organized in 1867, and succeeded to the business of manufacturing paper-making, calico-printing and dyeing machinery, printing and dyeing-machines for cotton and woolen-mills, bleaching,

¹ George S. Barton came to Worcester in 1845; was apprenticed to Howe & Goddard, and in 1849 became a partner in Goddard, Rice & Co.

paper-printing machinery, hydraulic presses, architectural iron and other large work.

RAZORS.—J. R. Torrey & Co, manufacture razor strops and dressing-cases, and are situated at the corner of Piedmont and Chandler Streets. The business was begun in a very small way in 1858 by J. R. Torrey. In 1875 his son, L. H. Torrey, was admitted to partnership. The business has increased until they have become the largest manufacturers of razor strops in the world.

The J. R. Torrey Razor Company was incorporated in 1880—Joseph Turner, president, and J. R. Torrey, treasurer. The present factory was erected in 1882.

This is the only company manufacturing razors in the country. Commencing with eight hands, their force to-day, 1889, numbers seventy-five razor-makers, with more special tools and machines of their own invention than are found in all the razor factories in the world.

THE HOLYOKE MACHINE COMPANY.—This company was established at Holyoke in 1863. In 1882 a branch factory was built at Worcester, situated opposite the old Wheeler Foundry on Thomas Street. This company manufactures the Hercules Turbine Water-Wheel. One-fourth of their product is sold abroad. They commenced with fifty men and now employ one hundred and fifty. They also manufacture shafting, hangers and pulleys.

NORTON EMERY-WHEEL COMPANY.—This company was organized June 20, 1885. The industry was started in 1875 by F. B. Norton at the old Pottery Works in Water Street, from whom the wheel takes its name. The pottery business is still conducted by Mr. Norton's sons in Water Street.

In July, 1886, the Norton Emery-Wheel Company began the erection of new works at Barber's Crossing, about three miles from the centre of the city, at the junction of the Boston and Maine and Fitchburg Railroads. The building was finished and occupied about January 1, 1887, and is more complete and thoroughly equipped than any other manufactory of emery-wheels in the world. The method of producing solid emery-wheels by this company is known as the vitrified process and is covered by three patents. The wheels possess great strength and endurance, are thoroughly water-proof, containing no substance that has not abrasive properties which ensures their fast-cutting qualities. The best Turkish emery ore and pure corundum are used. During the process the wheel is subjected to a white heat, for which purpose the Lawton Patent Down-Draft Kilns are used.

These wheels are used for all descriptions of light and heavy casting-work, car-wheel grinding, cleaning hollow-ware, pearling barley, cleaning wheat and cotton seed, wood pulp, grinding, planing and surfacing work, cutlery work, concaving razors and other uses too numerous to mention.

Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company of Providence, R. I., has succeeded in producing remarkable results with these wheels in the direction of fine grinding.

CORSETS.—In the year 1861 Mr. D. H. Fanning finding that hoopskirts were becoming popular, secured a small room in what was then Clark's Block, situated at the corner of Main and Mechanic Streets, and with one operative began their manufacture.

The product of this small establishment found a ready sale. He continued the manufacture of hoopskirts exclusively until the year 1864, when the manufacture of corsets was introduced into this country and Mr. Fanning added this industry.

The plant was enlarged to meet the increasing demands made upon it. In 1872 the business was removed to the Rice building, 564 Main Street. The manufacture of corsets proved the more important part, and at length the manufacture of skirts was discontinued. The name of the firm, at first the Worcester Skirt Company, was changed to the Worcester Corset Company, which was afterwards made the corporate name of the present organization.

The business continued to develop, and subsequently a section of the Franklin building, adjoining, was added. In 1880 the Heywood building, located in the rear of the Rice building, was added to the other two. The plant now includes these three buildings with a floor area of fifty thousand square feet.

The sewing-machines used are of the Singer make. The old machines were run at a speed of from four hundred to six hundred stitches per minute, while those now in use have a capacity of from fourteen hundred to eighteen hundred stitches per minute.

In 1885, finding the market for its products reaching over a constantly increasing area, at length covering the entire country, the Worcester Corset Company established branch sales-rooms in Chicago, Ill., the great distributing point for the West and Northwest, and also opened an office in New York City.

Within the past year the company has entered extensively into the manufacture of fine goods in which silks, pongees, satins, French cotilles and American jeans are used.

By engaging in the manufacture of fine goods, the company gives employment to an increased number of skilled workmen of the highest class. These goods are of the same grade and come into competition with the finest quality of French and German corsets; and there is no concern in the country engaged in this business so thoroughly equipped for the production of fine goods as the Worcester Corset Company.

In size it ranks among the largest producers in the country of all grades of corsets, and probably the largest in the production of fine goods. Five hundred operatives, mostly women, are employed in this establishment.

The Park Corset Works, in Front Street, was established in 1868, and incorporated in 1885.

In 1856 S. C. & S. Winslow, who had been engaged in mechanical business at Newton Upper Falls, occupied a small room in Cypress Street, in Merrifield's building, doing machine jobbing.

In 1857, observing that skating was becoming popular, they ventured to make twenty-five pairs of skates, of which they sold nineteen pair during the first year.

In 1858, in anticipation of the demand, they manufactured two hundred pairs, but before the end of the year had manufactured and sold two thousand five hundred pairs.

Seth C. Winslow died in 1871, and his interest was purchased by Samuel Winslow.

In 1872 Mr. Winslow made roller-skates for J. L. Plympton, of New York, which were used in this country, and exported to Europe and to India, and continued to manufacture them for several years; meantime the business had so increased that a factory was built in Mulberry Street.

In 1880 Mr. Winslow invented the Vineyard roller-skate, which has been the most popular roller-skate made. The demand in this country for roller-skates continued till the fall of 1885.

During the year 1884 Mr. Winslow built an addition to his factory. In 1886 he sold his business to the Samuel Winslow Skate Manufacturing Company.

At the present time, 1889, the demand for roller-skates in the United States has ceased, but the company is exporting them to Australia, India, Japan and South America.

The capacity of the company is twelve hundred pairs of skates per day, including forty different styles of ice-skates and fifteen different styles of roller-skates, which vary in price from fifteen cents to ten dollars per pair.

This company also manufactures an excellent bicycle, which is sold at a moderate price, and which is finding a ready market for the reason that it is as durable as the more expensive machine.

FOLDING CHAIRS.—In 1863, Mr. E. W. Vaill, who had previously been in the furniture business, engaged in the manufacture of camp-chairs, which were in large demand by the army and navy. The business was begun at the corner of Main & Walnut Streets, but in January, 1877, was moved to Union Street, the present location. The old water-wheel, which furnished power for Ruggles, Nourse & Mason, at Court Mills, supplies twenty-eight horse-power for this factory.

At the close of the war the demand for camp-chairs largely decreased, but the principle was carried into all variety of chairs, from the plainest to the most expensive. Over one hundred different styles were made, many of which were patented, and they were sent all over the world. February 5, 1889, the E. W. Vaill Chair Manufacturing Company was incorporated and succeeded to the business.

The Worcester Gas-Light Company was organized

June 22, 1849, with a capital of \$45,000. John W. Lincoln was president, and Warren Lazell, agent.

The works were built in Lincoln Street, and, under date of July 23, 1849, the company gives notice in the *Worcester Spy* that the works will be ready to supply gas to the citizens of Worcester in the following streets, early the next fall, viz.: Main Street, from Lincoln Square to Park Street School, Thomas' Exchange, Foster and Mechanic Streets, severally, between Main and the railroads; also in Front from Main Street to Washington Square, and in Pleasant Street from Main to Chestnut Streets.

Those desirous of becoming consumers of gas were requested to give early notice at the office of the agent, 205 Main Street, in order that supply-pipes might be carried into their buildings, the pipes to be put in at the expense of the company.

The company was incorporated in 1851; the works were enlarged from time to time, and in 1870 were removed to the present site near the Junction.

The present estimated capacity of the works per day is 750,000 cubic feet. Gas made during the year ending June 1, 1888, 100,724,500 cubic feet; greatest output December 24, 1887, 501,300 cubic feet; least output, June 17, 1888, 112,600 cubic feet; total length of street mains, 201,950 feet; total number of meters in use June, 1888, 3,882.

The manufacture of water-gas was introduced in October, 1884, the company having purchased a license under the patents of the Granger Water-Gas Company, of Philadelphia.

CONTRACTORS AND BUILDERS.—There is a large number of contractors and builders in Worcester, some of whom have attained a wide reputation for the character of their work. The wood-work in some of the most expensive houses in the country has been furnished by Worcester firms.

Charles Baker & Co. make a specialty of inside and outside ornamental finish from architects' plans.

The Norcross Bros. stand pre-eminent among builders in Worcester, and their reputation has now become national. They own stone quarries at Long Meadow and have shops equipped to produce every kind and variety of work required in the most elaborate buildings.

The Norcross Bros. began business at Swampscott, Mass., in 1864, and 1866 took their first contract of any consequence, which was to build the Congregational Church in Leicester.

Since that time they have built educational structures, business blocks, churches, public buildings, club-houses and private residences.

Among the buildings erected by them are the Worcester High School, Crompton's Block, Burnside Building, All Saints' Church, the First Universalist Church, all of Worcester.

Their most expensive buildings have been erected elsewhere. The gymnasium, Seaver Hall and the Law School at Harvard University; the Marshal

Field Building, at Chicago, erected in 1885 at a cost of \$900,000; the New York Life Insurance Building, at Omaha, costing over \$500,000; another building for the same insurance company in Kansas City, costing a like amount; the Allegheny Court-house and jail, at Pittsburgh, costing \$2,500,000; the Union League Club-house, New York; the Algonquin Club-house, Boston; besides many private residences, the most expensive of which is "Kellogg Terrace," Great Barrington, which cost \$600,000.

It has not been attempted to give an extended account of all the manufactories in Worcester; space and time would not permit of this. The following alphabetical summary of most of those not hitherto mentioned in the text will give some idea of their variety and number:

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.—B. F. Goddard, mowing-machines, 195 Front Street.

AWLS.—American Awl Company, 195 Front Street, manufacturers of and dealers in raw-hide mallets, wax thread needles, lasting-machine awls, wax thread awls, Bigelow heeling awls, Bigelow heeling drivers, New Era drivers, New Era pegging awls, Varney pegging awls, Varney drivers, German pegging drivers, German pegging awls, shoe-knives, shoe-shaves.

J. McCarty, 19 Church Street, proprietor National Awl Company; established 1878; machine awls for pegging-machines.

Sumner Packard & Co., of Grafton, made the first machine awls for boot and shoe-pegging machines.

BAND-SAWS.—W. F. Burgess & Co., 66 School Street.

BICYCLES.—Iver Johnson & Co.; Samuel Winslow.

BOLT MANUFACTURERS.—In 1828 Wheelock & Rice manufactured nuts and washers at the machine-shop then recently occupied by William Hovey.

In 1839 H. W. Miller was engaged in this business.

In 1855 Thomas Smith and William Conkey bought of J. and J. C. Brown and George Dryden their tools and interest in the manufacture of nuts and washers, chain links, etc., and fitted up a shop in Cypress Street, Merrifield's building. In 1859 they employed four hands making patent bit pieces and doing cold punching. Mr. Smith has been an iron-worker in Worcester for fifty-three years; he made the first die in the world to make a mowing-machine knife. He now manufactures bolts, nuts, rods, building irons for houses, bridges, cold iron punching. In 1835 Mr. Smith worked for Phelps & Bickford, in Grove Street, and worked on the first looms built for William Crompton in this country.

J. Fred. Wilson, cold punched nuts, washers, chain links, etc.

BOOT AND SHOE LASTS.—Porter & Gardner, Foster Street.

BOOT AND SHOE MACHINERY.—John J. Adams, 85 Mechanic Street.

BOX-MAKERS, (WOOD AND PAPER).—Baker & Co., Foster Street; C. F. Darling, 66 Foster Street; J. W.

Howe, 163 Union Street. C. W. Humphrey, 42 South-bridge Street, turns out from five thousand to six thousand paper boxes per day. The Whitcomb Envelope Company also make paper boxes.

BREWERS.—There was a brewery in Worcester in 1822. Sixty-two and one-half cents a bushel was paid for barley delivered at the brewery. In 1827 the Worcester Distillery offers for sale New England rum, molasses, cider brandy, high wines.

Bowler Brothers, Quinsigamond Avenue, corner Lafayette Street, established the business of brewing ale and porter in 1833. They pay a larger tax to the United States Government than any one outside of Boston.

BROOMS.—O. M. Dean, 170 Austin Street.

BRUSHES.—Ellis Thayer manufactured brushes in Worcester in 1849. In 1869 the firm became Thayer & Mason; in 1878 Mr. J. Fred. Mason became proprietor. He manufactures brushes of all descriptions.

CARDERS' TOOLS.—William H. Brown, 81 Mechanic Street, Lewis' patent card clamps, card ratchets, hammers, gauges, tools, scrapers, Kimball's patent card stretcher.

CLIPPING-MACHINES.—Coates' Clipper Manufacturing Company, 237 Chandler Street.

COPYING-PRESSES.—R. E. Kidder, 35 Hermon Street. Also manufactures patent Universal Sewing-Machine.

COTTON.—H. W. Smith, Wachusett Mills, fine dress ginghams.

COURT-PLASTER.—C. B. Robbins, 76 Portland Street.

CURRIERS.—P. Corriveau, 32 Hermon Street.

William Leonard, 2 Sargent Street.

CURTAIN POLES AND RINGS.—Worcester Moulding Works, Foster Street.

DENTAL INSTRUMENTS.—C. B. R. Claffin, 38 Front Street.

DIE CUTTER STOCK.—Loring Coes & Co., manufacturers of machine knives, cutter plate for dies to leather, cloth and paper; moulding cutter-plate for wood, marble, etc.; all kinds and sizes of shear plates, and strips for cotton and woolen machinery.

L. Hardy & Co., manufacturers of machine knives, straight cutter ensilage, lawn-mower, meat-cutter, cork-cutter, rug-cutter and bone knives; shear-blades and strips for cotton and woolen goods. Also die cutter stock for boots and shoes; all kinds of welded stock rolled to any thickness from fourteen gauge to three-quarter inch thick. Wood-working machine-knives, planers, moulding-knives and blanks; paper-cutting, leather-splitting and stripping-knives.

DOORS, SASH, BLINDS, &c.—Charles Baker & Co., wholesale and retail lumber dealers; manufacture doors, windows, blinds, window and door frames, inside and outside ornamental finish from architects' plans. Yards at Manchester, Grove and Prescott Streets.

A. W. Joslyn, 181 Union Street.

George Peirce, 330 Park Avenue.

D. & C. P. Stevens & Co., 24 Southbridge Street.

Rice & Griffin Manufacturing Co., Sargent Street.

William Ross, 138 Main Street.

DRAIN PIPE.—James Draper, drain sewer and well pipe, Bloomingdale.

A. B. Lovell, cement pipe.

S. E. Todd, Southbridge Street.

DRILL MANUFACTURERS.—Six in number, some of whom have already been mentioned.

George Burnham & Co., 15 Hermon Street, improved upright drills.

R. W. Long, successor to George C. Taft, No. 8 Harris Court, improved upright self-feed drills.

Lowell Wrench Company. Ratchet drills, ratchet wrenches.

Prentice Bros., 49 Hermon Street. Upright drills.

DROP FORGINGS.—Worcester Drop Forging Works, No. 30 Bradley Street. Quick-action vises; shuttle irons.

DRY PLATE MANUFACTURERS.—Phoenix Plate Company, manufacturers of Phoenix gelatine dry-plate, argentic plate for positive pictures, ebonized and maroon wood and metal panels; also japanned iron and tinned sheets of all sizes for painters and lithographers.

DYE-HOUSES.—In 1828 William B. Fox did dyeing of all kinds.

John H. Starkie, Layard Place.

Worcester Silk Co., 390 Main Street.

Worcester Bleach and Dye Works, dyers and bleachers of cotton, woolen and worsted yarns, threads, tapes, etc. Also black, white and fancy colored warps in chains and beams furnished to order in any desired pattern. Present location, Grove Street. After April 1, 1889, West Fremont Street, New Worcester.

EAVE TROUGHS.—A. Bangs & Co., 175 Union Street.

ELEVATORS, HYDRAULIC.—Washburn Shop, Polytechnic Institute.

Hydraulic Manufacturing Co., 23 Hermon Street.

Worcester Elevator Co., 47 Lagrange Street.

FAUCETS.—Worcester Faucet and Manufacturing Co. Self-closing faucet.

FERRULES.—Worcester Ferrule Manufacturing Co., manufacturers of steel and brass stove trimmings, patent nickel-plated knobs, hinge-pins, towel-racks, foot-rails, steel, iron and brass ferrules, nickel-plated steam-pipe collars, 17 Hermon Street.

John L. Parker & Co., manufacturers of patent seamless sheet-metal goods of every description, stove door-knobs, hinge-pins, towel-racks, 70 School Street.

FILES.—William Hart, 5 Washington Square; established 1867, now employs seventeen hands. Largest manufacturer of hand-cut files in New England. A large number of files from the manufactories in the city are here re-cut. Mr. Hart makes four hundred

different shapes and sizes of files, and has a branch shop at Holyoke.

A. J. Hiscox.

FISHING-RODS.—N. S. Harrington, 72 Portland Street.

FRAMES FOR PICTURES.—G. S. Boutelle & Co., successors to Worcester Moulding Works. Also, picture-frame easels, fancy tables, etc.

FRICTION PULLEYS.—Blake Bros., manufacturers of the patent friction clutch, shafting, hangers and special machinery, Union Street.

GLUE.—John J. Jefferds, manufacturer of glue, tallow, ground bone, fertilizers. Works half a mile south of Quinsigamond, on Providence and Worcester Railroad.

GRINDING MACHINERY.—B. S. Roy, for card grinding.

Washburn Shops, for emery wheels.

GRIST-MILLS.—D. & C. P. Stevens & Son.

GROUND BEEF SCRAPS.—Charles F. Rugg, manufacturer of fine cylinder, engine, machinery and bolt oils. Best grade steam-rendered tallow and soap for manufacturers and family use. Dealer in paraffine, lard and neat's-foot oils. Pure ground beef scraps.

GUTTERS AND CONDUCTORS.—A. Bangs & Co., 175 Union Street, manufacturers of eaves troughs, &c.

J. B. Cummings, 197 Union Street.

HARDWARE MANUFACTURERS.—A. W. Gifford, 77 Beacon Street

Hill Dryer Co., 21 Hermon Street.

A. McDonald, 418 Main Street.

Morgan Spring Co., 25 Lincoln Street.

Wire Goods Co., 20 Union Street.

HEEL MANUFACTURERS.—E. D. Barrows & Son, 195 Front Street.

E. N. Dean, 194 Front Street.

A. D. Hall, 164 Front Street.

G. S. Hatch, 164 Front Street.

Myrick, Shepard & Co.

HOSIERY.—Holland Hosiery Company, 194 Front Street.

INK.—Levi R. Rockwood, 23 Orient Street.

LOOM REEDS.—For cotton, woolen, carpet and wire cloth mills, John Whittaker, 194 Front Street.

MILK CANS.—James H. Whittle, manufacture of tin cylinders of all diameters.

MOULDING-MACHINES.—Blake Brothers.

Witherby, Rugg & Richardson.

NAILS.—Somers Brothers. Tacks and Hungarian nails. Shoe tacks a specialty. Located here because of the large amount of boot-making. Running seventeen machines. The only concern of the kind in the city. Uses tack-machines invented by Thomas Blanchard.

NEEDLES.—Worcester Needle Company, Sewing machine needles. In 1853, F. S. Cox made needles at South Worcester.

OVERALLS.—A. G. Hildreth, 34 Southbridge Street.

PERFORATED METALS.—Towne & Company, 81 Mechanic Street.

POTTERY.—F. B. Norton's Sons, Water Street. In 1784 there was a pottery in Worcester, two and a half miles from the meeting-house on the road to Springfield.

ROLLER SKATES.—The Samuel Winslow Skate Manufacturing Company. Ice and roller skates; gear cutting.

SAW MANUFACTORY.—E. D. Cunningham, 23 Hudson Street.

SHAFTING.—Holyoke Machine Company.

TAPES.—H. M. Witter & Company, Park Avenue.

TRUNKS.—Barnard Brothers, 494 Main Street.

George L. Barr, 20 Front Street.

VALENTINES.—Baillard Art Publishing Company, Main Street.

J. W. Taft, 35 Pearl Street.

George C. Whitney, Art Publisher and Importer; factory and main office, Worcester; also offices New York, Chicago and Boston.

VISES.—Worcester Drop Forging Work.

WASHERS.—Reed & Prince, makers of rivets, blanks for small screws, washers.

WATER METER.—In 1858 a water meter was invented by Dr. E. D. Wetherbee, and manufactured by D. Newton, gunsmith. Union Water Meter Company was established November, 1868, by Messrs. Fitts, John C. Otis, Phineas Ball; employs sixty hands. Their meters go all over the country, and some to England and Germany. The product is covered by patents.

YARNS.—The Edgeworth Mill, carpet yarns, Brussels.

Artificial stone is manufactured by C. F. Green & Company, Sargent Street. The stone is made of sand and cement, and is used for building purposes; chimney caps, thimbles, etc. This is a continuation of the business known as the Frear Stone Works.

E. J. Kerns manufactures a patent rowlock; also roller seats for boats. Some of these have been sent to foreign countries.

CHAPTER CC.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

Reasons for Worcester's Prominence as a Manufacturing City.—Room with Power for Rent—Merrifield Building—Heywood Building—Edenbrook Building—Enterprise of Worcester's Business Men—Mechanics' Association—Worcester Polytechnic Institute—Woolbarn Shops—The Laboring Classes—Prizing Schools—Worcester's Rapid Growth—Heart of the Commonwealth.

It has frequently been said that Worcester owes her prominence as a manufacturing centre to the unusual opportunities offered to mechanics to begin business in a small way, and without incurring the

risk incident upon the erection and equipment of a shop. Indeed, had this not been the case, individuals, companies and corporations doing to-day a prosperous business would never have started. Many instances might be given of individuals who have begun with one machine, gradually increasing their business out of the profits realized from day to day, until it has reached considerable magnitude. Growth of this kind is healthy and likely to be permanent.

It would be almost literally true to say that there is no large manufacturing business in Worcester that has not at some time in its history been situated in one or another of the buildings erected for rent with power to a number of tenants. There are some exceptions, but they are few. An idea of the number of industries begun in this way may be obtained by noticing the occupants of the buildings erected for the accommodation of those engaging in mechanical pursuits.

The old Court Mill had been built some years when, in 1832, Samuel Davis leased it from Mr. Salisbury. Among the tenants here at one time or another were L. & A. G. Coes, builders of wool-spinning machinery, and subsequently, manufacturers of wrenches; Ruggles, Nourse & Mason, manufacturers of agricultural implements; H. W. Miller, punching-machines for manufacturing nuts and washers; Thomas E. Daniels, builder of the planing-machine; Samuel Flagg, pioneer in the machinists' tools business in Worcester. The old building was burned in October, 1839, and Mr. Salisbury made a contract with W. T. Merrifield to rebuild the mill by January 1, 1840, for Ruggles, Nourse & Mason threatened to move out of town unless it were finished by that time. After the foundations were in, Mr. Salisbury thought the building could not be completed in the winter, and offered to release Mr. Merrifield from the contract, but Mr. Merrifield went ahead, although Worcester masons refused to lay brick in the winter, and he was compelled to bring masons from Boston to do the work. The building was completed by January 1st.

Then came the Dr. Heywood building in Central Street, occupied by a number of firms, among them Samuel Flagg & Company and S. C. Coombs & Company, who established the business now conducted by the Lathe & Morse Tool Company. Mr. Merrifield occupied his present location in 1835; soon after he used a horse to furnish power to run a circular saw and a Daniels planer. In 1840 he put in an engine. The first brick building for tenants was erected in 1847, and additions were made to it every year until the fire of 1854, when the following were among the occupants: William R. Bliss, bootmaker; Town & Company, perforated board; Hovey & Lazell, straw-cutters; E. F. Dixon, wrenches; Lamb & Foster, carpenters; Williams, Rich & Company, machinists; Samuel Flagg & Company, machinists' tools; Prouty & Allen, shoe tacks; Daniel Tainter, wool machin-

ery; C. Hovey & Company, straw-cutters; C. Whitcomb & Company, machinists' tools; Charles E. Wilder, boot and shoe-machines; H. Palmer & Company, box-maker; Towne & Harrington, portemonnaies; N. B. Jewett, seraphine-maker; Thayer, Houghton & Company, machinists' tools; Furbush & Crompton, fancy looms; Richards & Smith, sash and blinds; Luther White, machinist; F. J. Gouche, plane-maker; Isaac Fiske, musical instruments; A. Sampson, wheelwright; S. G. Reed, wheelwright; Worcester Knitting Company; Worcester Machine Company; George Dryden, machinist; Hood, Battell & Company, sewing-machines; Edward Lawrence, tool-maker; Daniel Palmer, box-maker; Howard Holden, grist-mill; Rodney A. M. Johnson & Company, wool-spinning machinery.

When rebuilt, the buildings measured over eleven hundred feet in length, fifty feet in width, and three stories in height; the area of the floors was over four acres and a half; the power was obtained from a three hundred and fifty horse-power engine, the same which is running to-day. In 1859 Mr. Merrifield had leased rooms and power in his buildings to over fifty firms, each employing from two to eighty hands. Among them:—

Alzirus Brown, on the corner of Union and Exchange Streets, who, with fifty hands, engaged in the manufacture of Manny's Patent Mower and Reaper combined. Daniel Tainter, in Union Street, employed thirty hands in making woolen-carding machines and jacks. Johnson & Co. employed twenty hands making jacks for woolen machinery. Richardson & Mawhinney, in the same street, employed twenty-four hands on lasts and boot-trees. L. W. Pond occupied about two hundred feet of the first floor, under the preceding, for the manufacture of engine-lathes, planing-machines, etc., employing twenty-seven hands. He had a lathe thirty-seven feet long, capable of cutting screws of any length from one to thirty-three feet. He also used the largest and heaviest planing-machine in the city, thirty-seven feet long, six feet wide and four feet high, weighing forty tons.

Prouty & Allen, in the room north of Mr. Pond, employed from five to six hands in making iron or zinc shoe-nails, of which they turned off from one thousand to twelve hundred pounds per day. Battelle & Co., in the third story, had five hands engaged in the manufacture of sewing-machines. J. L. & I. N. Keyes, on the east side of Union Street, did an extensive business, with eighteen hands, in board-planing. Hamilton Holt, in rooms over them, had four hands engaged in making patent gutters, or conductors of water from the roofs of buildings. C. Whitcomb & Co. were doing a good business making machinists' tools and letter-copying presses, and employed fifteen hands. Towne & Harrington, with ten hands, made mowing-machine knives. Dresser & Wilson had about six hands making Jilison's patent animal-traps, manufacturing two hundred per day. S. G. Reed &

Co., in Cypress Street, employed twenty hands in making carriage-wheels and wheel-spokes of all kinds.

George F. Rice, employed ten hands in the manufacture of Hovey's patent hay-cutters, corn-shellors and winnowing-mills, and a very superior article of boring-machine of his own invention. Joel W. Upham had from six to eight hands engaged in making very large water-wheels for manufacturing establishments, averaging from twenty to thirty per year. Isaac Fiske employed six hands making musical wind instruments. D. D. Allen & Co. manufactured boot forms. S. C. & S. Winslow employed from six to twelve hands in gear-cutting and light jobbing. Thomas Smith & Co. had four hands making patent bit-pieces and doing cold punching. The Machine Lathe Company in Exchange Street, of which Jason Chapin was president and A. L. Burbank treasurer, employed seven hands making bedstead lathes and in iron job-work. Charles E. Staples, with seven hands, made bit-stocks and window-springs and did light jobbing. Charles E. Wilder had a few hands in the manufacture of boot-crimping machines. Franklin Wesson had three hands in the gun manufacture. P. Goulding with six hands, on the opposite side of the street, made thirty dozen of shuttles per week. U. T. and C. H. Smith made chair-lathes and did jobbing, employing four hands. William H. Brown had a jobbing shop with three or more hands.

Meantime Colonel James Estabrook and Charles Wood, in 1851, erected the stone building at the Junction now occupied by the Knowles' Loom Works. Wood, Light & Co. were to occupy part of it, which they did, and the rest of the building was to be rented to tenants. Shepard, Lathe & Co. moved into the north end of the building very shortly after the occupancy of Wood, Light & Co. In 1857 Mr. Wood disposed of his interest to Colonel Estabrook.

The main building was four hundred and fifty feet long by fifty feet wide, and three stories high; another building used for a forge shop and other work, two hundred by forty; power was furnished by two fifty horse-power engines, made by Corliss & Nightingale, of Providence. Among the tenants were Wood, Light & Co., who occupied the two lower stories in the south end of the main building for the manufacture of machinists' tools, water-wheels, mill works, castings. J. A. Fay & Co. occupied a hundred feet on the second floor, manufacturing wood-working machinery, employing thirty hands. Joseph Barrett & Co., in the south end of the second floor, employed twenty hands in the manufacture of calico-printing machinery, Woodworth's planing-machines, machinists' tools, etc. Shepard, Lathe & Morse occupied one hundred feet of the first floor under the preceding, and manufactured engine-lathes and iron-planing machines. Whittenore Brothers, in the upper story, employed twenty hands in manufacturing machines for paring, coring and slicing apples. The American

Steam Music Company manufactured calliopes and terpsichoreans. Heywood & March made Holbrook's automatic bank-locks. David McFarland made card-setting machines. A. F. Henshaw manufactured machinists' tools and bonnet machinery.

The means thus afforded to individuals with limited capital to begin manufacturing unencumbered with an expensive plant, making it possible for a small business to be conducted with profit, is one of the chief causes of the diversity of industries which makes Worcester uniformly prosperous, and creates a thrifty and permanent class of working-people.

In striking contrast are some other New England cities, confined almost entirely to a single industry, and with a large unsettled population of mill operatives, the business conducted by corporations, owned by non-resident stockholders and under a non-resident management. With such conditions, the prosperity of the community is uncertain, largely a matter of chance. In good years the dividends declared are not invested where they are earned, while in bad years the immediate community suffers, want soon overtakes the working-people, and crime follows in the wake of cold and hunger.

It is true that there are corporations in Worcester, but they are, almost without exception, the outgrowth of individual enterprise; the stockholders are residents, and in many cases, employees; the dividends are largely invested in real estate, in business blocks, in tenements, in factory property, while the fortunes accumulated found our hospitals, homes for the aged and infirm, build our churches, endow our schools.

While there are few large fortunes here, there are many small ones. There is, perhaps, less of luxury and display than in some communities, but more of thrift.

To properly take advantage of the opportunities here offered, an intelligent people was needed. Enterprise and sagacity have always been characteristics of the business-men of Worcester—early manifested in appreciation of communication with the sea-board, and seened by the building of the Blackstone Canal, and evidenced later in the building of the railroads, and always recognized in the high reputation enjoyed throughout the country by our manufactures.

But there is better evidence than this of the wisdom and foresight of the men who laid the foundation of Worcester's prosperity.

A desire for opportunities for education was manifested at a very early day. About 1819 a number of young mechanics, who had been active in reforming the schools and establishing a lyceum and temperance society, made an attempt to form a mechanics' association. This failed; but November 27, 1841, a public meeting was held to consider the question. Ichabod Washburn was chairman, and Albert Tolman secretary of this meeting. A committee was chosen, consisting of Anthony Chase, William Leg-

gatt, Henry W. Miller, William M. Bickford, Putnam W. Taft, Levi A. Dowley, William A. Wheeler, Rufus D. Dunbar, John P. Kettell, James S. Woodworth, Albert Tolman, Hiram Gorham, Joseph Pratt, Henry Goulding and Edward B. Rice, to consider the formation of an association having for its object "the moral, intellectual and social improvement of its members, the perfection of the mechanic arts and the pecuniary assistance of the needy."

The first meeting of the subscribers was held February 5, 1842. William A. Wheeler was elected president; Ichabod Washburn, vice-president; Albert Tolman, secretary, and Elbridge G. Partridge treasurer. Steps were taken to establish a library and an annual course of lectures. The first lecture was delivered by Elihu Burritt (then a resident of Worcester), and was upon the importance of educating the mechanics and workmen of the country. From that time to the present the Mechanics' Association has provided a course of lectures every winter.

Another object in forming the association was the holding of an annual fair for the exhibition of the mechanical products of the city. The first fair was held in September, 1848, and was very successful. The reports of the judges were printed and widely circulated, creating a wide knowledge and consequently large demand for the products of Worcester mechanics. In July, 1854, in commenting upon the association and its work, the statement was made: "Notwithstanding the inadequate supply of water-power, which is everywhere deemed so essential for the successful development of the mechanic arts, without the aid of a single act of incorporation, mechanical business has increased in this city by individual enterprise alone more than tenfold. The mechanics as a class are more enlightened and better educated than formerly; their course is onward and upward; they are not only increasing in numbers, but continually expanding in influence and usefulness. Instead of being a small fraction of the population of a town of two or three thousand, as they once were, they are nearly a majority of the population of a city of twenty-two thousand; are the owners of nearly or quite half of the taxable real estate, and are producing from their workshops more than six millions of dollars annually. Their reputation for variety, excellence and finish on all labor-saving machines and implements extends far and wide through the land. Their products, branded with the name of some enterprising firm in Worcester, may be found in the shops, mills and factories and on the farms of every State in the Union."

In 1850 an act of incorporation was obtained from the State, and May 4, 1854, Ichabod Washburn offered to give ten thousand dollars towards the purchase of land and the erection of a Mechanics' Hall, provided an equal sum should be raised by the association. The offer was accepted and the condition complied with. In addition to the twenty thousand dollars

thus raised, the association issued bonds to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, secured by mortgage upon the property, and further sums were raised as the work advanced, of which amount nearly forty-four thousand dollars was taken and paid for by two hundred and fifty-six members of the association. Ground was broken July, 1855, and on the 3d of September the corner-stone was laid, the day being observed as a holiday. The building was completed in 1857, and was dedicated March 19th of that year.

Another and striking illustration of the interest taken by the manufacturers and mechanics of Worcester in educational affairs is found in their generous contributions toward the building and endowment fund of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, a school free to residents of Worcester County.

The founder, John Boynton, of Templeton, provided that the school should be located in Worcester. If the citizens would furnish the funds necessary to purchase a lot and erect suitable buildings. This condition was complied with, and among the contributors were workmen in twenty of the then (1868) largest shops and factories.

At the same time Ichabod Washburn built, equipped and endowed a machine-shop, connected with the institute, in which students were to be taught the practical manipulation of tools. This conception of a school-shop is unique. The maximum number planned for by the founder to be instructed at any one time was twenty. For the past five years over one hundred pupils have received instruction each year.

Meantime the schools of the city have increased in number and efficiency. No child, however poor, need be deprived of a thorough education, free of any cost for instruction, and in the public schools being even relieved of the expense of buying books.

Up to 1840 manual labor in our shops was, for the most part, performed by Americans. Worcester naturally attracted boys from the country, and the farmers' sons became our mechanics.

About this time Irish emigration commenced and, as the heavier kinds of manufacture were introduced, the Irishman became an important factor in our industrial development and indispensable to our material progress.

Since 1880 a large Scandinavian population has been added to Worcester, probably not less than six thousand or seven thousand men, women and children, of which about three thousand are men and boys. They are thrifty, industrious, capable and law-abiding people, who have come to make this country their home. They are found in most of our shops and are employed exclusively in some of them. They support five churches, in which their own language is spoken. Their children attend the public schools; in 1887 the number of children was five hundred and seventy-four.

Another element in our population is the Armenian. There are at the present time about four hun-

dred Armenians in Worcester, the larger number from the province of Harpoot. Very few of them have had any mechanical training, having been engaged, in their own country, in agricultural pursuits, either as peasant farmers or as laborers for farmers. This occupation affords scarcely more than a bare subsistence, the wages being from twenty cents to thirty cents per day. Some of the Armenians intend remaining here and are gathering their families about them. Two-thirds of those now here have been assisted in their emigration by the earlier third. None of the Armenians would contemplate a permanent return to their own country, if assured of work. They are timidly cautious, and do not wish to send for their families until they have earned the means to sustain them for an extended time. They are convinced that a knowledge of the English language is essential and are anxious to improve their opportunities for acquiring it.

The evening schools are invaluable in giving our large foreign adult population an opportunity to acquire sufficient education to become useful and intelligent citizens. An examination of the records shows that out of 691 who attended the evening schools during the past year (1888), 165 were Irish, 155 Armenians, 153 Scandinavians, 111 French, 45 English, 31 American, 14 Poles, 12 Germans, 3 Mexican, 1 Scotch, 1 Portuguese.

These schools are maintained at a cost for each pupil of \$11.68 for the year.

It is an interesting fact that no Scandinavian has ever made application to attend evening school who could not write his name.

At the evening drawing-schools opportunity is afforded to learn free-hand drawing and drafting, of which our intelligent mechanics are quick to avail themselves. The average attendance during the year 1888 was one hundred and thirty-nine.

According to the census of 1885, there were seven hundred and seventy-two establishments engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the city of Worcester; the total capital invested, \$18,344,408; value of stock used in a year, \$15,016,756; total value of goods made and work done, \$28,699,524, the different industries standing in the following order:—Metallic goods, other than iron; boots, shoes and slippers; iron goods; wood and metal goods; building material for building and stone-work; textiles; food preparations; miscellaneous clothing and straw goods; woolen goods; paper and paper goods; leather; printing and publishing; paints, colors, oils and chemicals.

June 30, 1885, there were employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries 16,566 people—13,413 males, 3153 females—of which 2475 were under twenty-one, and 14,091 twenty-one and over; 10,512 of these work by the day, and 6054 by the piece.

The total amount paid in wages in the census year was \$7,060,755.

Worcester has developed from a country town to a large manufacturing city in less than sixty years. The population in 1830 was a little over four thousand, and to-day is probably eighty thousand.

Within that time the steam-engine, the railroad, telegraph and telephone have enormously increased the productive power of labor. The improvement in the condition of the laboring classes is no less marked; contrary to the opinion once held, the introduction of labor-saving machinery has advanced instead of lowering wages; has reduced, instead of extending the hours of labor. The laborer receives a constantly-increasing proportion, the capitalist a constantly-decreasing proportion in the division of gains. Many of our mechanics own their homes, and are naturally deeply interested in the welfare of the city. Avenues for advancement are always open to the capable and industrious. From their ranks will come the leading business men of the next generation, upon whom the continuance of prosperity will depend.

It is worthy of note that the causes of Worcester's prosperity are found within and not without. No abnormal conditions have prevailed, a change in which can bring disaster. No Government works or patronage of any kind have contributed to her advancement. We need not fear the natural advantages of other sections of the country, for there must always be conducted here the manufacture of the finer grade of goods, requiring intelligent and delicate manipulation. As we review the past and forecast the future, we can but feel that Worcester is worthy of her civic seal,—THE HEART OF THE COMMON-WEALTH.

CHAPTER CCL.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

WORCESTER COUNTY IN THE FREE-SOIL MOVEMENT.

BY WILLIAM W. RICE, LL.D.

WORCESTER COUNTY has always been prominent in all measures tending to moral and social reform. Especially has it been so in everything calculated to extend and secure personal liberty to all of every color and condition in life. The man elsewhere claimed as a slave never failed to find freedom and protection here, and he who sought to establish ownership in the blood and heart of man, to meet opposition and defeat.

In May, 1767, the town of Worcester instructed its representatives to the General Court of the Province,—“That you use your influence to obtain a law to put an end to that unchristian and impolitic practice of making slaves in this Province;” and in

March, 1774, it instructed its representative, Joshua Bigelow, “to resist the most distant approaches to slavery.” Other towns of the county gave similar instructions to their representatives. In 1773 the town of Leicester instructed its representative,—“To discountenance, in every suitable way, the holding of any of our fellow-creatures in a state of slavery.” An eminent historical writer of New York has recently cited at some length the instructions of this town, and added,—“It is much to be regretted that the General Court of Massachusetts did not pass some act against slavery and the slave trade, embodying the wise suggestions of the men of Leicester.”

Colored men from Worcester County fought bravely for the liberty of the State, which thus protected them, at Bunker Hill and in the trenches around Boston. In 1781 the final effort of slavery to maintain itself in Massachusetts was made in the county of Worcester. A colored man, too poor and humble to have even a well-defined and recognized Christian name, who was named in the proceedings as Quack, Quacko, Quork and Quorko Walker, was claimed as a slave by a respectable gentleman of Barre, named Nathaniel Jennison. He claimed that Walker was born his slave, and belonged to him by inheritance. This claim was not agreeable to the good men of Barre, who were then fighting against Great Britain for their own liberty and that of all within the borders of their State. Walker was aided by the prominent men of the town in resisting the claim of Mr. Jennison. In the Court of Common Pleas, June term, 1781, Jennison brought suit against John and Seth Caldwell for enticing away his slave, Quork Walker. This court rendered a judgment in favor of the plaintiff; but the Caldwells appealed the case to the Supreme Court, where the judgment of the inferior court was ultimately reversed. In the mean time the grand jury of the county found an indictment against Nathaniel Jennison for an assault on Quack Walker in September, 1781. The defendant justified on the ground that the party assaulted was his property as a slave. The final hearing was had at the April term, 1783. Levi Lincoln, the elder, and Caleb Strong appeared for the prosecution, while the defendant was represented by John Sprague, of Lancaster, and William Stearns, of Worcester. Addressing the court, Mr. Lincoln said: “Is it not a law of nature that all men are equal and free? Is not the law of nature the law of God? Is not the law of God, then, against slavery? If there is no law of man's establishing, then there is no difficulty in this case. If there is such a law, then the difficulty is to determine which law you ought to obey, and if you have the same view that I have of present and future things, you will obey the law of God.” The court sustained the view of the learned and able counsel for the prosecution. Chief Justice Cushing, in pronouncing the opinion of the court, used the following language: “In the opinion of the

court our constitutional government, by which all of this Commonwealth have solemnly bound themselves, sets out with deciding that all men are born free and equal, and that every subject is entitled to liberty, and to have it guarded by the laws, as well as life and property, and, in short, it is totally repugnant to the idea of any being born slaves. This being the case, I think the idea of slavery is inconsistent with our own conduct and constitution, and there can be no such thing as perpetual servitude by a rational creature, unless his liberty is forfeited by some criminal conduct or given up by personal consent and contract." With these words the chains, hitherto illegally fastened, fell from every human form within the Commonwealth. Massachusetts declared, by its highest authority, that no person ever had been, or could be, held in slavery under its laws. The "Higher Law" was proclaimed in April, 1783, in the Worcester Court House, by Levi Lincoln, the leader of the county bar, afterwards Jefferson's Attorney-General, in terms quite as bold and unmistakable as by William H. Seward, in the United States Senate, three-quarters of a century later, when summoning the North to its final battle against slavery. And the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth sustained the declaration by its authoritative and never-reversed judgment. Jennison was fined forty shillings and costs.

When the Constitution of the United States, adopted at Philadelphia in 1787, was submitted to the several States for ratification, the Massachusetts convention, held at Boston, January and February, 1788, only agreed to it by a slender majority. One of the grounds of objection was its attitude towards slavery and the slave trade. The vote was taken by counties. Worcester County gave seven votes for its adoption and forty-three against it. This vote may fairly be regarded as in a considerable degree indicating the position of the county at that time on the question of slavery.

This is not the place to dwell at any length upon that great, we may say that magnificent, measure which the government took at the outset, known as the ordinance of 1787. By it, the entire territory northwest of the Ohio River was made free soil forever, and slavery therein forever prohibited. The State of Virginia had a controlling voice in that decision; and her leading statesmen—and the United States had none superior—gave full consent to that prohibition. But the needful labor of bringing the subject to the attention of Congress, of keeping it there, and of persistently urging action upon it, until action was had, was done largely by Massachusetts men, prominent among whom, and a leader of the very highest intelligence and sagacity, was General Rufus Putnam, of Rutland, Worcester County. He was foremost in settling Ohio with free colonists, as, in the final contest between the same great powers, Kansas was colonized under Worcester County influences.

Slavery, notwithstanding, grew and increased in aggression and menace. The admission of Missouri in 1821 as a slave State, and the adoption of the parallel of 36½° as a line south of which slavery might have full control, furnished proof of the strength of the slave power, and inflicted severe disappointment upon the friends of a free republic. The North was advised to be content with its share of free territory, and an "era of good-feeling" was somewhat sharply inculcated. But it could not long endure. In 1830-31 William Lloyd Garrison made the first challenge of slavery as a sin against God and man, the first uncompromising stand against its longer duration. "Immediate and unconditional emancipation," was his demand. He established *The Liberator* in Boston, and continued it without interruption until slavery was made unconstitutional and illegal in every part of the land. The conscience and religious feeling of the nation responded to his call; if slowly, surely; and the effects of his demand were felt on all sides.

Worcester County gave an early response by subscribing largely to the *Liberator*, and engaging in anti-slavery labors therein suggested. Lecturers and distributors of anti-slavery literature went into every town, and found a hearing. Anti-slavery societies were formed in many towns. Under the leadership of Rev. George Allen, then of Shrewsbury, but for the greater part of his life of Worcester, a convention of eighty ministers of the county was held in Worcester in 1838, which issued a decided declaration against slavery. Two county societies were formed, called respectively the North and South Division Anti-Slavery Societies. In the records of the South Society its first-mentioned meeting bears date February 15, 1838, but evidently other meetings had preceded it. Its president was Thomas W. Ward, of Shrewsbury, with vice-presidents in West Brookfield, Worcester, Millbury, Charlton, Uxbridge and Blackstone. Edward Earle, of Worcester, was secretary, Samuel H. Colton was treasurer, and George Allen, corresponding secretary. Other officers were Effingham L. Capron, Ichabod Washburn, Samuel Waters, Adin Ballou and Jonathan P. Grosvenor. It held quarterly meetings, on Sundays and week-days, in churches, where it could, in public halls, where it must.

The most eminent lecturers spoke throughout the county, among whom were Abby Kelley, Lucy Stone and Stephen S. Foster, of its own residents.

The successive presidents after Mr. Ward were John M. Fiske, of West Brookfield; Samuel May, of Leicester; Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester; and Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield. The names of two hundred and sixteen members are recorded.

The North Division did a similar work. Both societies were vigilant, persevering, sparing no party or sect which failed in duty to freedom, and ceased not from their work until the principles for which they were formed had been accepted by the country,

and had become embodied in the National Constitution. It is well to make mention here of these men and organizations, for they were the bold and uncompromising pioneers in the noble work which has resulted in making the whole country free.

Among the anti-slavery men and women of Worcester County, the name of Abby Kelley should have a prominent place. She was born in Pelham, Mass., in 1811; but her parents, descendants of Irish Quakers, removed to Worcester in her infancy. Her education was completed at the Friends' School in Providence, and she was a teacher for several years in Worcester, Millbury and Lynn. She resigned a desirable place in Lynn in 1837 and gave up her cherished hopes of school work, and began lecturing upon the subject of slavery, being the first woman to address mixed audiences in favor of abolition. She was for more than twenty-five years the representative and the voice, to all she could reach, of the enslaved millions in our land. Her earnestness and persistence brought much censure upon her and even harsh accusations, in which churches and pulpits took part. She left her vindication to others, and went on undeterred in her work. In 1845 she was married to Stephen S. Foster, a well-known anti-slavery speaker. They continued their work of lecturing until slavery was no more. Then they lived upon their farm, in Worcester, until Mr. Foster's death, in 1881. Mrs. Foster survived him until January 14, 1887, when she died, honored and respected by all who knew her spirit and life, whether or not they fully agreed with all that she said and did. It was of her that James Russell Lowell wrote :

" No nobler gift of heart and brain,
No life more white from spot or stain,
Was e'er on Freedom's altar laid
Than her's—the simple Quaker maid."

Prominent among the clergymen of the county who were active in these preliminary anti-slavery movements were: Samuel May, of Leicester; George Allen, of Shrewsbury and Worcester; Elnathan Davis, of Ashburnham; and George Trask, of Fitchburg. Mr. Allen was especially active with voice and pen, and Mr. May was one of the most valued contributors to the *Liberator*.

Almost, if not quite, the sole survivor of this determined and faithful band, his benignant presence still graces the home on Leicester Hill, whence, for more than fifty years, he has exerted an influence so pure and important.

Thus Worcester County was disciplined and prepared for the great part it was to play in the final disruption of the old parties, upon both of which slavery leaned; and the establishment of the new, pledged to its limitation, and, ultimately, its extinction. The annexation of Texas, followed immediately, as a consequence, by the war with Mexico, both measures prosecuted by the slave power, were the weights that broke the back of Northern endurance. To both the

sentiment of Worcester County was firmly opposed. Not only the abolitionists, acknowledging fealty to no party, often to no sect or creed, attacked these demonstrations of the slave power with fiery and uncompromising invective, but the respectable, conservative leaders of the Whig party, attached to its principles and its great leaders, were excited to action. On May 6, 1844, a convention, called irrespective of parties, was held in Worcester to protest against the admission of Texas to the sisterhood of States. It was largely attended by representative men from all parts of the county. Hon. John W. Lincoln called it to order. Hon. Solomon Strong, of Leominster, was permanent president; Hon. Joseph Bowman of New Braintree, Rev. Dr. Nelson of Leicester, Hon. Isaac Davis of Worcester, Hon. James Draper of Spencer, Hon. Alexander De Witt of Oxford, and Haskell Powers, Esq., of Warren, were its vice-presidents; Rev. William P. Paine of Holden, William O. Bartlett and William B. Maxwell of Worcester, and Henry A. Delano of New Braintree, were secretaries; Charles Allen of Worcester, Rev. John M. Fiske of New Braintree, John Brooks of Princeton, and Phineas Bemis of Dudley were the committee on resolutions.

The resolutions were reported by Charles Allen. They had no doubtful sound. They denounced the annexation of Texas as in the interest of slavery, and hostile to the principles and sentiments of the North. They were supported by Charles Allen in a speech, declared by the *Spy* "the most successful effort of his life." In the afternoon the discussion was continued, Hon. Emory Washburn, Rev. George Allen, S. M. Burnside, Esq., Rev. S. May, Hon. Abijah Bigelow and Governor Lincoln taking part. The resolutions were then unanimously adopted. Although the speeches were not reported, as in these days, it is impossible to believe, from the names of the disputants and the result, that there was any very declared and apparent division on the subject.

Notwithstanding all opposition, slavery triumphed in the admission of Texas, and in the acquisition of vast territory from Mexico, all of which it sought to control. Not content with this, it demanded a reversal of the old law of freedom and equal terms for slavery in all the territory of the United States. It was in possession of the Government at Washington. Both great parties were fastened to its car. Where was the voice sufficiently potent and the arm sufficiently strong to bid it halt and check its baleful progress? Both were to be found in Worcester County, as proved by the facts to which we now come.

The national election of 1848 approached. The anti-slavery element in the Whig party made a strong effort in Massachusetts to control it, and through its instrumentality to oppose the aggressions of slavery. Those composing this element were styled "Conscience Whigs," in distinction from those who, while sharing in the common sentiment of the State, were

averse to measures which might disrupt the party. Stephen C. Phillips, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Allen and Charles Sumner were among the leaders of the "Conscience Whigs," and Robert C. Winthrop and George Ashmun were the leaders of the others, called "The Cotton Whigs." Daniel Webster, the great leader of the party, its Sanson in strength and influence, hesitated between the two. Generally in the country towns the "Conscience" men prevailed, but in the State Conventions they were borne down by the superior weight and discipline of the "Cotton" men from the cities.

The National Whig Convention, for the nomination of President and Vice-President, was called at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848. The Massachusetts State Whig Convention, to choose delegates-at-large to Philadelphia, was called at Springfield, September 29, 1847. The primary caucus of the Whigs of Worcester was held on the evening of September 18th, at the Town-Hall. Chas. Allen presided. It selected fifteen delegates to the State Convention at Springfield, and fifteen delegates to the Worcester County Convention. At this caucus John Milton Earle, editor of the *Spy*, offered a series of resolutions in line with the resolutions previously adopted at the Whig Conventions in Massachusetts in opposition to slavery extension, and representing the often-declared sentiments of the party. Gen. Zachary Taylor, the hero of the Mexican War, was already named as the most available candidate for the Presidential nomination, and the leading Whigs of Worcester, devoted to the fortunes of Daniel Webster, feared the consequences, both to their favorite and their party, of an outspoken declaration on the subject of slavery.

They objected to Mr. Earle's resolutions as unnecessary and out of place in a primary caucus. They admitted their truth, but opposed the policy of their introduction. Col. John W. Lincoln, who had taken a prominent part in the Anti-Texas Convention of May, 1844, said that "actual and undisputed truth should not be spoken at all times." Hon. Rejoice Newton thought that "there was no need of incessant repetition of a string of truisms." John C. B. Davis, son of Senator John Davis, "saw no evidence that the whole South was leagued together in opposition to the North, as claimed by Mr. Earle." Mr. Earle mildly replied that these were "truths that he thought would bear and needed repetition at that time," but his resolutions were tabled. Of the thirty delegates chosen at this convention, but three afterwards followed Judge Allen into the Free-Soil movement. The others remained in the Whig party.

George Ashmun, of Springfield, presided over the State Convention, and Rufus Choate and Seth Sprague were chosen delegates-at-large to the National Convention.

Joseph Bell, of Boston, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported a series of resolutions, the substance of which was the recommendation of Daniel

Webster as the first choice of Massachusetts for the Presidency. John G. Palfrey moved as an additional resolution the following:

Resolved, That the Whigs of Massachusetts will support no man for the office of President or Vice-President of the United States but such as are known by their acts or declared opinions to be opposed to the extension of slavery.

Palfrey's resolution was advocated by himself, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, Charles Allen and Stephen C. Phillips.

It was opposed by Robert C. Winthrop as only a re-statement of the other resolutions, and unnecessary and impolitic. It was tabled, and the resolutions reported by the committee adopted.

April 22, 1848, the caucus of the Whigs of Worcester was held for the selection of delegates to the Fifth District convention, to be held in Worcester, April 27th, to select the district delegates to the Philadelphia convention. Alexander H. Bullock, Henry Chapin, Edward W. Lincoln, John Milton Earle, George Hobbs and John Boyden were chosen delegates to the district convention. C. C. P. Hastings, of Mendon, presided over the district convention, and Henry A. Denny, of Leicester, was its secretary. The same struggle as at Springfield was here renewed, but with a different result. Charles Allen received twenty-eight votes as delegate, and Alexander H. Bullock twenty-one. Charles Allen was then unanimously nominated as delegate, and Alexander H. Bullock as substitute, and the following resolutions, presented by Freeman Walker, of North Brookfield, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in addition to the former issues between the Whig Party and their opponents, we recognize as another and most important one, our uncompromising opposition to any further extension of slavery over any territory of the United States, or to any legislation by the National Government the specific object of which is to sustain the institution of slavery.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention no candidate for the Presidency can receive the electoral vote of Massachusetts who is not publicly known to be opposed to the extension of slavery over territory now free.

The voice of Massachusetts might be stifled, but the voice of Worcester County must be heard.

The Whig National Convention of 1848 met at Philadelphia, June 7th. John M. Moorehead, of North Carolina, presided. The policy of non-committal on the slavery question, and of availability in the selection of candidates, prevailed. General Zachary Taylor was nominated for President on the fourth ballot, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President on the second ballot, over Abbott Lawrence, of Massachusetts. No platform of principles was adopted.

When the result of the convention was manifest, Mr. Allen, of Massachusetts, arose to address the convention. He spoke amid great confusion, and cries of "Sit down!" "Order!" "Knock him down!" "Go on!" "Sit down!" "Let him go on!" and cheers and hisses. He demanded to be heard, saying, "I doubt not but what a convention of free

Whigs will listen for a moment to the voice of a free Whig State, represented in that convention. That voice is from Massachusetts. I think I know something of the feelings of that State. I express for myself what I believe to be the sentiments of that State, and I say that we cannot consent that this shall go forth as the unanimous voice of this convention. The Whig party of the North are not to be allowed to nominate their statesman. We declare the Whig party of the Union this day dissolved." Judge Allen's voice was here drowned by cheers and hisses and cries, "Let the North answer him!" "Let Massachusetts answer him!" "There is better Whigism there than that." "Cries for 'Choate,'" "Choate," "Choate," were heard from all sides, and especially from Southern members.

Mr. Allen claimed the right to proceed, but the president ruled him out of order. Mr. Allen then moved to suspend the order of the day. The motion was lost by a large majority. He appealed from the decision of the chair and demanded to be heard on his appeal. Again he was ruled out of order. Mr. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, got the floor. He withdrew the name of Mr. Winthrop as candidate for Vice-President in favor of Mr. Lawrence, and then referred to Mr. Allen as follows: "My colleague has stated that Massachusetts will repudiate the nomination. Such is not the case. My colleague has only expressed his own sentiments and not the sentiments of the Whigs of the 'Old Bay State.'" Mr. Lunt, of Newburyport, sought to appease the indignation of the Southern delegates. He said: "Mr. President, I have listened with great pain, and sometimes I may say with indignation, to some of the sentiments spoken by my colleague of the Massachusetts delegation. I have chosen to aid in making this nomination, and intend to sustain it with my whole heart and soul. I would cheerfully sustain any other true Whig, as I believe the nominee to be. The gentleman spoke only for himself on this floor, and, sir, in some degree he will find that he speaks only for himself in Massachusetts. And, sir, although it is difficult to predict the result of an election, yet, in my estimation, the nominees of this convention will receive a decided majority of the votes of Massachusetts."

Mr. Allen again demanded to be heard, and failing in his effort, he declared he would not be bound by the proceedings of the convention.

Mr. Wilson, of Natick, came powerfully to the aid of Judge Allen, repeating his declaration that he would not be bound by the action of the convention.

June 9th the *Daily Spy* (for a few months issued under the name of the *Daily Transcript*) closes a non-committal article on the nomination as follows: "By remaining true to our faith we shall stand in a position when, at the earliest possible time, we can make our influence for good felt and appreciated, but if we desert it (the Whig party) where shall we go to,

or where find ourselves? Echo solemnly answers where. Let us heed the inquiry."

This recognizes the fact that at that moment there was no party into which the outraged Whigs could go from their own.

June 12th the *Spy* admitted a communication outspoken in opposition to the nomination of Taylor, guarding its own position by the statement that "All the Whigs should have the opportunity of being heard. We have therefore admitted the following communication, and our columns are equally open to others, whatever their views, upon the subject."

June 14th the *Spy* said: "Greatly as we are disappointed and humiliated by the nomination (of Taylor and Fillmore), we shall not be driven thereby from our support of Whig principles, Whig measures and Whig men. We believe that General Taylor will be elected. If elected, it will be as the Whig nominee, and with such a union as may be maintained without any sacrifice of principles. The election of President will carry with it the election of members of Congress. Opponents of slave extension and slave legislation have it in their power to give potency to their principles in that election. If they are wise and prudent, will they not do so?"

It copies, in the same issue, from an article of the day before in the *New York Tribune*, in the same tone, closing as follows: "If the developments of the next few days shall prove that the free States are now ripe for the uprising, which must come sooner or later, then we are ready. Our present impression is that the time has not quite arrived, but we shall see." No such lame and halting counsel as that of these papers thus expressed called into existence the party which led or caused "the uprising," before which the slave power, thus strongly entrenched in both Whig and Democratic parties, met its fate.

Charles Allen had not spoken. He was biding his time.

June 16th we find in the *Spy* a communication closing as follows: "Let every Whig be faithful. It is better for a starving man to eat half a loaf than to die, and so it is better to elect a Southern Whig than to submit to the destructive measures of a Northern Loco-foco, especially one pledged to continue, if elected, in the track of so honorable a predecessor as James K. Polk."

June 12th George Ashmun published an eloquent appeal to the Whigs of Massachusetts to stand firm for Taylor and Fillmore and the Whig party, concluding with the famous words of Daniel Webster, "In the dark and troubled night that is upon us I see no star above the horizon promising light to guide us but the intelligent, patriotic United Whig party of the United States."

June 16th a great ratification meeting for the nomination of Taylor and Fillmore was held in Boston, and addressed by Rufus Choate, George Lunt and others.

Worcester County still kept silent.

But in the *Spy* of June 21st two notices appear in parallel columns, one, with no signature, reading thus: "The citizens of Worcester and vicinity, opposed to the nomination of Taylor and Cass, are invited to meet at City Hall Wednesday evening, June 21st, at 7.30, and make arrangements for the approaching convention to be held on the 28th inst.

"Hon. Charles Allen, a delegate to the late Philadelphia convention, has been invited, and has consented to address the convention.

"All friends of the proposed movement from neighboring towns are cordially invited to be present."

Immediately following is the notice of a mass convention of Whigs, Democrats and Liberty men from all parts of the Commonwealth without distinction of party, "to be held in the City Hall of Worcester on Thursday, June 28th, to unite in support of that sacred principle which will be violated by the election of either Cass or Taylor—freedom in free territories." This notice is also without signature. On the opposite column is the notice of a meeting to ratify the nomination of Taylor and Fillmore to be held at the City Hall in Worcester, Saturday evening, June 24th, signed by one hundred and fifty of the leading citizens of Worcester, whose names, until then, had represented the opinions and the policy of the city. The issue was joined.

Would Worcester sustain Charles Allen, its delegate to the Philadelphia convention, in his proud and defiant statement that the Whig party was dissolved? Or would it follow the one hundred and fifty, to whom it had been accustomed to look for leadership and guidance, in sustaining that Whig party to which its allegiance had been so long and unwaveringly given? It was aided by no advice from the *Daily Spy*, which had always been the organ of the Whig majority. In its editorial column it refers its readers with absolute impartiality to the notices of the political meetings to be held in the city. It advises all "to go and hear both sides, and then every man decide for himself, according to original principles, without reference to the course of others," and adds, "We trust that any attempt to browbeat or intimidate may be met as it deserves."

The Worcester City Hall was packed that evening as it had seldom, if ever, been before.

No meeting was ever more spontaneous in its character and action. It was really the idea of a half-dozen gentlemen, of whom Mr. H. H. Chamberlain was the chief. They postponed the call on account of the delay of Judge Allen on his journey home from Philadelphia. Whether he delayed for the purpose of waiting to know what would be the impression upon his district by his action at Philadelphia, or for what reason, is not known. He, however, came through New York, tarrying on his way and did not

reach his home until about ten days after the convention. Mr. Chamberlain immediately called upon him, to congratulate him upon his action in the convention. He also expressed his own desire, in which he doubted not that others concurred, to hear a report from Judge Allen as soon as convenient. The judge responded that he would speak if Mr. Chamberlain thought there would be any one to listen to him.

After consultations with the half-dozen gentlemen whom he represented, Mr. Chamberlain called again and formally invited Judge Allen to make a speech, although he said to him that perhaps they should think it best to have it delivered in a small hall. Upon inquiry, however, it was decided to engage the City Hall, then the largest in the city. At the hour of the meeting Mr. Chamberlain waited upon Mr. Allen from his residence to the hall. As they approached the entrance he was surprised to see a crowd about the door. His first thought was that so few had assembled that they had not thought it best to go in to take their seats, but were waiting on the outside. But he soon found that the hall and stairways were densely packed, even back to the sidewalk, and it was with difficulty that he was able to make a passage through by which he could conduct Judge Allen to the speaker's stand.

An hour before it had not been known who would preside over the meeting. The great men of the city were not there, nor in sympathy with it. The press had not advocated it. The clergymen were cold. The merchants and professional men passed it by. But the men from the shops, who were really rulers of the city then as they have been ever since, were there to express their sovereign will. They realized the importance of the crisis, and disregarding the wishes and advice of those to whom they had been accustomed to trust the management of their political interests, they had resolved to take matters into their own hands, and had come out to do their work themselves.

Careful perusal of the *Daily Spy* of the next morning fails to discover any allusion to the proceedings of that meeting; and yet of all meetings ever held in that ancient and famous building, this was the most important and the most far-reaching in results. That night witnessed the birth of the Free Soil party, which sprang full-armed from the brain and will of Charles Allen, ready to do battle for human freedom against Whigs, Democrats and all other opponents.

The meeting was called to order by Oliver Harrington, and was organized by the choice of Albert Tolman as president and William A. Wallace as secretary. Albert Tolman was a representative mechanic, not then very widely known, but thoroughly respected by all who did know him. William A. Wallace was in the employ of the *Spy*.

Scores of the one hundred and fifty signers for the Taylor ratification meeting stood higher in political and social influence and wealth than they, and yet,

none of those ever occupied so high a place as these comparatively humble men on that night, or did a deed so significant and far-reaching in its meaning as did they.

Oliver Harrington, George W. Russell, Henry H. Chamberlain, Edward Southwick and Joseph Boyden were appointed a committee to nominate a list of names of persons to act as a Committee of Arrangements for the convention to be held at Worcester on the 28th instant. A committee of thirty-two was nominated and appointed after this business. Hon. Charles Allen entered the hall, and the loud and long continued applause with which he was received by the assembled multitude indicated what was to be the verdict on his course. He was then in the prime of his manhood. He had broken away from the party which he had honored and which had honored him up to that time. He knew that he stood aloof from Governors and Senators, and from the leading citizens of Worcester, with whom he had always acted, but his hand was upon the heart of the Commonwealth, and its beatings responded firmly and truly to his touch. Until that night he had been a leading, but not indisputably the leading, member of the county bar. He had filled many places of trust, and always well, but many citizens of Worcester had filled higher as well. Others might equal or excel him in many respects, but no man ever had a more fearless courage or sublimer self-reliance. He did not stop to ask who or how many were with him. He spoke his own sentiments and convictions, and in doing so he spoke for the great majority of his city and county. He admitted in his speech that he did not expect to be sustained so completely. He had confidence in the integrity of the people of his district, and knew that some time he should come out all right. The people of his district did not allow him to remain long in ignorance of their position. Where he was ready to lead, they were at once ready to follow.

On June 23d the *Spy* gave an appreciative notice of the meeting, signed "William A. Wallace, Secretary." No comment was made in the editorial columns. It printed Judge Allen's speech in full, as it was reported by Dr. Stone, of Boston, one of the earliest and most accomplished of the stenographic reporters of the State.

It occupied nearly two hours in its delivery. In style it is a masterpiece. In its adaptation to the occasion of its delivery, in its power to produce the results desired by the speaker, it was scarcely, if ever, surpassed or equaled. He reviewed his life-long connection with the Whig party and the action at the convention in which he was selected delegate of this district in the National Convention. He referred to the resolutions of that convention as charging him to "vote for a candidate for President who should be in favor of preserving the territories of the United States free from the stain of Slavery." He said

proudly and confidently: "I believe, gentlemen, it was a most deliberate and well considered act on the part of the District Convention, and I believe I was selected as the delegate because my sentiments were well known upon this subject. Had the convention intended to put forth principles upon which they did not mean to stand and abide, surely they would have sent some other man as their delegate, for they knew my opinions too well. They have been too uniform upon the subject to leave a doubt that I would carry out these sentiments to the letter, and not only to the letter, but in their spirit." He reviewed the circumstances in reference to Gen. Taylor's candidacy, and declared that the men of the South, in selecting him as their candidate, knew well what they were doing, and that they would support him at the polls, and squarely and defiantly answered them for the North in these uncompromising words: "We reject Gen. Taylor throughout the North and throughout the free States. We reject him, and mean to reject him, at the polls, because he is not known to be a Whig and because he is well understood to be hostile to the great principles of freedom." He disclosed to his constituents a little of the secret history of the nomination as follows: The inquiry was put around to the delegates of Massachusetts for the purpose of getting information "if Gen. Taylor is nominated will your District support him?" and when they came round to me I said, "No, gentlemen, my District will not support him." Up starts per Mr. Lunt, and says: "There are men in your District who do not think as you do upon that subject." I said, "Sir, who said so? I must know who takes that responsibility." "Governor Lincoln," was the reply. "Not by him only, but by others was it reported that there was a strong sentiment here for Gen. Taylor, and that the County of Worcester would go strongly in his favor. Am I right, or was he?" No one present in that meeting will ever forget the proud and defiant face and form of Judge Allen as he uttered this challenge against the man who held the first place in the respect and regard of the citizens of Worcester, and who was then occupying its mayor's chair in the first year of its existence as a city as the first and most popular citizen of the new-born municipality. The ring of Ivanhoe's spear-point upon the Templar's shield was not truer or bolder. No one present will forget the deafening shout with which the vast crowd endorsed the bold and self-reliant man who stood before them. Gathering boldness from his reception, he next referred to the great man who had so long been the leader and the idol of the Whigs in Massachusetts, Daniel Webster. He declared that Mr. Webster had been opposed to the nomination of Gen. Taylor, and said: "He was right, he was earnest in his condemnation. May God grant, gentlemen, that he may continue so, and if His Providence prevented him from uttering sentiments which would do him no

honor at Baltimore yesterday, may His Providence still watch over him. For I do not wish to see that strong man grinding in the prison-house of the Philistines. . . ." The immense applause showed that the mighty blow had stricken from its place the idol which so long had held the first place in the worship of that audience.

Governor Davis, then Senator of the United States, ex-Governor of the Commonwealth, was referred to as having written a cordial letter favoring General Taylor, and again Mr. Allen was cheered to the echo; and then he clinched his charges. "If Governor Davis denies that I have spoken the truth of him, I will prove it. If Governor Lincoln denies that I have spoken the truth of him, I will prove it. Most of us have belonged to the Whig party. We have professed to be averse to the extension of slavery. The question is not here whether we would eradicate it where it exists, but we are opposed to its extension. Well, gentlemen, I did not eat my words at Philadelphia. Will you at the polls? When I declared that the Whig party was dissolved, I declared a fact. The undertaker may preserve the corpse for a little time, but it will soon be offensive to the smell and the sight, and must be removed from the sight of the people."

The truth of this prophecy has since been made manifest. General Taylor was elected at the polls, but it was the last victory of the Whig party, which then passed forever from the platform of action into the records of history, "*dissolved*" into thin air, "leaving not a rack behind."

Sure of the sympathy of the vast audience before him, he told them that they "must not believe all that they read in the newspapers. They will not see that this feeling of dissatisfaction exists throughout Massachusetts. It will be said in Boston that there is no feeling in Worcester, except for Taylor. Not a man, except the crazy one that went to Philadelphia, opposes him, and papers will send the news to Ohio, and the Ohio newspapers will respond, but we shall have a voice from Ohio. There is one paper in Boston (the *Whig*) which will tell you what Massachusetts is doing and what Ohio is doing, and I hope the *Massachusetts Spy* will also tell the people. I hope our friend of the *Spy* will see that there is something more than a shower coming. I hope he will see that his true interest is in boldly speaking out his principles, and let him be the organ here of what is most emphatically the people's party, sprung from the people, sustained by the people, and he himself will be sustained also. But, gentlemen, organs we must have, and we cannot wait many days for them. We cannot wait and see our principles defamed and our men cut down without presses that will stand up and fearlessly vindicate the right, and receive communications without cutting off all that is valuable in them," and, turning to Mr. John Milton Earle, editor of the *Spy*, who was sitting in front of him, he added, "The

editor knows I do not wish to injure his paper, but help it, and I wish him to look on the faces of these men, and to let him know there are more of the same sort, and let him see that the line of duty and the line of safety coincide." He appealed to Massachusetts to act even if she acted alone, but he said "this agitation is more extensive than is supposed." He declared that a convention would be held in New York and also in Ohio. He said "most of the young men of Worcester, who are accustomed to speak in political meetings, are on the wrong side of the question. We hope that they will soon be—and the elderly, too—on the right side. As they value their political safety, let them ground their arms, and, with penitent submission to the spirit of Liberty, let them go forth and show by acts that their repentance is sincere."

He hoped that "the young men who speak in Lyceums will take up the matter and send the young men of the city back with defeat when they go to preach their nauseous doctrine in the cars of the people of Worcester County. Let them meet them and refute them, and send them back ashamed of their work. When the fathers go to whom is given the charge of Worcester County I will endeavor to be there or to follow them." He closed by referring to Henry Wilson, a young man who had been a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention from Middlesex District, and whom he introduced to the meeting.

Henry Wilson, then known as the "Natick cobbler," arose in his seat to make his first of many speeches in the Worcester City Hall. Rough, awkward, enveloped from head to foot in a brown linen duster, he spoke a few eloquent words in support of his case and that of Judge Allen.

As he closed, an earnest form made its way to the desk, and with flashing eye and earnest voice uttered *memoriter* the immortal resolution: "*Resolved*, that Massachusetts wears no chains and spurns all bribes; that Massachusetts goes now and will ever go for free soil and free men, for free lips and a free press, for a free land and a free world."

This resolution, copied with the other resolutions adopted by the meeting, has since been claimed as written by another person. But no man present at that meeting will ever forget that its author was George Allen, brother of Charles Allen, the orator of the evening. It was adopted with shouts and the great meeting adjourned and its thousands poured out into the communities whence they came, devoted missionaries of the cause of free soil and free men.

The Free-Soil party was born that night in the City Hall of Worcester. Its author (?) was Charles Allen, and it was christened by his brother, George Allen, the veteran champion of anti-slavery in the county.

John S. C. Knowlton, the able Democratic editor of the *Worcester Palladium*, in his paper of November 8, 1848, referring to the great activity put forth by the Free-Soilers in the city and surrounding towns,

wrote: "This is as it should be, for in Worcester County was the first organized resistance to the nomination of Zachary Taylor as the Whig candidate for President." The editor of the *Palladium* was correct. Others objected to the nomination and expostulated against it at Philadelphia, but Judge Allen threw down the gauntlet of uncompromising combat, and declared the great party dissolved. There were other anti-slavery champions and organizations engaged in movements, having for their object more or less extreme opposition to the aggressions of slavery, but these were of local or personal character.

In New Hampshire John P. Hale, ostracized by the Democratic party in 1844 because of his opposition to the annexation of Texas, had been waging, since then, a sturdy fight against that party in New Hampshire. Mr. Hale was a born politician. Deprived of his seat in Congress by the Democratic party of the State, of which he had been a prominent member, he immediately offered himself as a candidate to the State Legislature, to which he was elected and from which he was sent in 1846 to the Senate of the United States. Never was there an abler, more eloquent and faithful defender of Northern principles. But he was not the man to found a party. Inflexibly true to his principles, he had not the same solemn and determined earnestness as had Allen, and Sumner, and Phillips, the anti-slavery leaders in Massachusetts. No man ever waged battle in the United States Senate against greater odds, or more bitter foes, or with greater personal success. He never hesitated to enter into such contests, from which he seldom came out second best, but he always fought where strife was thickest and blows the heaviest with a smile on his face and a jest on his lips. He will always be remembered as the great anti-slavery Senator who stood alone in the United States Senate for years, sustaining the struggle single-handed, until he had the satisfaction of finding himself in a majority in the Senate where he had so bravely and ably stood alone. But he was not the founder of the Free-Soil party, nor did it have its origin in New Hampshire.

In Ohio, since 1840, the Liberty men had maintained an organization of a few thousand voters. There was a strong anti-slavery feeling in Ohio. Salmon P. Chase, a man of great ability and equal ambition, had taken a position somewhat independent of party, always sustaining anti-slavery principles. He was a Democrat, and believed, though with many doubts, that through the agency of that party redemption from slavery would come at last, as did the Conscience Whig leaders in Massachusetts believe that it would come through the Whig party. Mr. Chase was undoubtedly ready to enter into a new party based on anti-slavery, but he did not organize that party. He waited for the movement in Massachusetts. In the fall of 1847 he attended the National Convention of Liberty Men, at Buffalo, to nominate candidates for

President and Vice-President, as the same party had done twice before. He opposed the nomination of candidates, on the ground that before the election of 1848 there would be a change in the aspect of political affairs, which would demand different action than that proposed by the Liberty party, of which he considered himself a member. The convention, however, did not act as advised, but proceeded to nominate John P. Hale for President, and Leicester King for Vice-President. These nominations were withdrawn after the Free Soil nominations were made in 1848. Mr. Chase was influential in issuing a call for a people's convention, to be held on the 21st of June, 1848, at Columbus. This was the very day on which Judge Allen spoke in Worcester. This call was addressed to anti-slavery men, "To resist by all constitutional means the extension of slavery into territories hereafter acquired." It concludes: "We ask no man to leave his party, or surrender his party views, but we do ask every man who loves his country to be ready, if need be, to suspend for a time the ordinary party contentions, and unite in one manifold, earnest, victorious effort for the holy cause of freedom, free territories and free labor. We, therefore, invite the electors of Ohio, friends of freedom, free territories and free labor, without distinction, to meet in mass convention for the purpose of considering the political condition of our country, and taking such action as the exigencies of the time may require, and may God defend the right." In 1849 Mr. Chase was elected to the United States Senate by the Democratic party of Ohio, and stated that while he intended to act in opposition to all pro-slavery measures in all respects, he was a Democrat, and should act in other respects with the Democratic party. We do not find the source of the Free Soil movement in Ohio, nor was Mr. Chase its founder.

In New York there was a movement in the Democratic party in opposition to the election of Cass, the nominee for the Presidency of the Democratic Convention, but this movement was in obedience to the wishes of Martin Van Buren, to gratify his revenge upon the party which had displaced him as its leader and put General Cass in his place. One would smile now at the claim that the Free-Soil movement had its origin among the Burn-burners of New York, and that Martin Van Buren was its author and constructor.

When we come to Massachusetts we find that the Conscience Whigs were standing in order for the summons to organize against the victorious faction which had so thoroughly triumphed over them in the Philadelphia convention. The leaders had undoubtedly held consultations, accidental and informal, in Boston, and had proposed the calling of a mass convention, to be held in Worcester, somewhat similar to the mass convention held in Ohio under the auspices of Mr. Chase. Undoubtedly all these movements, more or less defined, nearly cotemporaneous in

time, concurred in the great movement, which had its beginning in 1848, and continued until the great and final victory in the election of Lincoln in 1860.

As different explorers and geographers contend that the great Mississippi River has its origin in this or that lake, or mountain source, each jealous for his own locality, so the men of Ohio, and of New York, and of Boston even, may contend that the mighty party which conquered slavery and made the Republic free and undivided had its origin in Columbus, or Buffalo, or Boston, with this or that putative father or author. The facts prove that it had its origin in Worcester County, and that Charles Allen was its founder and leader.

The meeting of June 21st, at which Judge Allen's great speech was made, chose a committee of twenty-six to take measures in regard to holding a mass convention in the city of Worcester. Charles Allen's name stands at the head of this committee. In the *Spy* of June 26th this committee issued its call. This call reads as follows:

"The undersigned, as a committee of a large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Worcester and its vicinity, and in conformity to their instructions, do hereby earnestly call on the citizens of Massachusetts, without respect to party, to meet in this city, at the City Hall, on Wednesday, the 28th inst., at ten o'clock A.M., to express their sentiments and to adopt measures in favor of free territory and against all nominations for President of the United States of individuals who refuse to declare their opposition to the extension of slavery over the territory recently acquired, or which may hereafter be annexed to the Union."

On the evening of June 21st the first organization was effected, and the first act of this organization was the call for this mass convention, to be held at Worcester, June 28th. On that day the convention assembled, composed of earnest and determined men from every section of the Old Bay State. It was a solemn and eventful gathering. Most of these men had been members of the great Whig party, long paramount in Massachusetts, under the lead of the greatest of American statesmen, at least of that generation, Daniel Webster. They had broken away from their party. They had turned their backs upon their great leader, although they still vainly hoped that he might not array himself against them. They had undertaken to organize and build up a new party in opposition to the old parties, for the purpose of bringing the National Government into accord with the declarations upon which it was based, and with the principles and policy of the men who founded it. It was a great undertaking, and they were great men who entered upon it. On one of the most beautiful days of the beautiful month of June they gathered around the City Hall of Worcester some eight thousand strong. The meeting was organized in the morning in the City Hall. The venerable Samuel

Hoar was chosen its president; vice-presidents and secretaries were chosen. But the hall was too small to accommodate the large and enthusiastic multitude. The meeting was adjourned, first to the Common, and thence, for the afternoon session, to the grove on the hill, near where the Normal School now stands.

Directly after its organization in the morning, Mr. Phillips, of Salem, chairman of the committee on resolutions, stated that the committee was ready to report in part, and reported the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation:

Resolved, That this convention tenders to Charles Allen and Henry Wilson the warmest thanks for the fidelity, consistency, decision and boldness with which they performed their duty as delegates from Massachusetts to the National Whig Convention; that this convention hereby ratifies their acts, and assures them confidently that their services will be held in grateful and proud remembrance by the people of Massachusetts.

Charles Allen was then introduced amid cheers and plaudits. He declared that Taylorism was dead in Worcester County, and reaffirmed the statements which he had previously made respecting "the stupendous fraud of the Philadelphia convention." Hon. Henry Wilson then spoke with much animation, and was received with great applause. He closed with saying, "It was said that the Whig Party must be purified from abolitionism. I would like to see the Whig Party after such a separation." He did live to see the Whig party after the separation, and until it dwindled to an infinitesimal and imperceptible point.

Amasa Walker, of North Brookfield, spoke in a similar strain, and the old liberty editor, Joshua Leavitt, of Newton, followed him. In the afternoon Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio, who had sided with Allen and Wilson in the Philadelphia Convention in a certain degree, made a speech. His speech was characterized by the engaging and pleasing eloquence for which Ohio was distinguished then, as well as now. He said he "did not come to the convention to identify himself with any political movement. He was going to return to Ohio and place in the hands of his constituents the glorious flag which they entrusted to him when he left the Miami, and he should then take his position, and it would be right." Had Mr. Campbell been more of a leader and less of an orator he might have attained a higher position and left a more positive record than he did.

Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem, followed with an address and with a series of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

George Allen's resolution, quoted above, was the most attractive gem in the platform.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, the fearless and uncompromising member of Congress who represented at that time more than any other one man the convictions of opponents of slavery, and their determination that it should be checked at once, briefly addressed the audience. In the evening the hall was again packed. Mr. Giddings concluded his speech. Mr. Lovejoy of

Cambridge, Charles Francis Adams of Boston, Charles Sumner of Boston, and E. Rockwood Hoar of Concord, addressed the convention, after which the Hutchinson family, the sweet singers of the anti-slavery cause, gave a song, and the convention adjourned. It selected a State central committee, of which Freeman Walker, of North Brookfield, and Alexander De Witt, of Oxford, were the members from Worcester County. The battle was set.

The Whigs accepted Judge Allen's challenge, and met in the City Hall Saturday evening, June 24th. Their leaders were there. Judge Barton presided over the meeting. It was not perfectly quiet or wholly satisfactory to those who called it. When Judge Barton had stated the charges made against the Whig party and summed them up, he addressed the audience: "Gentlemen of the Jury, what say you, was the Philadelphia Convention guilty or not guilty?" And the shout of "guilty!" from all parts of the hall was the quick and determined, though unwelcome, answer that was given him. The stately Governor Lincoln reminded the people of the object of the meeting, which was to ratify the Whig nominations, and intimated that any attempt to disturb it might cause future retaliation. He apologized for not making a speech then, but said he would do so upon some future occasion. He introduced to the audience General Leslie Coombs, of Kentucky, "The ever true friend and neighbor of Henry Clay." The audience could not be otherwise than in good humor with this witty and eloquent Western orator.

Col. Alexander H. Bullock read a long series of resolutions in favor of the nominations of Taylor and Fillmore.

The chairman put the question on the adoption of the resolutions and unfortunately called for the noes, and was met with a thundering response. The meeting then adjourned amid cheers for Zach. Taylor drowned with cheers for Charles Allen.

The character of this meeting may be inferred from the comments found in the *Palladium* and the *Spy*. In the *Palladium* it was referred to as "a meeting called a ratification meeting. Had it not been so called it would have been thought to be anything else."

In the *Spy* the enthusiastic Wallace gave jubilant utterance to his feelings at the end of his report of the meeting: "God bless Old Massachusetts! Though the sky of freedom shall fall all around her she will not falter; her invincible hearts will still hold it up, till other days and better times shall make her principles triumphant."

The Free Soil party, under the lead of Alexander De Witt of the State Committee, immediately proceeded to open and prosecute the county canvass. Meetings were called in all the towns, and even in the school districts of the town Freedom Clubs were organized. Seven hundred joined in Worcester at its first meeting.

Edward Hamilton was chosen its president. He was of an old Worcester family, with physical and mental qualifications equal to any position, but he early turned aside from the path of ambition, which he might have successfully followed, to gratify his great love of literature and art. His speech on assuming the presidency of the Freedom Club showed his power and capacity. Charles White, who afterwards developed into the ablest political organizer known in Worcester County, was on the executive committee of the Freedom Club.

The young men who were accustomed to speak in the lyceums responded to the call of Charles Allen, and the numerous meetings did not lack for speakers. Charles Allen spoke in the larger towns. Alexander De Witt, Amasa Walker, Dr. Darling, John W. Wetherell and William B. Maxwell, of Worcester, made numerous speeches. Charles Sumner spoke in Fitchburg and Worcester. On the evening of November 4th he delivered a great oration in the City Hall, which may be found in his works—one of the long and illustrious series which placed his name at the head of the orators of freedom, and at the same time drew upon him the hatred of the slave-power, of which he became the victim. His eloquence was of a loftier and more labored strain than that of Charles Allen, but while its effect was great, none of his orations in Worcester equaled that delivered by Charles Allen on the night of June 21st.

The Whigs also held numerous meetings in the towns and in the city. Their orators were more cultured than those of the Free Soil party. Among them was Judge B. F. Thomas, gifted with a natural eloquence unequalled by any of his contemporaries, and Alexander H. Bullock, the grace and beauty of whose oratory is still the pride of the city and county; but they were contending not in an intellectual and rhetorical struggle, but in a moral contest, in which the hearts of the people were against them.

On the evening of November 6th Daniel Webster, who, with broken heart and bowed head, obeyed the mandate of his old party, and, notwithstanding the wrongs which he had received from it, still helped its cause with his mighty eloquence, spoke in advocacy of the election of Taylor and Fillmore in the City Hall. The meeting was presided over by Gov. Lincoln. The audience was great, and listened to the declining statesman with respect and admiration mingled with sorrow and sympathy. But at the same hour thousands of the citizens of Worcester and adjoining towns filled the streets of the city with a procession, with bands, banners and torchlights, longer and more brilliant than the city had ever witnessed before. As at many other times and occasions, the torchlight procession was more impressive and effective than the speech of the statesman. The buildings were illuminated as it wound its way, amid cheers and applause, to its rendezvous at Lincoln Square, where all who could, found entrance to a building then re-

cently erected, occupied partly as a station for the Nashua Railroad Company, but afterwards, and for many years, as the boot factory of Joseph Walker. There the popular young lawyer, Henry Chapin, who had recently come from Uxbridge, made his maiden speech for Free Soil. He had been the chairman of the Whig County Committee, and was regarded as one of its most popular and promising young men.

When some grumbler had published a criticism upon his conduct in not issuing an early call for a meeting of the Whig Committee, Mr. Chapin responded with a card in the paper that he would call the meeting at a sufficiently early day, and advised his dissatisfied friend to attend, as there would be plenty of vacancies on the committee, to some one of which he might possibly be elected. The Free Soilers the next year elected him by an overwhelming majority to fill the mayor's chair.

On the next Monday, November 8th, the election, looked forward to so long and so anxiously, occurred.

Charles Allen had been unanimously nominated for Congress at the Free Soil Convention. Charles Hudson, the conservative, experienced and able incumbent, had been renominated by the Whigs, and Isaac Davis was the candidate for the Democrats. The city of Worcester cast for Charles Allen 1489 votes, for Charles Hudson 589, for Isaac Davis 284. The entire district gave for Allen 6604 votes, for Hudson 4308, for Davis 3087. As a majority was requisite for election, it was not until the third trial, in January, that Allen was elected to fill the seat from which the worthy and highly respected Hudson was displaced. Of the fifty Free Soil Representatives elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, twenty were from Worcester County. Of the 38,133 votes given for the Free Soil candidate for President and Vice-President, Worcester County gave 8654 to 5990 given for Taylor and Fillmore. Such was the verdict that she rendered as between freedom and slavery. She fired the signal gun in 1848 of the great battle that ended at Appomattox in 1865.

She kept Charles Allen in Congress during two terms, which was as long as he was willing to remain, after which Alexander De Witt succeeded him. Excepting during the Know-Nothing frolic, she has remained true to the faith then adopted until the present. The Know-Nothing movement was really a part of the great revolution, having for its object, and ending in, the overthrow of slavery.

The men who took part in these early conflicts have, most of them, ceased from their earthly labors, but their works survive to vindicate their wisdom and faithfulness. If some of their names are preserved, and some of their deeds are commemorated in this brief sketch, written by one who began his political life in their ranks, and learned from them principles and practice which he has always en-

deavored to maintain, its purpose is abundantly fulfilled.

CHAPTER CCII.

WORCESTER—(Continued.)

THE SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS.

BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

THE movement by which the State of Kansas was settled under the influence of organized emigration, began in the forethought and energy of a citizen of Worcester. Many of the details of that movement belong in the history of the city and county.

The act throwing open to emigration the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska repealed what was known as the Missouri Compromise. This "Compromise" was the act of 1820, in which the Southern States, with the assistance of indifferent partisans from the Middle States, had provided that the State of Missouri, and all States henceforward to be formed south of the parallel which is its southern line, might be open to the institution of slavery, but that north of that line the Territories should always be free, as had been the Northwestern Territory, under the ordinance of 1787. After very strong protest at the time, the "Compromise" was acquiesced in by everybody. In later days it has been decided by the Supreme Court to have been unconstitutional.

This compromise-line, established under the protest of the Northern States, and in face of the votes of most of them, was now set aside. It was evident, after February in 1854, that the act opening Kansas and Nebraska to settlement would include a proviso, introduced by Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, that the institutions of each State should be determined by the votes of the first settlers. This system was familiarly known as "Squatter Sovereignty."

The Southern heads of the Government absolutely directed Congress and the administration of General Pierce. Their determination to abolish the anti-slavery provision of the "Compromise" aroused the indignation of all persons in the Northern States who were not bigoted partisans, and put it in the power of men of all shades of opinion to act together.

Worcester was represented in the General Court at that time by Mr. Eli Thayer, who was then at the head of the Oread Institute, which has been described in another chapter of this book. He saw at once that, under the "squatter sovereignty" provision, the North had it in its power to work its will. And Mr. Thayer did not make the great mistake of supposing that separate emigrants, not supported by the public opinion of those around them, could achieve anything. He devised a plan for the organization of emigration, which, in a series of years, without the

slightest change in the principles which he had laid down at the very first, proved remarkably successful. Before the "Nebraska Bill," as it was universally called, had passed Congress, Mr. Thayer announced his plan. In a public meeting held in Worcester on the 11th of March, to protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Mr. Thayer brought forward this practical proposal. The conclusion of his speech was in these words:

It is time now to think of what is to be done in the event of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Now is the time to organize an opposition that will utterly defeat the schemes of the selfish men who misrepresent the nation at Washington. Let every effort be made, and every appliance be brought to bear, to fill up that vast and fertile territory with free men—with men who hate slavery, and who will drive the hideous traffic from the broad and beautiful plains where they go to raise their free homes. (Cheers.)

I, for one, am willing to be taxed one-fourth of my time or of my earnings, until this be done—until a barrier of free hearts and strong hands shall be built around the land our fathers consecrated to freedom, to be her heritage forever. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Thayer himself says of this: "If, instead of this impetuous, spontaneous and enthusiastic response, there had only been a moderate approbation of the plan, you would never have heard of the Emigrant Aid Company. The citizens of Worcester were sponsors at its baptism, and upon their judgment I implicitly relied, and I was not deceived."

We have this reason for saying that to the people of this city, and especially to Mr. Thayer, who acted as their leader from the beginning to the end in this matter, is the country indebted for the prompt emigration to Kansas, which eventually decided, not only the question of freedom in the Territories, but the question of freedom in the nation. Mr. Thayer at once drafted a petition for the incorporation of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. At the hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature he said:

This is a plan to prevent the forming of any more slave States. If you will give us the charter there shall never be another slave State admitted into the Union. In the halls of Congress we have been invariably beaten for more than thirty years, and it is now time to change the battle-ground from Congress to the prairies, where we shall invariably triumph.

Probably not a single person in the Judiciary Committee believed his plan in the least practical. The general feeling was that we were fifteen hundred miles from the battle-ground, and that every effort made would be overwhelmed by the unfriendly neighbors of the emigrants in Missouri before it could be renewed. But Mr. Thayer persevered, and the Legislature granted him, without opposition, the charter of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. In point of fact, no ultimate action was ever taken under this particular charter; but the same persons were subsequently incorporated under more convenient arrangements, and it is right to regard this company as that which took the initial steps in this matter. The reader must observe that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had not yet passed. Although Kansas was not named in the charter, it was understood that

organized emigration to Kansas was the object for which the company was formed. The incorporators met at once, on the 26th of April, and named a committee of five to report a plan of organization and work. This committee consisted of Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock and Edward E. Hale, of Worcester; and Richard Hildreth and Otis Clapp, of Boston. The three first were Worcester men. I had myself been interested in plans for organized emigration in the interests of freedom, since the annexation of Texas. Mr. Bullock, afterwards Governor, gave himself cordially to the plan. In practice the meetings of the committee of five were meetings of these three gentlemen, generally in Governor Bullock's office in Worcester. At his own charge Mr. Thayer hired Chapman Hall in Boston for frequent meetings, and on the 10th of May engaged Dr. Thomas H. Webb as the secretary of the company. The plan was very simple. It proposed that the agents of the company should deal with the various transportation companies and make favorable arrangements for taking groups of the emigrants in "parties." We foresaw that a body of men and women who were together would sustain each other, would maintain public opinion and would not be overawed; if necessary, they could defend each other by arms. On the other hand, such separate emigration of distinct families, as had filled the Northwest, would never be undertaken, even into a region as fine as Kansas, with the prospect of controversy and bloodshed. In the aroused condition of public feeling, Mr. Thayer believed, and the event proved, that a body of people going together would be comparatively strong and less exposed to insult. The company did not propose to intervene between the government and the settler; it only proposed to bring the settlers to the spot in groups, to establish mills and other necessities for a settlement; but were to leave to the settler such profit as he might make for himself, as the town in which he was, increased in population and his lands increased in value. In such a colony the associated settlers were glad enough to give to the Emigrant Aid Company a central position for the establishment of a saw-mill or other property for the common use. This simple organization, strange to say, was never devised before and had never been carried out before; it is a Worcester County invention, and the inventor is Eli Thayer.

What proved of as much value, perhaps, as any of the early steps in the enterprise, was the engagement by Mr. Thayer of Charles Robinson, also a Worcester County man, to go out and explore the country. Dr. Robinson was a physician in Fitchburg. He had long lived in California, where he had been an eager advocate of the rights of squatters. It may be said that what he did not know of a new community of settlers was not worth knowing. He was one of the few men in Massachusetts who had passed through Kansas. He was an earnest anti-slavery man, and

committed himself, body and soul, to the new enterprise from the beginning. With the assent of the other gentlemen of the committee Mr. Thayer engaged him at once to go to the Territory, that, by his personal information, he might assist the committee in taking the first steps. All this was done, be it observed, before the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law by passing Congress. Meanwhile, in public meetings and through the press, the directors of the new company were making use of all the information possible to interest the community in this movement.

On the 4th day of May a convention was called to meet in the Town Hall of Worcester, of a character much more practical than most of the conventions which met there. It was of men who were as much in earnest as Mr. Thayer had expressed himself to be in his speech in the month of March. That is to say, those persons were called who wished to unite for the purpose of *going to Kansas*. Mr. Thayer had, in the mean while, been occupying every moment of the day and the night in the interests of the new colony. On this morning he was too ill to leave the house,—worn out, as I suppose, by the constant exertions of two months. He sent me a note, which I still have and value highly, asking me to meet the convention in his place. I have never forgotten the occasion. In the great Town Hall, in which I had often spoken to audiences of twelve hundred people, there were perhaps one or two hundred men. They had the look of determination which belongs to the New Englander when he is well wound up and ready to start. People who were engaged at their daily business did not come to the meeting. As I recollect, there were very few persons there whom I had ever seen before; but I made some friends there who have been my friends to this day. A heavy storm was raging out-doors. There was no “buncombe” nor “popcock” in what we said; I was there to explain to them the practical method of going to Kansas, and, as well as I knew how, I did so. These men asked questions, and I gave them the best answers that I could. The drift of my speech may be inferred from the pamphlet written by myself, which, almost at the same time, the Executive Committee of the Emigrant Aid Society published. It lies before me as I write these words. It was printed by a Worcester printer, and went broadcast over New England and the West. It is the basis of a series of similar pamphlets, enlarged and changed as the occasion required, which were issued by the society in the next two years. The convention which met that day passed the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The danger is imminent and pressing that slavery will succeed in its audacious and determined assaults upon freedom, and by a repeal of the Missouri Compromise subject the vast and fertile territories of Nebraska and Kansas to its blighting and desolating influences; therefore

Resolved, That it is the right and the duty of the people of the free States to neutralize the efforts of the slave power and its Northern confederates by the immediate occupancy of these territories with men

hostile to slavery, and in favor of basing the institutions of those territories upon the great principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Resolved, That whatever may be the final action of Congress upon the Nebraska Bill (so called), now under consideration, that we ought not to leave the territories as they are. We ought, by acting in the territories, by our emigrants in the territories, by our moral influence in the territories, by our votes in the territories, to continue there the contest of freedom until its sure and final triumph is secured therein.

Resolved, That we regard a systematic and united effort to colonize in these territories free labor and free institutions as the best and most certain means of guarding them against the encroachments of slavery propagandism, and that we hail with pleasure all the movements now in progress having reference to such an object, whether in the West or in the East; whether they have their origin among the sons of the Pilgrims or those fugitives from the oppression of other lands, who are resolved to fight against slavery in all its forms in the country of their adoption.

Resolved, That inasmuch as many persons in all parts of Massachusetts have signified their desire to unite in an Emigrants' League, for the purpose of locating themselves and their families in the new territories, that it is expedient to form, as soon as practicable, an association of this kind, and that until such a time all persons desirous of joining in such plan of emigration be requested to send their names and addresses to a committee of this convention, that some estimate may be formed of the extent of the desire in favor of such emigration, under such auspices and as a preliminary step to the organization of the first New England Company of Nebraska and Kansas Emigrants.

Resolved, That the incorporation of an Emigrants' Aid Society, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, with a view to directing a systematic emigration to these territories, upon a gigantic scale, is a noble step in the right direction, and that we have the fullest confidence that that society will be a powerful instrument in advancing the cause of freedom and humanity.

Resolved, That such efforts as are now being made by this and kindred societies to introduce free labor and free institutions on the virgin soil of these territories must command the sympathy of freemen and Christians the world over—that it must arouse to the full the zeal of all who are embarked in it who would labor, not only as adventurers in a new land, but as the pilgrims who were the pioneers there of a great principle.

Resolved, That it would be as unjust as it would be impolitic in laboring for the perfection of a great and good object, to do anything not in accordance with the principles of true Christianity to attain our object, and that, so far as our influence can extend, the natural and guaranteed rights of the aboriginal inhabitants shall be sacredly regarded.

In the brief of my speech I find that I stated the plans of the company as I have explained them above. I said that we should arrange for parties of two or three hundred to go together, that we propose to build for each colony a central boarding-house, or boarding-houses, in which men could live while they were preparing their houses, and that we should make ourselves responsible for saw-mills, printing-presses and other necessary machinery. All these promises we kept. Mr. Thayer bade me say that there would be two thousand men from Massachusetts there in a short time. The prophecy of this was more than fulfilled. I met Dr. Robinson for the first time that day. He has been for many years my dear friend. But I always associate the thought of him with the wet india-rubber coat which he wore on that bleak May morning in that cold town-hall. Recollecting what followed from this meeting, it is pathetic to see how slight is the notice given of it by the Worcester papers of the day. The other speakers besides those named above were Mr. Mallory and Mr. Fay, but their speeches are not reported.

From this moment forward all of us who could speak were engaged in addressing public assemblies, and all of us who could write were writing for the press. I remember very well that I had the friendly co-operation of twelve leading newspapers in different parts of New England, the editors of which were glad to print anything which we could send them regarding Kansas. My father permitted me to print whatever I chose in the *Daily Advertiser*, which was the leading Whig newspaper in New England; and Mr. Horace Greeley printed whatever we sent him as editorial in the *New York Tribune*.

At the same time I was engaged, with my brother and my wife, in preparing the book called "Kansas and Nebraska," which is, I think, the first published book in the large literature of the history of that State. This book could hardly have been written conveniently anywhere excepting in Worcester. I had the co-operation of Samuel Foster Haven, the accomplished librarian of the Antiquarian Society, and I had the advantage of using all the stores of that invaluable collection. I doubt if I could anywhere else have written up the early history of the discovery of the Territory. Certainly we had great advantages in the public documents there, following along the history of its successive surveys. The reader should remember that up to this time there was not a white man legally settled in the Territory of Kansas, unless in the capacity of an Indian agent or under some other appointment from the General Government.

As to Worcester County, I do not venture to say in how many places Mr. Thayer addressed audiences in that eventful summer. I find on my own memorandum-book that I spoke at Bolton, from which, under the lead of our friend Mr. Wilder, an organized company went to the territory; in my own church; at Uxbridge; at a public meeting in Worcester on the 25th of August; at Northboro'; at Leominster; at New Bedford; at Shrewsbury; at Northboro' a second time; at Millbury and at Milford.

Of the interest taken in New England, the upshot was that several hundred clergymen became life members of the Emigrant Aid Society. I think that every settled clergyman in Worcester subscribed twenty dollars for this purpose. The first colony, of forty-three persons, left Boston on the 17th of July. It was under Dr. Robinson's lead and included many men from Worcester County; no women went with that colony. They established themselves at Lawrence, now the city of Lawrence, at the mouth of the

Wakarusa River. In the second colony, led by Mr. Branscombe, went their wives and children. So the business of filling Kansas with organized companies went on for two or three years. It was in the course of this summer that I learned from Mr. Thayer one of the secrets of his success. It is the same which Poor Richard gave to Paul Jones, in the words, "If you want anything done, do it yourself." But I think I am right in ascribing to Mr. Thayer the formula, which says that "personal presence moves the world."

After the very first, it proved that the charter of the Massachusetts Company did not satisfy men who were to subscribe money. My impression is that there was an individual liability danger, which no man could afford to meet. To meet this difficulty, Mr. Thayer, Mr. Amos Lawrence and Mr. J. M. S. Williams were made the trustees of all contributions, and as a board of trustees they conducted the affairs of the company, with the assistance of such committees of stockholders as they appointed, until the organization of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, which lasted for eleven or twelve years. The first meeting of the trustees was on July 24th, 1854. They assumed the responsibility for everything which had been done by Mr. Thayer and the other gentlemen interested in the matter, from the beginning. And the real work of the company dates, therefore, back to the beginning of the month of May.

Mr. Thayer had the loyal assistance and pecuniary backing of the two gentlemen who have been named. At one of the meetings in Chapman Hall, in Boston, Mr. Williams, who was a stranger to him, rose and said he was willing to give ten thousand dollars for the purposes of the company. Mr. Amos Lawrence made a subscription as large. At the request of Dr. Webb, Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, made a similar subscription, and was afterwards the president of the company for the whole period of its existence. Mr. Batchelder, a Worcester County man, subscribed ten thousand dollars. It should be remembered that none of these gentlemen ever received a cent back for the money thus paid, which became a successful sacrifice on the altar of freedom. There may have been other ways in which the problem of the freedom of Kansas could have been wrought out, but in fact it was wrought out by the plans conceived and executed by a citizen of the city of Worcester, with the loyal assistance of his neighbors, who trusted him and valued him.



